THE FAMOVS AND MEMORABLE WORKES OF IOSEPHVS, A MAN OF MVCH HONOVR AND LEARNING AMONG THE IEWES.

Faithfully tranſlated out of the Latine, and French, by THO. LODGE, Doctor in Phyſicke.

Bernardus Epiſtola ad Suggerium.

Tunc recentia iucundius bona clareſcunt, cum fuerint malis comparata prioribus.

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1620.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE FATHER OF ARTS AND ARMES, CHARLES LORD HOVVARD, *BARON OF* EFFINGHAM, *EARLE OF* NOTTINGHAM, High Conſtable of the Caſtle and Forreſt of *Windſor*, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice in *Eyre* of England, Gouernour and Captaine generall of all her Maieſties maritime Forts and Caſtles, High Admirall of England and Ireland, Lieutenant of Suſſex and Surrey, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councell.

RIght Honourable, there is a ſaying in Zenophon *moſt worthy the citing and inſight, that matters of worth and conſequence are both to be committed and commended to their truſt and protection, who know the waight and value thereof, and both can and will defend the ſame by Authoritie and Reaſon. For this cauſe and vpon this ground, I haue choſen your Honour out for a moſt noble Patron of this moſt famous and accompliſhed Hiſtorie of the Iewes: which (for dignity and antiquitie of the ſubiect, the elegancie and puritie of the ſtile, the choiſe proprietie and copie of words, the grauitie and varietie of ſentences, the alterations and memorable euents; and laſtly, for the birth and dignitie of the Author) requireth a ſpirit of no leſſe wiſedome, courage, and nobilitie then your ſelfe, who haue power to defend, and knowledge to diſcerne the worth thereof. Vouchſafe therefore to leuell the eye of your eſteeme vpon the Center of this happy Hiſtorie: and as* Themiſtocles *was animated to noble actions by beholding* Miltiades *Trophees; and* Alexander *in ſeeing* Achilles *tombe, did grieuouſly ſigh with an honourable emulation: ſo let the zeale, magnanimity, and admirable conſtancie which euery where affronteth you in this Booke (and rauiſheth the beſt mindes from the boundleſſe troubles of this world, and draweth them into the contemplation of true perfection) ſo ſettle your honourable loue and affection to emulate the ſame, that as for glory in Armes; ſo for preſeruing and protecting Artes, you may outſtrip your competitors, and amaſe too curious expectation. And in mine opinion the time chalengeth no leſſe at your hands: for as your tranſcendent dignitie and courage hath returned vs a happy harueſt in our expected and long poſſeſſed peace, as by your ſecond care and diligence next vnder her ſacred Maieſtie we all reape the fruit and felicitie of bleſſed abundance: ſo by your example in reading and reſpecting both learning and the learned, you ſhall pull downe that* Babel, *which confuſed ignorance hath raiſed to ouer-reach induſtrie; yea you ſhall ſtrengthen the weakened abilitie of learning, which (alas the while) is now-adaies like a commoditie without requeſt ſcarce ſalcable by the hands of a cunning broker. Nothing is more worth money, and leſſe in requeſt: onely the worlds blinde creatures as* S. Hierom *tearmeth them) the vnlettered, take delight in their errors, whoſe writings (as* Plutarch *ſpeaketh of* Ariſtophanes *poeme) are written for no modcrate mans pleaſure. Let therefore your vpright eſtimation of this worke (moſt noble Earle) awaken the dead deuotion of ſuch as contemne Artes; and let no ſuch corrupt drones (as make ſale of ſinfull thoughts for good marchandiſe) buz about the hiue of true ſcience: But as Emperors, Kings, and Princes haue euer in their Greeke, Italian and French, with a reſpectiue acceptance, and bountifull hand, entertained this Hiſtorie; ſo let this tranſlation of* Ioſephus *which courteth you now in Engliſh, bee accepted at your hands, and countenanced by your Honour: for whoſe vnconfined felicitie both I and other of my name haue euer prayed, and will neuer ceaſe to ſtudy.*

Your Honors vnfainedly deuoted,

THOMAS LODGE,

TO THE COVRTEOVS Reader, as touching the vſe and abuſe of Hiſtorie.

IF Hiſtorie were as eaſily conceited and made vſe of, as (according to *Baldus*) it hath true proportion and documents for the gouernment of mans life; I ſhould hold it no ſinne, ſo preciſely to preſcribe a limitation and bound, to ſuch as ſhould enter the Liſt, and conſult with example: for what more pleaſing to our ſelues, or profitable for ſocieties could euer befall vs, then in this Theater of mans life, (wherein Hiſtorie affoordeth all ſorts of Actors) to ſit and learne preuention by other mens perils, and to grow amply wiſe by forraine wreckes? All which being traduced to our priuate vſe, wee may either as partners in what we haue paſt, or obſeruers of future caſualties, by precedent euents, tye ages to our memories; and preuenting our eſcapes, by ſuruey of other mens repentance, briefely beget experience by ſight, or foreſight of worldly caſualties, and forme a mirror of fore-paſſed errors, to fore-iudge our future calamities. But for that it behooueth vs to enter this worldly Academy, the more prepared, the more that Hiſtorie is fraught and fulfilled with plentifull fruite: and whereas the difficulty and difference is alike, to yeelde an vpright verdict both of a mans owne, and other mens life; neither may any man rightly examine an other (how wiſe ſoeuer he bee) except in equall ballance hee weigh his owne imperfections; it muſt neceſſarily follow on both ſides, that with the more wiſedome, and the greater obſeruation wee ought to entertaine Hiſtorie, leaſt our minde like the winde ſhould wander vncertainly, and our deuotion ſhould preuent our reſolution; our eſteeme, our knowledge. For as in an ample and well furniſhed and affluent banquet; although ſome things, (and they to fewe men) ſeeme pleaſant, otherſome to other are without taſte and ſeeme tart, and euery one iudgeth his meate not by proofe, but by the palate; yet notwithſtanding there is a certaine meane, which either Natures ordinarie, or the refined kinde of nutriment (beeing ſimple and incorrupt) hath faſhioned and fixed for moſt apteſt for the bodie; from which, whoſoeuer varieth, or either beyond meaſure, or without iudgement, followeth his fooliſh appetite, in glutting himſelfe beyond diſcretion, reapeth more incommoditie then pleaſure by theſe pleaſures: So in the diuerſitie of mans life, although a thouſand formes, a thouſand ſimilitudes bee offered, and that euery man faſhioneth other mens manners to his minde, yet is there but one true path that vertue walketh in, which whoſoeuer tracketh with iudgement, doth truely know the vſe of life; whereas they that ſit in a plentifull banquet, in affecting all things, can make vſe of nothing. Now, how many are there, I pray you, that in reſpect of either of their own, or other mens acts and words (according to the rule of vertue) can be more choiſe in iudging minds, than meates, and that in this matter ſeemeth not ſufficiently inſtructed? Wherein I wonder that men eſpie not their errors, whereas they imagine that Hiſtory is the inſtructor of ſuch as read the ſame; whereas it onely yeeldeth matter of inſtruction, euen as the banquet miniſtreth meat according to euery mans affection. Some therefore are ſeduced with the ſweetnes of the Stile, and in ſeeking their pleaſure, loſe their profit; who reape no other fruit of Hiſtory, then to beguile time, and beget officious idlenes, laughing away houres, and nouriſh repent: others in reading glory, hunt it in a ſhadow, where if they could make vſe of it in proportion, they could not fall to repent it. And whereas no man can aſpire to true glory without true vertue, neither no wiſe man will hope further: yet ſee we many men, that becauſe they haue read many excellent workes, will be Capricious and pretend wiſedome; reſembling thoſe tragedians, who will, after they haue diſcharged themſelues of their parts and apparrell

wherein

wherein they counterfaited the Emperour, yet retaine his Royall and princely manners: Some triuiall and light witted, that make an Eclipſe of a ſhadow, make more of the embleme, then the worke; the habite then the Doctor: So admirable effects worketh Hiſtorie in mens mindes. Now whereas it is the moſt exact and chiefeſt intent of Hiſtory to awaken mens idleneſſe, and arme them againſt caſualties, and the whole bent of example hath no other iſſue; it falleth out thorow mens ſecuritie (who ſuppoſe that their neighbours perils concerne them not) that whatſoeuer is of note, is ouerſlipt with a deafe and ſleeping iudgement, and things that memorie ſhould beſt loue, are loſt in her. To conclude, there are ſome that will haue euery mans ſhooe fitted on their owne Laſt, and tye all mens pennes to their owne pleaſures: For which cauſe, partly by reaſon of this ſecret, partly through this ill ordered, confuſed and raſh method of reading, as of corrupt humours, ſo is there growne a certaine κακεξία of iudgement and reſolution: and as in intemperate bodies, meate yeeldeth very little profit; ſo reape they no fruit or benefit by their reading. By this, good Reader, thou maiſt eaſily conceiue, how a hiſtory ought to bee read: how mens liues ought in themſelues be examined: finally how equall a proportion is required in both. And truely in my opinion, the chiefeſt ground of this difficulty, is the peruerſenes of our iudgements: which is the cauſe, we the rather reſpect our owne inclinations what they are, then the true life and force of example. Furthermore, this is no leſſe miſery then the former, that ſuch as write, ſet downe ſuch things as are acted, not onely for our profit ſake, but to feede their owne humours: and like to certen Architects (by interpoſing their iudgements) doe vainly praiſe ſome things, ſuppoſing that our imitation ſhould be tied to their pleaſure; where if they performed what they ought to doe, the Reader ſhould encounter with no ſuch diſtractions: but now, in like manner as Cookes, who rather reſpect their maſters pleaſurable taſte, then his profit; would God the Hiſtoriographer did not affect flattery. It therefore appeareth, that in two ſorts (firſt in our owne iudgement; and next to the preiudice of thoſe that write) we are circumuented; in that they ſet not downe ſuch euents as paſſe, in their owne nature and as they are. For he that writeth an Hiſtory, is the interpretour of thoſe things that are paſt: whoſe iudgement being depraued, it fareth with him as with the pureſt and moſt richeſt wine, which waxeth muſtie by reaſon of that veſſell wherein it is incloſed, or is by ſophiſtication corrupted: which is the greateſt folly, and moſt intolerable deceit that may befall men. They therefore, who negligently vndertake a Hiſtory, (or ſuppoſe that life were to be paſt raſhly, and without an exact obſeruance of all offices) are no leſſe deceiued then certaine countrey peſants in the laſt troubles of France (of whoſe folly I drew ſome example) who attempting and entring vpon a city not farre off from them, and lighting into an Apothecaries ſhop furniſhed with all kind of drugs and dainties, and being allured by the pleaſure, odours and delight of the confections they taſted; and ſuppoſing all to be of the ſame kind, deuoured, taſted, and ſwallowed downe euery thing: whereupon ſome fell ſicke of feauers, ſome grew phrenſie, and many loſt their liues to pleaſe their appetites; at leaſtwiſe, he that ſcaped beſt, gaue occaſion of laughter to the lookers on. For as life, ſo Hiſtory (the image of life) is fraught with pleaſure, and diſpleaſure; and onely in the vſe of life, the wiſedome of life conſiſteth. Farewell: vſe this, and my ſelfe, as two twinnes borne for thy profit.

Thine, THOMAS LODGE,

The Titles of all ſuch Bookes as are contained in this Hiſtorie.

1. *A Hiſtory in twenty bookes, wherein the Antiquity of the Jewes is diſcouered.*

2. *Seuen bookes of the Warres of the Iewes.*

3. *Two bookes againſt* Appion *the Grammarian, in Juſtification of the Antiquitie of the Jewes.*

4. *A booke as touching the memorable martyrdome of the Machabees.*

5. *Joſephus Life. Written by himſelfe all.*

A Briefe Computation very profitable and neceſſarie to the vnderſtanding of the Hiſtorie.

FRom *Adam* vntill the Deluge, there were yeeres.	1656
From the Deluge vntill *Abrahams* time.	292
From *Abraham* vntill the departure out of Egypt.	500
From the departure out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple by *Salomon*.	480
From the building of the Temple, vntill the captiuity in Babylon.	410
From the returne from the captiuity, vntill the Machabees time.	432
From the Machabees time, vntill *Herods*.	134
From *Herods* time, vntill the finall and fatall deſtruction of Ieruſalem.	103

The Iewes haue two ſorts of yeeres: the Politique ſort, which beginneth in September; and the Sacred or Eccleſiaſtique, which beginneth in March.

They haue twelue Moneths or Moones, euery third yeere hath a thirteenth Moneth of 22. daies, and the fourth yeere hath a thirteenth moneth of 23. daies.

Before the Captiuity of Babylon, they accounted the moneths ſucceſſiuely by 1.2,3, &c. ſince their returne they haue named them rather after the manner of the Chaldees then Hebrewes.

The Hebrew.	The Engliſh.	The Greeke.
Niſan.	March	*Andineen*
Zin or *Iar.*	Aprill	*Peritien*
Siuan	May	*Diſtre*
Tamuz	Iune	*Xantique*
Ab	Iuly	*Arthemiſien*
Elul	Auguſt	*Deſien*
Ethanin or *Tiſri*	September	*Paneme*
Bul or *Markeſuan.*	October	*Loie*
Caſleu	Nouember	*Gorpian*
Thebet	December	*Hyperberete*
Sebath	Ianuary	*Dien*
Adar	Februarie	*Apelleen*

This nation in their beginning, was gouerned by Iudges.

Moſes	*Iair*
Ioſuah	*Ieptha*
Othoniel	*Abſan*
Adod	*Elon*
Baruc and Debora	*Abdon*
Gedeon	*Samſon*
Abimelech	*Eli*
Thola	*Samuel*

After them, they had theſe Kings.

Saul	*Ochozias*
Dauid	*Athalia*
Salomon	*Ioas*
Roboam	*Amaſias*
Abia	*Ozias*
Aſa	*Ioathan*
Ioſaphat	*Achaz*
Ioram	*Ezechias*
Manaſſes	*Eliachim*
Amon	*Ioachin*
Ioſias	*Zedechias*
Ioachas	

The Captiuitie of Babylon continued 70. yeeres.

Gouernors after the Captiuitie.

Zorobabel	*Nagge*
Rheſa	*Hagaieli*
Iehan Ben Reſa	*Naum*
Iudas Hyrcanus	*Amos*
Ioſeph	*Matthathias*
Abner	*Ioſeph Arſes*
Heli	*Iannes Hircanus*
Mahat	*Mattathias*

The Machabees, who haue beene both Gouernors and Prieſts.

Iudas	*Simon*
Ionathan	*John Hircanus*

Theſe

These following haue beene both Kings and Priests.

Aristobulus 1.	Hircanus
Iohn Alexander	Aristobul. the sonne of Arist.
Alexandra	Aristobulus 3.
Aristobulus 2.	Hircanus

The race of *Herod*.

Antipater	Archelaus the great
Herod the great	Agrippa the sonne of Agrippa.

The names of such as were high Priests from the time of their departure out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple, which was made by *Salomon*.

Aaron	Achitob.
Eleazar	Achimelech
Phinees	Abiathar
Abisua	Sadoc
Busqui	Achimaas
Oses	Azarias,
Heli	

From the building of the Temple vntill the Captiuity of Babylon.

Ioram	Vrias
Ioses	Nerias
Axioram	Odeas
Sudeas	Sellum
Ioathan	Helcias

From their returne out of Babylon, vntill the Machabees time.

Saraia	Ioiada
Iosedech	Ionathan
Iosua	Iadus
Ioachim	Onias 1.
Eliasib	Simon 1.
Eleazar	Iason
Manasses	Onias 4.
Onias 2.	Lysimachus
Simon 2.	Alcimus
Onias 3.	

High Priests since the Machabees time, vntill the last destruction and ouerthrow of that City and Nation.

Simon Boethus	Ioseph 3.
Ioseph 1.	Ananias
Ioseph 2.	Ismael
Ioazar	Ioseph
Eleazar	Annas
Iosuah the son of Sias	Eleazar
Ioazar	Simon
Ananus	Ioseph Caiphas
Ismael	Ionathan
Theophilus	Iosuah the sonne of Damneus
Simon	Iosuah the sonne of Gamaliel
Mattathias	Matthias
Elion	Phinees or Panaas

Kings of Israel, otherwise called Kings of the ten Tribes, or of Samaria.

Ieroboam 1.	Ioachaz
Nadab	Ioas
Baasa	Ieroboam 2.
Ela	Zachary
Zamri	Manahem
Amri	Pecha the son of Manahem
Achab	Pecha the son of Romelia
Ioram	Oseas
Iehu	

Kings of Assyria and Babylon.

Phulbelechus	Nvbuchodonosor 1.
Phulassar	Nabuchodonosor the
Salmanassar	Euilmerodach (great
Senacherib	Neriglossorar
Assaradon	Labosardach
Berodach Benmerodach	Baltassar

Kings of Persia.

Cyrus	Xerxes
Cambyses	Sogdianus.
Smerdes Magus	Darius the bastard
Darius the son of Histaspis	Artaxerxes Mnemon
Xerxes the son of Darius	Artaxerxes Ochus
Artabanus the tyrant	Arsames (Arsames
Artaxerxes with a long hand	Darius the sonne of

Kings of Syria, after the death of *Alexander* the great.

Seleucus Nicanor	Alexander Epiphanes.
Antiochus Soter	Demetrius Nicanor
Antiochus surnamed God	Antiochus Sedetes
Seleucus Callinicus	Demetrius Nicanor
Seleucus Ceraunus	Alexander Zebina
Antiochus the great	Antiochus Gryphus
Seleucus Philopator	Antiochus Cyzecenus
Antiochus Epiphanes	Seleucus Gryphus
Antiochus Eupator	Antiochus Pius
Demetrius Soter	

The Kings of Egypt, after the death of *Alexander* the great.

Ptolomey Soter	Euergetes Phiscon
Philadelphus	Lathyrus
Euergetes	Alexander
Philopator	Auletes
Epiphanes	Cleopatra
Philometor	

Kings of the Tyrians

Abibalus	Phelletes
Hiram	Ithoballus
Belastartus	Badezor
Abdastartus	Metrimus
Astartus	Pigmalion
Astarimus	

For the better vnderſtanding of the Coines and Meaſures, whereof there is ſome mention made in this Hiſtory; obſerue I pray you that which followeth.

SAth was a meaſure containing about ſome ſeuen pintes French.
The Epha contained three Saths.
The Core or Homer contained ten Ephas, that is to ſay thirty Saths, and was the ſame meaſure both in drie and liquid things.
The Log contained a French meaſure.
The Hin contained twelue Logs.
The Bath contained as much as the Epha.
The Cad was a kinde of pitcher containing ſuch a quantity as a young maiden might well carrie.
The common Sicle contained the waight of foure ounces, whether it were of golde, ſiluer, or of any other mettall.
The ſacred or holy Sicle waighed halfe an ounce of any mettall whatſoeuer.
The common Sicle of ſiluer was valued at about ſome ſhilling of our money.
The holy Sicle of ſiluer was valued at about ſome two ſhillings.
The common Drachme was the eight part of an ounce.
The ſacred Drachme was the fourth part of an ounce.
The pound waighed twelue ounces.
The ordinary Talent contained fiftie foure pounds, eight ounces, and a quarter of Troy waight in any metall: yet was it not currant money, but a maſſe made vp after the manner of an ingot.
The ſacred Talents contained one hundreth pounds.
Furthermore note this for your better knowledge, that when as *Ioſephus* quoteth the Olympiades without any ſpecification of the yeeres therein contained, hee ordinarily comprehendeth the ſpace of foure yeeres compleat.
Furthermore, where the Latin word *Stadium* hath diuers ſignifications amongſt both Greekes and Latins (as the controuerſie betweene *Plinie* and *Diodorus Siculus* may well teſtifie) and for that diuers of our Engliſh tranſlators haue ſometimes called it a Stade, otherwhiles a Stound, and otherwhiles improperly, a Furlong; I pray you in reading this Hiſtory, whereas any of theſe words occurre, ſuppoſe them for one and the ſame meaſure of ground, and according to the Greekes account, (which I ſuppoſe *Ioſephus* moſt reſpected in this Hiſtory) conclude it to be either of 600. foote as the Olympique, that is of 120 paſes, or as the Pyrrhique, which contained 1000. foote, that is 200. paſes. As for the Furlong, either multiply him 8. times to make him a Stade, or as an ouerſight in the printing, let it paſſe with the Errata.

The names of thoſe Authors which are alleadged in this Hiſtory.

A
Acuſilaus.
Agatharcides.
Alexander.
Andrew.
Appion.
Apollonius Molo.
Apollodorus.
Ariphanes.
Ariſtæus.
Ariſtotle.
B
Beroſus.
C
Cadmus.
Caſtor.
Chæremon.
Cherilus.
Clearcus.
Conon.
D
Demetrius Phalereus.
Dius.
E
Ephorus.
Euhemerus.
Eupolemus.
H
Hecataus.
Helanicus.
Hermippus.
Hermogenes.
Herodotus.
Heſiodus.
Heſtiæus.
Hierome of Egypt.
Homer.
Hyperochides.
I
Iſidore.
L
Titus Liuius.
Lyſimachus.
M
Manethon.
Menander.
Mnaſeas.
Mochus.
N
Nicholas of Damas.
P
Pherecides.
Philon.
Philoſtratus.
Polybius.
Polycrates.
Poſydonius.
Pythagoras.
S
Strabo.
T
Thales.
Theodotus,
Theophilus.
Theopompus.
Theophraſtus.
Thucydides.
Timæus.
Z
Zopyrion.

Francis. Patritius de Regno, lib. 2. cap. 10.

Historiarum cognitio Regibus, Ducibus, Imperatoribus & omnibus principibus perquam necessaria habenda est: quam Cicero appellat testem temporum, vitæ Magistram, veram memoriæ & veritatis nunciam.

A

THE
B # FIRST BOOKE OF
THE MOST ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY
IOSEPH THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS.

C ## A moſt excellent Preface, containing the cauſes which induced the Author to write this Hiſtorie, together with the contents and intents of the ſame.

CHAP. I.

D THEY that indeauour themſelues to write Hiſtories, ſeeme not (in my opinion) to haue one and the ſame intent and motiue, but diuers and very different cauſes of their labours: for ſome of them are addicted to this ſtudie, vnder pretence to exemplifie their eloquence, and vnder hope to purchaſe glory thereby; otherſome to the end to giue them content, whoſe worthy actions they couch and commend in their writings, haue intermitted no time nor (to their power) ſpared no labour. Some there are that hauing beene preſent in perſon, and eye-witneſſes in the execution of great affaires, haue neceſſarily been inforced to reduce and digeſt the ſame in writing: neither wanted there ſome who ſeeing occurrences of high & neceſſary conſequence (which otherwiſe had bin buried in ignorance) haue bin incited (in reſpect of common good) to imploy both hand and head, in the publiſhing thereof: now of theſe forenamed cauſes, the two laſt are they that incited me to the like. For the warre which we had with
E the Romans, and the accidents and iſſues on both parts, (all which in perſon I beheld, and to my perill I haue learned) doe compell me to declare the ſame; and the rather for that there are ſome, who in their writings, haue depraued, and peruerted the truth. I haue therefore taken this worke in hand, for that in my opinion the knowledge therof, will be both pleaſing and profitable to the Græcians: for it ſhall containe the antiquity of our whole nation, their forme of common-weale, both tranſlated and gathered out of the Antiquities and Chronicles of the Hebrews. Truth it is, that heretofore, and at ſuch time alſo as I compoſed the Hiſtory of the foreſaid warre, I had proiected and purpoſed with my ſelfe, to lay open to the world, how & whence the Iewes had their firſt originall, what alterations in fortune they had falne into, by what law-maker they had beene
F inſtructed in pietie, and incited to the exerciſe of vertue: how many warres haue they ſuſtained by long and diuers times, and finally how againſt their will they haue beene intangled in this laſt warre, which they waged againſt the Romans. But for that the content of this matter, was too ample and copious, I haue ſeparated it apart, aſſigning thereunto this treatiſe accompliſhed from the beginning euen vnto the end: afterwards in proceſſe of time (as it vſually hapneth to thoſe that attempt matters of mighty conſequence) I was ſurprized with a certaine delay, and ſlothfulneſſe that withdrew me from the tranſlation of ſo waightie a matter, in an vnfamiliar and forrain language. Yet ſome there were, who inflamed with a deſire of knowledge, animated me in this

action; and especially *Epaphroditus*, a man enamoured of all learning, and who in especiall, tooke G
it for a pleasure, to take knowledge of the diuers occurrences of common weales: as he that had
beene agent, in diuers affayres of importance, and sundry accidents, in all which hee hath shewed
a maruellous magnanimitie of courage, with an vnmooueable resolution to follow vertue. Being
thus perswaded by him, who is accustomed to incourage those vnto good actions, whom hee
perceiueth to be apt and prepared to performe things profitable and honest: and (that which is
more) being ashamed in my selfe, that I should rather take delight to follow idlenesse, than ad-
dict my selfe to any laudable exercise; I inforced my selfe more couragiously then before time;
and (besides all that which hath bin spoken) I haue effectually considered with my selfe, that our
ancestors haue thought good to communicate and publish the knowledge of our Histories to
the Grecians, if so be that any of them were curious to vnderstand the same. I haue found there- H
fore that *Ptolemey* King of Ægypt the second of the name (highly affectioned to good letters,
and desirous to store and gather bookes) was earnestly desirous, that our lawe and the rules
thereof, and the prescript forme of our liuing should bee translated into the Greeke tongue.
And as touching the hie Priest *Eleazar* (who hath not beene second in vertue to any other what-
soeuer) he refused not to make the said King partaker of the effect of his desire: to which he had
wholly contradicted, had it not beene the ordinarie course of our ancestors, not to conceale
from other men, what thing soeuer was honest. For which cause I haue helde it a matter no
waies vndecent for me, to follow the vertuous courage of that same great sacrificer, and the
rather for that at this day (onely in as much as concerned learning) I supposed many also to bee
no lesse affected to good letters then the King: for hee vndertooke not to haue all the writings I
which wee had, but those translators who were sent vnto him to Alexandria, did onely com-
municate that vnto him which was in our lawe. But those things that are found written in the
sacred bookes of holy Scripture are infinite, beeing such as containe in them, the Historie of
fiue thousand yeeres: in which diuers vnexpected chances, sundry fortunes of warre, and many
changes of politike estates are discouered. In summe, if any one haue a desire to read this Histo-
rie, hee shall principally learne and apprehend, that all things fall out happily, and beyond their
expectation to those men, who obserue the will of God, and are afraide to transgresse the
lawes of his commandements; and that God hath prepared for such the crowne and reward
of felicitie. Contrariwise, if they shall depart from the diligent obseruance thereof, that which
is easie shall bee made impossible, and their endeuours in their opinion good, shall end in incu- K
rable calamities. For which cause I exhort all those that shall reade these bookes, to fixe their
minde vpon God, and that they approoue our law-maker, if (as it worthily deserued) hee hath
considered the diuine Nature; and attributed to the same such actions as are alwaies agreeable
to his power, and hath kept and continued his narration, free from the vanitie of fables, where-
with others are poisoned: although in respect of the length of time, and the antiquitie of things,
he might without controule faine and imagine whatsoeuer vanities: for hee was borne more
then two thousand yeeres ago, which is a continuance of ages, to which the Poets neither durst
referre the originall of their Gods; neither the deeds or lawes of men, whereof they make men-
tion. But in pursuit of our Historie, the sequel of our discourse, shall declare all things exactly,
and in conuenient order. For in compiling this worke, I haue promised to adde nothing, nei- L
ther to pretermit any thing: and for that all whatsoeuer we shall declare, doth almost wholly de-
pend, on the wisedome of our law-maker *Moses*; it is necessarie before all other things, that I
speake somewhat of himselfe, least perhaps any man should wonder how this labour hauing
beene enterprised, to discouer the words and workes of certaine persons, is also imployed for
the greatest part in describing and discouering things that are naturall. We ought therefore to
know, that *Moses* thought it most especially necessarie, either for him that will rightly dispose
his life, or impose lawes to other men, that first and in especiall he haue the knowledge of the
nature of God; to the end that conceiuing in his minde the greatnesse of his workes; hee
might as much as in him lyeth, imitate his most vnequall example; and follow him with M
all diligence. For it is impossible, that a law-maker being voide of this contemplation, should
haue good sense; or that his writings should be of any moment to induce them vnto vertue,
who should receiue those lawes, except before all things they should learne, that God who is
the father and Lord of all, and that seeth all, giueth happie life vnto those that follow him; and
contrariwise inuironeth them with great calamities, who forsake the way of vertue and righte-
ousnesse. *Moses* therefore intending to instruct his Citizens in this doctrine, began not his ordi-
nances with the treatise of contracts, and couenants, which we practise one with another, as

other

A other law-makers were accuſtomed to do: but he hath lifted their ſpirits on high to the end they might thinke on God, and on the ornament of this world made by him, perſwading that the moſt accompliſhed worke among al thoſe things which God had made in the world, was the creation of vs men. After that he had made them capable of things concerning piety; then might he more eaſily perſwade them in the reſt: Whereas other law-makers, addicting themſelues vnto fables, haue in their diſcourſe impoſed on their gods the infamy of ſins committed by men, and by that meanes haue brought to paſſe, that the wicked ſort are yet more wicked and addicted to euill doing. But as touching our law-maker, after he had declared that God had in himſelf all vertue pure and vnſpotted, hee hath thought good that men alſo ſhould endeuour themſelues to be partakers of the ſame, and on thoſe that neither conceiue nor beleeue thoſe things, hee inflicteth a grieuous
B and inexorable puniſhment: I exhort the reader therefore to examine our writings according to this Maxime: for to thoſe that conſider after this manner, nothing ſhall ſeeme either abſurd, or vnworthy the magnificence of God; by reaſon that all things haue their diſpoſition conformable to the vniuerſall nature, which our law-maker hath declared ſometimes obſcurely, ſometimes in conuenient allegories grauely; and otherwiſe expreſſing that manifeſtly, and publiſhing that in plaine words, which he ought openly to make knowne. The cauſes whereof if any man would ſearch, he might find a moſt deepe and very Philoſophicall contemplation; which I ouerſlip at this preſent, without longer ſtaying thereon: but if God ſhall giue me time I will inforce my ſelfe to compoſe it in a volume as ſoone as I ſhall haue finiſhed this worke. For this preſent then I will apply my ſelfe, to expoſe thoſe things which haue beene done, beginning at the creation of the
C world, according as *Moſes* hath ſpoken, and I haue found it written in the holy Scriptures, which teſtifie and intreat to this effect as followeth.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the world.

IN the beginning God created heauen and earth. Now the earth, not beeing ſubiect to ſight, but couered with thicke darkeneſſe, and trauerſed with an ayre comming from high: God commaunded that there ſhould bee light; and after the light was made hauing conſidered
D the vniuerſall matter, he ſeparated the light from the darkeneſſe, and named the darkneſſe Night, and the light Day; calling the Morning the beginning of the day, and the Euening the time wherin we ceaſe from trauell, and this was the firſt day which *Moſes* in his language called a day, wherof at this preſent I could giue a ſufficiēt reaſon: but for that in a particular diſcourſe I haue promiſed to write the generall cauſes of all; I will refer the declaration therof, to his conuenient time & place. After this, the ſecond day, he placed the heauen aboue all the world, and hauing ſeparated it from other things, he thought good to giue it a place apart; and making it firme by the means of a Chryſtalline matter, he endowed it with a quality moiſt & rainy, and did harmonioufly accord the earth with it, to the end the increaſe thereof ſhould be watered by deawes. The third day, he firmely eſtabliſhed the earth, ſpreading the ſea round about the ſame; and the ſame day, he with
E a word cauſed all plants and ſeeds to ſpring vpon the face of the earth. The fourth day, he embelliſhed the heauens with the Sunne, the Moone and the Starres, ordaining them their motions and courſes by which the ſeaſons orderly enſuing, might bee diſtinguiſht. In the fift dav, hee made all kinde of liuing creatures which dwell vpon the face of the earth, as well they that ſwimme in the deepeſt waters, as thoſe that flie in the ayre; vniting them together by couples and paires, to the end that each in their kinde, might increaſe and multiply. The ſixt day, he made all foure-footed beaſts, and diſtinguiſht them into male and female: and in the ſame day, hee formed man. So that *Moſes* ſaith, that the world and all that is therin was made in ſixe whole dayes, and that on the 7. day, God tooke reſt and ceaſed from his labours. By reaſon wherof we likewiſe deſiſt from trauell on that day, which we call Sabbath, which is to ſay, Repoſe.

The yeare of the world, 1. before Chriſts birth, 1963.

Gen. 1.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1.

The creation of the world.

The firſt day.

The ſecond day.

The third day.

The fourth day.

The fift day.

The ſixt day.

Sabbathum.

F After the ſeauenth day, *Moſes* beganne to deſcribe the originall of man and the manner of his Creation in theſe tearmes: God framed man of the duſt of the earth, and powred into him a ſpirit and ſoule, which man was called *Adam*, an Hebrew word ſignifying ruddy, becauſe hee was made of earth, tempered with red or yellow: for the earth which is rightly called a virgin, that is to ſay, earth not remoued but elementary, is of that colour. Then brought God all kinde of liuing creatures before *Adam*, ſhewing him as well the male as the female: on whom *Adam* beſtowed thoſe names, which to this preſent time they retaine. And ſeeing that *Adam* had no female

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 1. *Geneſ. 2.*

The firſt naming of all creatures.

The yeere of the world, 1. before the Nativity Christ, 3963.

female to accompany and liue with him (for as yet there was no woman) and for that he thought G
it ſtrange that all other liuing creatures had their companions: God tooke one of his ribs from
him at ſuch time as he ſlept, and of the ſame he formed a woman; who beeing brought before
Adam, he did acknowledge that ſhe was made for him. Now in Hebrew a woman is called *Iſha*,
but this was called *Eua*, which is as much to ſay, as the mother of all liuing creatures. Hee decla-
reth alſo, that God planted in the Eaſt a garden, flouriſhing and adorned with all ſorts of plants,
amongſt which was the tree of life, and an other the tree of intelligence, by which was knowne
both good and euill. And after hee had brought *Adam* and his wife into this garden, hee com-
manded them to keepe and cheriſh the plants. Now this garden is watred by a riuer that inuiro-
neth the whole earth, which diuideth it ſelfe into 4. chanels or riuers. That which is called *Phiſon*
(which name ſignifieth abundance or multitude) floweth by the land of India, and entreth into
the great ſea, and is by the Greekes called *Ganges*. As touching *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they flow H
into the red ſea. *Euphrates* is called *Phorá* (that is to ſay diſperſion or flower.) *Tigris* is called
Diglat (which ſignifieth ſtreight and ſwift.) *Gehon* runneth by the countrey of Ægypt, and ſigni-
fieth as much as comming from the Eaſt: the Greekes call it *Nilus*. Now God commanded *A-*
dam and his wife to eate of the fruites of all other plants, and that they ſhould abſtaine from
that of ſcience; telling them, that at what time ſoeuer they ſhould taſt of the ſame, they ſhould
die the death. Whereas then at that time, all liuing creatures were at accord one with another;
the Serpent conuerſing with Adam and his wife, was inflamed with enuie, for that hee ſaw they
ſhould be happy if they continued in the obſeruation of Gods commandements: and that con-
trariwiſe, they ſhould caſt themſelues headlong into ruine and deſtruction, if they ſhould diſobey I
the ſame. Hee therefore maliciouſly perſwaded the woman, to taſte the fruit of the tree of intel-
ligence, giuing her to vnderſtand, that the knowledge of good and euill was in the ſame; and that
as ſoone as they had taſted thereof, they ſhould lead a life no leſſe happy then Gods: and by this
meanes he cauſed the woman to fall, which tooke no regard of the ordinance of God. For ha-
uing her ſelfe taſted of this fruit, and finding it pleaſant and delicious in taſte, ſhee perſwaded her
husband alſo to taſte the ſame: at which time they vnderſtood that they were naked and ſought
meanes to couer themſelues: (for this fruit had in it ſelfe, the vertue to giue vnderſtanding, and
to quicken the thought.) Then couered they themſelues with fig leaues; which they put before
their priuities, eſteeming themſelues more happy then they were before, in that they had
found out that which they wanted. But when as God came into the garden, *Adam* (who be-
fore time was accuſtomed familiarly to talke with him) finding himſelfe guilty of ſinne, hid K
himſelfe from his preſence: but God wondring hereat, asked him for what cauſe hee fled and
ſhunned him at that time, whereas before time hee had taken pleaſure to talke familiarly with
him? *Adam* knowing that he had tranſgreſſed the ordinances and commandements of God,
anſwered him not a word, but God ſpake vnto him after this manner: I had prouided for you
the meanes whereby you might haue led your life without ſufferance of any euill, or ſenſe of
any miſery: ſo that all whatſoeuer was requiſite for neceſſitie or pleaſure, might happen of it
ſelfe vnto you, by my onely prouidence, without any trauell or care on your parts; which if
you had well vſed, age had not ſo ſoone ouertaken you, but that you might haue liued many
yeares: but thou haſt ſcorned this mine ordinance, and broken my commandement. For in L
that thou art ſilent at this time, it proceedeth not of vertue, but of euill; of which thou findeſt
thy ſelfe culpable: wherefore both olde age ſhall quicklier come vpon thee, and the daies of thy
life ſhall bee ſhortned. *Adam* excuſed his ſinne, and required at Gods hands, that hee would
not bee incenſed againſt him, laying the fault of that which had happened, on his wife, allead-
ging that hee had offended by reaſon hee was ſuborned by her: and the woman accuſed the Ser-
pent. But at that time God puniſhed him, becauſe hee had ſuffered himſelfe to bee ouercome by
the counſaile of a woman; that the earth thence forward neuer more of her owne accord
ſhould bring foorth fruite: but that when they had trauailed and almoſt deuoured themſelues
in labour, it ſhould ſometimes giue them foode, and at other times refuſe to ſuſtaine them.
And as touching *Eue*, hee chaſtiſed her with child-bearing, and throes in trauell; for that be- M
ing her ſelfe deceiued by the Serpent, ſhee had drawne her husband by the ſame meanes into
extreame miſerie. Hee tooke alſo from the Serpent his voice, and was diſpleaſed againſt him,
* by reaſon of the malice hee had conceiued againſt *Adam*, and hee put venome on his tongue,
declaring him an enemie both to man and woman; whom hee commanded to bruiſe the head
of the Serpent, as well for that the euill which chanced vnto men conſiſted in the head, as alſo
in that beeing aſſaulted in that part he is moſt eaſily done to death. Moreouer hauing depriued

him

Eue the mother of all liuing creatures.
Paradiſe.
The 4. flouds of Paradiſe.
The 1. *Phiſon* or *Ganges*.
Hed. *Seth*.
2. *Euphrates*.
3. *Tigris*.
4. *Gehon*, *Nilus*
Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 3.

The ſubtilty of the ſerpent

Adam and Euahs fall.

God ſpeaketh vnto Adam.

Adam asketh pardon.
Adams puniſhment.
Euas puniſhment.
The ſeed of the woman (that is Chriſt) ſhall bruiſe the ſerpents head. *Gen. 3.*
The ſerpents puniſhment.
* Ioſephs ignorãce in vnderſtanding this place of ſcripture.

A him of his feete, hee condemned him to ſlide and traile himſelfe along the earth. And after that God had ordained them to ſuffer thoſe puniſhments, he tranſlated *Adam* and *Eue* out of the garden into another place.

The yeere of the world, 1. before Chriſts Nativitie. 3963.

CHAP. III.

Of the Poſteritie of Adam: *and of the ten ages euen vnto the Deluge.*

BVT *Adam* and *Eue* had two male children, the firſt whereof was called *Cain* (which ſignifieth acquiſition) and the ſecond was called *Abel* (which is as much to ſay as mourning) they had alſo daughters. Theſe brothers addicted themſelues each one of them to their particular exerciſes. *Abel* the younger honoured iuſtice, and (ſuppoſing that God B was preſent in all his actions) hee alwayes and wholly fixed his thoughts on vertue: and his exerciſe was keeping of ſheepe. But *Cain* (being the wickedeſt man amongſt men, and addicted to vnſatiable deſire of profite) was hee that firſt found out the vſe of the Plough, and who killed his brother for the cauſe which inſueth. Hauing concluded among themſelues to ſacrifice vnto God, *Cain* offered the fruites of his labour, and planting; *Abel* preſented milke, and the firſtlings of his folde: which ſacrifice of his, was more acceptable to God, in that it rather conſiſted of things produced of themſelues by the order of Nature, then that which a couetous man had forcibly in a manner extorted from Nature. Hereupon *Cain* (beeing wroth becauſe his brother *Abel* was more honoured by God then himſelfe) ſlew his brother; and hauing hidden his body out of ſight, hee thought that ſuch a murther ſhould be concealed. But God knowing well this C fact) appeared to *Cain*, and queſtioned with him as concerning his brother, what might become of him, for that many daies ſince he had not ſeene him; when as heretofore he had alwaies ſeene him conuerſant before him. *Cain* (beeing troubled, and ignorant what anſwere hee ſhould make vnto God) ſaid firſt that hee wondred what was the cauſe his brother was ſo long time abſent: and finally, aggrieued in that God continued the queſt, and did more exactly ſeeke after him; hee ſaid hee was not his brothers keeper, or bound to take care of his affaires. Then God reproued and conuicted *Cain* of murthering his brother, and ſpake vnto him after this manner, ſaying, that he wondred he ſhould denie the knowledge of his brothers death, whereas hee himſelfe had ſlaine him: notwithſtanding he acquitted him of the puniſhment deſerued for this murther, by reaſon that *Cain* had done ſacrifice, and made requeſt vnto God, that it might pleaſe D him to remit ſomewhat of the ſeueritie of his iuſtice againſt him: yet did God curſe him, and threaten to puniſh his ſucceſſors to the ſeuenth generation. Then did he driue him and his wife out of that countrey: whereat being affrighted (for feare hee ſhould bee encountred and taken by ſome ſauage beaſts, and that he ſhould periſh after that ſort) God commanded him to ſuſpect no dangerous euent for that cauſe, aſſuring him that hee might ſafely trauaile thorow all regions, without being either aſſaulted or feaſed by ſauage beaſts: and hauing ſet his marke vpon him, by which hee might be knowne; he commanded him to depart the countrey. After that *Cain* (accompanied with his wife) had trauailed thorow diuers regions, hee builded Nais (it was a place ſo named) and made his aboad therein, and in that place had children. But he receiued not this chaſtiſement for his better amendment; but rather became worſe and worſe: for hee abando- E ned himſelfe to all pleaſures of the bodie, making it his ſport to outrage thoſe with whom hee conuerſed, filling his houſe with riches gotten by rapine and violence; and inciting other men to follow his pleaſures and thefts, hee became their Lord and maſter of all miſchieuous exerciſes: hee ouerthrew that ſimplicitie which men before that time had vſed in their mutuall ſocieties, by the inuentions of meaſures and waights; the ignorance thereof was the cauſe that the life of man was eſtranged from deceite: but in ſteede and place of free and ancient courage hee introduced fraude and decit. Hee it was that firſt bounded the fieldes, and builded the firſt Citie, and made wall and a rampire, enforcing his followers to dwell therein. This Citie was named Enoſa, by the name of *Enos* his firſt begotten ſonne. But *Iared* was the ſonne of *Enos*, of *Iared* iſſued *Malehel*, whoſe ſonne was *Mathuſala*, who begotte *Lamech*, who had 77. children F by his two wiues *Sella* and *Ada*: amongſt whom *Iobel* the ſonne of *Ada* was the firſt that made Tents, and tooke delight to leade a paſtorall life; contenting himſelfe with the ſame. *Iubal* his brother germaine exerciſed muſicke, and inuented the Pſalterie, and the Harpe. And as touching *Thobel* one of his ſonnes, by his other wife, hee ſurpaſſed all other his brethren in force, & brauely managed the affaires of warre, by which wayes hee got more ample riches, and meanes to maintaine his life with more pleaſure. Hee it was that firſt inuented the Art of forging, and the ſhop alſo: and was father to a daughter named *Naama*. But *Lamech* being well exerciſed in Gods

Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 4. *Geneſ.* 4. Of Cain & Abel brethren.

The yeare of the world, 70. before Chriſts Nativitie. 3894.

The ſacrifice of Cain and Abel.

Weake reaſon in Ioſeph.

Cain ſlew his brother Abel.

The talk twixt God & Cain.

Cains baniſhment.

Cain is not bettered by Gods chaſtiſements.

Meaſures and waights found out by Cain.

Enoſa the firſt Citie.

Iubal inuētor of Muſicke.

lawe,& foreseeing that he should suffer punishment for the fratricide of *Cain*,told it to his wiues. G

*The yeere of the world,*70. *before Christs Nativitie,* 3894.

So it was that during the life of *Adam* himselfe,the successors of *Cain* were most wicked,teaching and imitating one anothers wickednes, the last of them prooving alwaies the worst:so that they were strangely inflamed to follow warre and theft:and if perhaps some of them were more remisse then the other in murthers, and committing outrages; yet notwithstanding were they bolde enough to spoile and possesse the goods and heritage of other men.

Cain the father of hypocrites and euil men.

But *Adam* the first man made of earth (for the Historie requireth that I should returne to speake of him)after the death of *Abel*,and the flight of *Cain*,betooke himselfe to beget children, highly affecting succession and posteritie,being about the age of two hundreth and thirty yeeres: besides which,after hee had liued some seuen hundreth more, at last hee died : amongst whose children(which were many)hee had *Seth*.And for that it were too long to speake of all of them, I will onely touch that which concerneth *Seth*: He being nourished and trained vp by his father H to the yeeres of discretion; studied vertue, and left his succession heires, and followers, of his sanctitie:who being all of them well borne, remained in the world free from all contention, and liued happily : so that it neuer happened that any of them in any sort did iniurie to any man. These inuented the science of the celestiall bodies, and all that which concerneth the beauty and order of the same. And to the end that their inuentions should not bee defaced out of the memories of men, neither should perish before they were perfectly knowne : (insomuch as *Adam* had foretold them of the generall destruction of all things after two sorts, the one by the force of fire, and the other by the violence and abundance of waters)they made two pillars; the one of bricke, and the other of stone; and ingraued in each of them such things as they had inuented, to the end if that of bricke should bee abolished by the ouerflowes and rage of waters, that other of stone should remaine,and expresse vnto men that which was imprinted therein for their instructions.That of bricke then was consecrated by them, and is in the countrey of Lycia euen at this present day.

Adams yeers, 930.

Seth the son of Adam a vertuous man

Two pillers raised.

I

CHAP. IIII.

The Deluge from which NOE *and his family escaped,and dwelt in the field of Senaar.*

IN this manner perseuered they during the course of seauen ages, honouring one God the Lord of all things, hauing alwayes a respect of vertue. But afterwards in processe of time, K they degenerated from the ancient institutions of their forefathers, neyther obseruing humane lawes, neither continuing their accustomed seruice of God; and they that before time industriously exercised themselues in vertue, afterward with twise as zealous studie followed wickednesse; and grewe at last to that height of impietie, that they prouoked Gods heauie displeasure against them. For diuers Angels of God accompanying themselues with women ingendred outragious infants, and contemners of all good, by reason of that trust they had in their forces, whose hainous actions were not much vnlike those which the Greekes haue in their fables fained of the Giants. But *Noah* perplexed and extreamely displeased with such their misdemeanors, exhorted them to change their thoughts,and amend their misdeedes:and (seeing them mollified by no admonitions; but that they were wholly possessed with the plea- L sure which they tooke in vices) hee fearing least they should kill him and his familie, left them to their loosenes,and with his wife,children,and all his family departed into an other countrey. Then God (delighting in the iustice of man) not onely condemned the men of that age of extreame malice, but also concluded to destroy all whatsoeuer creatures were in the world, and to produce another new race, deuoid, and repurged from all impietie : hee abridged also the life of them,so that they liued not any more so long time as they were wont, but onely attained the terme of sixe score yeeres : and hee couered the land with waters, and by this meanes all of them were destroyed. Onely *Noah* escaped by the meanes and way which God had taught him in such manner as followeth: Hee builded an Arke of foure stages; in length three hundreth cubites: in breadth fiftie: and in the height thirty: into this he entred with his mother,his wife and M his children and their wiues, purueying himselfe of all things requisite both for their sustenance and vse : hee closed also therein all sorts of liuing creatures, two and two, Male and Female, for the conseruation of euery kinde, and of some of them seauen couples. The sides of this Arke were strong, and the couer also; so that no water could pearce the same, and whatsoeuer storme might come it was able to resist it. Thus was *Noe*(by succession of nature,the tenth from *Adam*)saued with all his household;for he was the son of *Lamech* whose father was *Methusala*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. *Gen.* 5. 6.

Those whom Iosephus nameth in this place Angels Moses calleth the sonnes of God. *Gen.* 6.

Noah departeth into an other cõtry.

Noahs Arke.

Noahs genealogie.

The Deluge.

A *ſala* the ſonne of *Enos*, the ſonne of *Iared*, the ſonne of *Maleel*, who with diuers other brethren were begotten of *Cainan* by *Enos*: who was the ſon of *Seth*, the ſonne of *Adam*. This deſtruction hapned, the ſixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* age (and the ſecond moneth, which was called Dius by the Macedons, and by the Hebrewes Marſomane) for ſo haue the Ægyptians diſtinguiſht the yeere (but *Moſes* ſet downe *Niſan* for the firſt moneth in his Chronicles, which is *Zanthicus* among the Macedons, for that in this moneth he brought the Iſraelites out of the thraldome of the Ægyptians.) He made this law therefore, that all things which appertaine to diuine ſeruice, ſhould take their beginning and reckoning from this moneth, but in reſpect of the times and termes of buying and ſelling, and all other trafficke, he obſerued the firſt policie of the yeere, beginning in December: *Moſes* wrote that the Deluge began the ſeuen and twentieth day of the a-
B boue named moneth which was the yeere two thouſand ſixe hundreth fifty and ſixe, after the creation of the firſt man *Adam* (which time is carefully calculated in holy writ, in which the birth and death of great perſonages of that time are moſt exactly ſet downe.) At ſuch time then as *Adam* (was 230. yeeres old, his ſonne SETH was borne vnto him, and the ſaid ADAM liued 930. yeeres; SETH about the age of 250. yeeres, begat ENOS, who after he had liued 905. yeeres, left the gouernment of his affaires to his ſonne *Cainan*, whom he had begotten about the 190. yeere of his age. After that *Cainan* had liued 910. yeeres, he had his ſonne *Maleel*, begotten by him the 170. yeere of his age. The ſaid *Maleel* hauing liued 195. yeeres died, leauing his ſonne *Iared*: who about the age of 162. yeeres, engendered *Enoch*, who liued 962. yeeres. After *Enoch*, ſucceeded his ſonne *Mathuſala*, begotten about the age of 162. yeeres, at ſuch time as the ſaid
C *Enochs* father was yet aliue: and after that *Enoch* had liued 365. yeers, he was taken vp vnto God (whence it commeth to paſſe that his deceaſe hath not beene exemplified in writing.) *Mathuſala* the ſonne of *Enoch*, in the yeere of his age 187. yeeres, had *Lamech* for his ſonne, who liued 782. yeeres, to whom he left the ſoueraignty, hauing held the ſame 969. yeeres. And *Lamech* after he had gouerned 707. yeeres, declared his ſonne *Noe* for gouernour, at ſuch time as the ſaid *Lamech* had liued 182. yeeres, which *Noe* gouerned for the ſpace of 900. yeeres.

All theſe yeeres calculated into one ſumme, accompliſh the time aboue written. Yet to perfect this accompt, we ought not to ſeeke out the deceaſe of theſe perſonages (for they liued in the ſame time that their children and ſucceſſours did:) but the onely thing we are to obſerue, is their births. As ſoone then as God had giuen the ſigne, and that it began to raine for the ſpace
D of whole fortie daies, the water fell and ouerflowed the whole earth fourteene cubites high (which was the cauſe that diuers could not eſcape, becauſe there was no means of flight, or place of refuge.) But as ſoone as the raine was ceaſed, the water began to decreaſe by little and little for the ſpace of one hundreth and fiftie daies, about the 27. day of the ſeauenth moneth. *Noe* perceiuing then that the Arke was on ground vpon the top of a certaine mountaine of the countrey of Armenia; he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the earth did a little diſcouer it ſelfe round about the ſame, he conceiued ſome better hope and held himſelfe ſatisfied: Some few daies after, when the water was ebbed ſomewhat more; he ſent out a Crow (deſiring to know if the reſt of the earth were deliuered from the waters, and whether without danger he might iſſue out of the Arke:) but the Crow finding the earth bebayned in water, returned vnto *Noe*: who the
E ſeuenth day after ſent out a Pigeon to finde out the eſtate of the earth, which returned bemired, and bearing in his nebbe an Oliue braunch: whereby *Noe* perceiued that the earth was deliuered from the Deluge; and hauing as yet expected ſeuen daies more, he ſet at libertie all liuing creatures that were in the Arke. But as ſoone as himſelfe, his wife, and his family, forſooke it, he offered ſacrifice vnto God, and feaſted and reioyced both he and all his houſhold. The Armenians in their language haue called the place where *Noe* deſcended, by a name Aprobaerion (which ſignifieth as much as deſcent) and in that place euen at this preſent the inhabitants of that countrey ſhew ſome remnants and memories of the ſame. All thoſe that haue written ſtrange Hiſtories, haue made mention of this Deluge, and of the Arke: among the number of whom is *Beroſus* the Chaldean, who ſetting downe occurrences of this Deluge, writeth after
F this manner: Some ſay likewiſe that a certaine part of this Arke is in Armenia, neere to the mountaine of the Cordæans, and that ſome men haue brought from thence ſome part of the pitch wherewith it was calked, which the men of that place are wont to vſe in ſteed of a preſeruatiue againſt inchantment. *Hierome* the Ægyptian alſo (who hath written the Antiquitie of the Phœnicians) hath made mention of this matter: as alſo *Mnaſeus* with diuers other: *Nicholas* of Damas likewiſe in his nintie ſixt Booke ſpeaketh heereof after this manner. Aboue the Region of Mineans there is a great mountaine in Armenia called Baris, in which

The yeare of the world, 1656. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 2308

Niſan or Zanthicus is April to vs.

This compariſon doth not exactly agree with the Hebrews and the 70. interpreters.

Enochs death is not written in holy Scriptures.

Gen. 7. 8. In the Greek copie and Moſes are 40. daies. The Latine Ioſeph 90.

Noe ſendeth a Crow out of the Arke.

Noe forſaketh the Arke, and ſacrificeth to God.

Nicholas Damaſcene, of Noes Arke.

it

The yeere of the world, 1687. before Christs Natiuitie, 2307.

it is reported that diuers retyred themselues for safetie during the time of the Deluge, and there escaped they: and that a certaine man borne on an Arke arriued vpon the highest top of that mountaine, and that certaine timbers of that bottome had beene kept a long while: and it may be that this is that whereof *Moses* the law-maker of the Iewes maketh mention. But *Noe* fearing least God (hauing condemned all men to a generall perdition) should euery yeare ouerflow the earth after this manner; offered burnt sacrifice vnto God: beseeching him, that hereafter hee would entertaine the ancient order, and that no so great calamitie might succeede, by which all liuing creatures should come in danger to bee vtterly extinct and exterminated: but that inflicting deserued punishment on the reprobate, hee would spare the innocent, whom in his mercie hee had preserued from danger; otherwise they should bee more miserable and condemned by a harder censure, if they were not wholly warranted, but should be reserued to be swallowed vp by an other Deluge; and hauing suffered the feare and sight of the first, to perish by the second. Hee praied him therefore that hee would bee pleased to accept of his sacrifice, and in his mercy vouchsafe that he would hereafter conceiue no more any so hainous hate and displeasure against the earth, to the end that men might by their labours till it, and building them Cities might possesse the same in peace, wanting none of those commodities which they enioyed before the Deluge: but that they might equall their forefathers in olde yeares, and length o life.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 6. Noe prayeth God that he will drowne the earth no more.

God heareth Noes prayer. *Nota.* Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 7. Man is the author of his death, not God. Gods couenant with Noe.

Noe hauing in this sort finished his requests, God (who loued nim for the vprightnesse of his heart) granted him his request, denying himselfe to bee the author of their deaths who were drowned, but that they themselues by their owne malice had procured those punishments due vnto them. For had hee desired that they should bee extinguished, hee would not haue brought them into the world. For better it is, not to grant life; then to destroy those to whom thou hast giuen it. But (saith God) through their contempt of my seruice and graces, they haue inforced me to humble them vnder the rigor of this vengeance: hereafter I will not so exactly pursue and examine their iniquities to the end to chastice them in my displeasure; especially for thy sake: And if hereafter at any time I shall send any tempest, feare not (how huge and hideous soeuer the stormes be) for there shall be no more Deluge of water vpon the earth. In the meane time I command you to keepe your hands innocent from murthers, and all manslaughter, and to punish those that commit wickednesse. I leaue the vse of all other liuing creatures to your sustenance or seruice; in as much as I haue made you Lord ouer all, as well those that breath vpon the face of the earth, as those that swimme in the waters, and such as inhabite and flie amidst the ayre: but you shall not eate any blood, in as much as therein consisteth the soule and life of liuing creatures. And I declare vnto you that I will desist to draw the shafts of my displeasure against men. And I will giue you the rainebow for a signe: for this bow in their opinion is the bow of God. And after that God had pronounced these words and made these promises, he departed.

The yeere of the world, 2007. before Christs Natiuitie, 1959.

The Rainbow the signe of attonemẽt betweene God & Noe.

Noe liued after the Deluge three hundreth and fiftie yeares, and hauing spent all this time of his life in happinesse, he died after he had liued in the world nine hundreth and fiftie yeares. Neither is there cause why any man (comparing this our present age, and the shortnesse of the yeeres thereof, with the long life of the ancients) should thinke that false which I haue said: neither followeth it consequently, that because our present life extendeth not to such a terme and continuance of yeeres, that therefore they of the former world attained not the age and long life which wee publish of them. For they beeing beloued of God, and newly created by him, vsing also a kinde of nutriment agreeing with their natures, and proper to multiply their yeeres, it is no absurd thing to suppose that their yeeres were of that continuance: Considering that God gaue them long life, to the end they should teach vertue, and should conueniently practise those things which they had inuented in Astronomie, and by Geometry: the demonstrations whereof they neuer had attained, except they had liued at the least sixe hundreth yeeres. For the great yeere is accomplished by that number of yeeres: whereof all they beare mee witnesse, who (either Greekes or Barbarians) haue written ancient histories. For both *Manethon* (who hath written the historie of Ægypt) and *Berosus* (who hath registred the actes and affaires of the Chaldeans) together with *Mochus Hestiæus, Hierome* of Ægypt) who historified the state of the Phœnicians with others accord with me in that which I haue said. *Hesiodus* also, *Heccatæus, Hellanicus*, and *Acusilaus, Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus* doe declare, that they of the first world liued one thousand yeeres. Notwithstanding let euery man iudge of these things, as best liketh him.

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 8. Noes age. 950. yeeres.

Why they in times past liued longer, then we doe.

The great yeere.

CHAP.

A

Chap. V.

Of the Tower of Babylon, and the change of tongues.

NOE had three ſonnes, *Sem*, *Iaphet*, and *Cham*, borne one hundreth yeeres before the Deluge. Theſe firſt deſcended from the mountaines into the plaines, and there made they their habitation: which when other men perceiued (who for feare of the Deluge had fled the plaines, and for that cauſe were loth to forſake the mountaines) they gathered courage and perſwaded themſelues to doe the like: and the plaine where they all dwelt was called Senaar. And whereas they were commanded by God that (by reaſon of the increaſe and B multitude of men) they ſhould ſend certaine diſtinct Colonies to inhabite diuers countries of the world (to the end that no ſeditions might grow betwixt the one and the other; but contrariwiſe in labouring and tilling a great quantity of ground, they might gather great ſtore of fruite) they were ſo ignorant that they diſobeyed God, and falling into great calamities ſuffered the puniſhment of their offences. For, wheras they flouriſhed in increaſe (by reaſon of the great number of their youth) God counſelled them again that they ſhould diuide themſelues into colonies. But they (thinking that the goods which they poſſeſſed proceeded not from him, or his bounty, but preſuming that their force was the only cauſe of their aboundance) did not obey him, but rather ſuſpected that God ſought to betray them, to the end that being thus diuided he might the better ſubdue them: *Nemrod* incited them in this ſort to mocke and contemne God. Hee was the nephew of *Cham*, the ſonne of *Noe*: a man valiant and apt for armes: he put them in the head that C they ſhould not beleeue that their good hap proceeded from God, but that they ought to attribute it to their owne vertue, which furniſhed them with ſo much riches: ſo that in a little ſpace he reduced the eſtate to a tyranny; ſuppoſing by this onely meanes that he might make men reuolt againſt God, if hee might perſwade them to ſubmit themſelues to his gouernment; giuing them to vnderſtand, that if God ſhould once more ſend a Deluge, hee would take reuenge on him in mens behalfe, and that hee would build a tower, to whoſe top the water ſhould not attempt, and reuenge the death of his predeceſſors. The common ſort was ready to follow theſe ordinances of *Nemrod*, ſuppoſing it to be puſillanimity in themſelues, if they ſhould obey God. For which *Gen. 11.* cauſe they began to build the tower with their vttermoſt induſtry, neither was there any one D idle in all that worke: yea ſo great a number of labourers were there, that the worke was raiſed to a height beyond all expectation. The thickneſſe thereof was ſo great that it obſcured the height thereof: and it was builded of burnt bricke and cimented and ioyned with a bituminous morter, to the end it ſhould not receiue any cleft in the ſame.

The yeere of the world, 1790. before Chriſts Nativity. 2174.

Geneſ. 10. Noes three ſonnes.

God commanded the poſterity of Noe to inhabite the earth.

But God ſeeing their madneſſe, condemned them not to a generall extermination (by reaſon that they had made no profit by their example, who periſhed in the firſt Deluge) but made them mutine the one againſt the other by changing of their tongue; ſo that by reaſon of their diuerſities of language, they could not vnderſtand one another. The place where this tower was builded, is at this preſent called Babylon (by reaſon of the confuſion of tongues that firſt began in that place) for Babell in Hebrewe ſignifieth confuſion. Of this tower and the diuerſitie of E languages *Sibylla* hath made mention in theſe words. At ſuch time as meh vſed one kinde of language, they builded a moſt high tower, as if they meant by the ſame to mount vp into heauen: but the gods ſent downe winds and ouerthrew the tower, and gaue euery one his diſtinct and ſeuerall language, whence ſprung the cauſe that their Citie was called Babylon. But as touching that place which is called Senaar in Babylon, *Heſtiæus* teſtifieth after this manner. It is ſayde of thoſe ſacrificers, that being eſcaped, they tooke the ſacred reliques of *Iupiter Enyelius*, and came into Senaar in Babylon.

The confuſion of tongues

Sibyls prophecy of the tower of Babel.

Chap. VI.

How Noes poſterity diſperſt themſelues thorow the whole world.

F

FROM that time forward (by reaſon of the diuerſitie of tongues) they diſperſed themſelues into diuers countries, and planted colonies in all places; and occupied thoſe places whither eyther God or their good fortune had conducted them: ſo that both the Sea coaſtes, and the middle-land were repleniſhed with inhabitants. Some there were alſo who paſſing the ſea in ſhips and veſſels, firſt peopled the Iſlands. And there are ſome nations likewiſe, who at this day retaine the names which in times paſt were impoſed on them: ſome other haue

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 10.

haue changed them. Others are altered into a more familiar and knowne name, to neighbours, deriuing them from the Greeks the authors of ſuch Titles. For they in theſe latter times hauing growne to great name and power, haue appropriated the ancient glory to themſelues, in giuing names vnto Nations deriued from the Greeks, and policying them, as if they had taken their originall from them. G

The yeere of the world, 1790. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 2174.

The names of Regions and Nations.

CHAP. VII.

That euery Nation deriued his name from his Author.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11 *Gen.* 10.

NOVV they in honour of whom the Nations receiued their firſt names, were the children of the ſonnes of *Noe*. *Iaphet* the ſon of *Noe* had ſeuen children who began to make their abode from the mountaines of Taurus and Amanus, and entred Aſia, euen vnto Tana; and Europa, vnto Gades, occupying the countrey which they firſt met with, and was not before time by man inhabited, each one calling his ſeuerall Nation by his owne name: for *Gomar* was the founder of the Gomarians, *Magog* dwelt amongſt thoſe, who (according to his name) were called Magogins, and by the Greeks Scithes. Of *Madus* (the firſt begotten ſonne of *Iaphet*) iſſued the Madians, whom the Greeks haue named Medes: and of *Iauan* his other ſon, the Ionians and Greeks took their originall: *Thobelus* gaue name likewiſe to the Theobelians, who at this day are called Iberians. *Meſchus* was the author of them that were called Meſchates, who are lately named Capadocians: for they ſhew euen at this day a token of their ancient name, to wit, the Citie of Maſaca, which teſtifieth to thoſe that conceiue the ſame, that this Nation hath been ſo called. *Theres* named them Therians, who were vnder his gouernment, whom the Greeks called Thracians: and thus many nations tooke their originall from the ſonnes of *Iaphet*: but of the three ſonnes which *Gomar* had *Aſchanaxes* gaue originall to the Aſchanaxians (at this day tearmed Rhegians by the Greeks) *Rhiphates* ingendred the Rhiphatæans, called at this day Paphlagonians. *Tygranes* ingendred the Tygraneans, who by the Greeks are called Phrigians. As touching *Iauan* the ſonne of *Iaphet*, he had three ſonnes, of whom *Abiſus* gaue name to the Abiſians, who at this preſent are the Ætolians, ouer whom he commanded: *Tharſus* ingendred the Tharſians, which was the ancient name of the Cilicians, as it appeareth by the name of their renowned and Metropolitane Citie Tharſis; whoſe firſt letter is O in ſteed of *Th*. *Chetinus* obtained the Iſle of Chetine, called at this day Cipris (whence it happeneth that not onely all the Iſlands, but alſo diuers other places on the ſea coaſt are by the Hebrewes called by this word Cethim) witneſſe one of the Cities of Cipris which hath had the reputation to conſerue her ancient name. For it is called Citium, by thoſe that wreſt the ſame to the Greeke ſenſe, a word not very much varying from Cethim. Theſe Nations were occupied by the ſonnes and yong children of *Iaphet*. But I will firſt publiſh that which perhaps is vnknowne to the Greekes, and then proſecute my purpoſed narration which I haue omitted, that is, that theſe names are formed after the manner of the Greekes, to the end they ſhould be more ſweet and pleaſant to them that ſhould ouer-read them. For this termination is not proper to our Nation, which hath but one forme, and no variation of termination: for whereas the Greekes pronounce Ἀδάμας we ſay *Adam*: and where they ſay *Noches*, the Hebrewes ſay *Noe*, and keepe this termination in all things. H I K L

The Galatians deſcended from Gomar.

The progenie of Iaphet Noes firſt begotten ſonne.

The progenie of the ſonnes of Gomar.

The progenie of the ſonnes of Iauan.

Tharſus Saint Pauls countrey. *Act 9.*

Whence grew the change of names.

But the ſonnes of *Cham* poſſeſſed Syria and all the region that abutteth on the mountaines of Amanus and Libanus; extruding their Empyre towards the ſea, and ſignifiſing all whatſoeuer euen vnto the ſea. Whoſe names are partly wholly aboliſhed, and partly changed, and applyed to others; ſo as they are very hard to be vnderſtood: for of the foure ſonnes of *Cham*, the name of *Chus* hath not beene changed by time: for the Ægyptians (ouer whome they extended their Dominion) haue beene named Chuſeans by them, and by all, the Aſians: the name of Miſraim hath continued alſo in the memorie of men: for we that bound vpon Ægypt, call that countrey, the countrey of Miſraim, and the Æthiopians, Miſramites. *Phut* likewiſe firmed the colonies of Libya, and called the inhabitants thereof according to his name Phutians; and there is a riuer in the countrey of Mauritania which hath the ſame name, of which it is moſt manifeſt that diuers Greeke Hiſtories make mention, as alſo of the countrey neere adioyning, which they call the countrey of Phut, but it hath changed his preſent name by the meanes of one *Licis* one of the ſonnes of *Miſraim*; (but why it is called Africa, I will hereafter ſignifie vnto you.) As touching *Canaan* the fourth ſonne of *Cham*, he dwelled in the countrey at this day called Iudæa, and called it the countrey of Canaan according to his name. They alſo had chil- M

Of the ſons of Cham and their progeny.

Libya or Africa.

The progeny of the Chananeans.

dren:

A dren: for *Chus* had ſixe, amongſt whom *Sabas* eſtabliſhed the Sabians, and *Euilas* the Euileans, at this day called Gerulians. *Sabathes* engendred the Sabatheans, whom the Greekes name Aſtracrabians. *Sabactes* peopled the Sabactians: and the Romans were founded by *Romulus* who alſo had two ſonnes, of whom *Indos* dwelt in the countrey of the Indians, amongſt thoſe that are called Heſperians in Æthiopia, and *Sabæus* founded the Sabeans. *The yeare of the world, 1790. before Chriſts Nativitie, 2174.*

Nimrod the ſonne of *Chus*, ſetled his Colony vpon the confines of Babylon, and tyrannized there as heretofore I haue declared. Nabrodes or Nembroth.

All the eight ſonnes of *Miſraim*, occupied all the countrey from Gaza vnto Egypt: Onely the countrey where Philiſtins gouerned, hath conſerued his name: for the Greekes call Paleſtine a part thereof. As touching the reſt, *Lom*, *Enam*, and *Labim* (who onely inhabited Libya and called the countrey by his name) likewiſe as touching *Nethom*, *Phetroſim*, *Chreſeen* and *Chepthom*, wee B know neither of their countries, nor of their names. For, the Æthiopian war (wherof hereafter we will make mention) hath ouerthrowne their Cities. *Chanaan* alſo had ſonnes, amongſt whom *Sidonius* builded and named Sidon (a citie in Phænicia) and *Amathus* builded Amate, which at this day the inhabitants call Amatha: but the Macedonians haue named it Epiphania (which is as much to ſay as famous) by reaſon of ſome that deſcended from Epiphanes. *Arudeus* poſſeſſed the Iſles of Aradus, and *Araceus* builded the Citie of Arce, ſituate in Libanus. And as touching the other ſeuen, the Eueans, Chetteans, Iebuſæans, Eudæans, Semæans, Samarians, and Gergeſæans; there is no memory remaining in ſacred ſcriptures but onely their names: for the Hebrewes raced their Cities vpon theſe occaſions. Paleſtine ſo named of Philiſtine. The children of Chanaan.

C After the Deluge, when the earth was eſtabliſhed in his former eſtate, *Noe* gaue himſelfe to tillage, and planted vineyards, and when the fruit therof was ripe (and hee had preſſed and made wine thereof) he dranke and banqueted after he had done ſacrifice: Being thereby made drunke, and ouerpreſſed with ſleepe, hee lay diſcouered in a moſt vnſeemely and ſhamefull faſhion; which when his younger ſonne behelde, he ſcornefully diſcouered it to his brothers: who being aſhamed, couered their Fathers ſhame with reuerence. Which fact of his, comming at laſt to light, and the knowledge of *Noe*, hee wiſhed all felicitie to the two other, and as touching *Cham* (by reaſon he was his ally in bloud) he curſed him not, but his poſteritie after him. But although the others eſcaped this malediction, yet God inflicted it on the ſucceſſours of Chanaan, whereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. But *Sem* the third ſonne of *Noe* had fiue ſonnes, who D inhabited the countrey of Aſia, beginning at Euphrates, and extending to the Indi an Ocean ſea. For *Elymis* left the Elemians or Elamites for his ſucceſſors, whence proceeded the Perſians. *Aſſur* made his abode in Niniue, and impoſed on his ſubiects the name of Aſſyrians (who were rich amongſt all the reſt.) *Arphaxad* named thoſe of his command Arphaxadians; who at this day are called Chaldeans. *Aram* had the Arameans (whom the Greekes called Syrians) and that they are now called Lidi, and in times paſt *Ludi* tooke their deſcent from *Ludas*. Of thoſe foure ſonnes which *Aram* had, *Vſes* dwelt in Trachonite; and in the countrey of Damaſco (ſituate betweene Paleſtine and Syria, ſirnamed Cælen or hallow.) *Otrus* obtained Armenia: *Gether* Bactria. *Miſas* was father to the *Miſureans* (who dwelt in a fort which is called at this day Praſine.) *Sale*, *Arphaxads* ſonne was *Hebers* father, by whoſe name in times paſt the Hebrews E were called: *Heber* begat *Loctan* and *Phaleg*, who was ſo called, for that he was borne at ſuch time as the land was parted: for *Phaleg* in Hebrew ſignifieth partage. They that follow were ſonnes of *Loctan*: *Elmodad*, *Saleph*, *Azermoth*, *Erais*, *Edoram*, *Vzalis*, *Dallis*, *Ebal*, *Ebimarl*, *Saphas*, *Ophir*, *Euilus*, and *Iobel*: who occupied ſome parcell of that which was about Cophen a riuer of India, and the hither Siria. Hitherto haue we ſpoken of the progenie of *Sem*, hereafter will I ſpeake of the Hebrewes; of *Phaleg* the ſonne of *Heber Ragaus*, by whom was begot *Seruch*, whence *Nachor* is deſcended, and of *Nachor*, *Thares*, who was *Abrahams* father, the tenth in accompt from *Noe*, and borne in the yeere 292. after the Deluge. For, *Thares* being ſeuenty yeeres old begat *Abraham*. *Nachor* at ſixe ſcore yeeres of his age, begat *Thares*. *Nachor* was borne to *Seruch*, when he was about the yeeres of 132. of his life. And *Ragaus* begat *Seruch* F when he was thirty two yeeres old, and about thoſe yeeres *Phaleg* begat *Ragaus*. But *Heber* in the 34. yeere of his age, begat *Phaleg*: (himſelfe begotten by *Sela*, when he was one hundreth thirty and fiue yeeres old:) which *Sela* was begotten by *Arphaxad*, when he was 135. yeeres of age. And *Arphaxad* was the ſonne of *Sem*, whom he begat ſome two yeeres after the Deluge. *Abraham* had two brothers, *Nachor* and *Aram*, of whom *Aram* left *Lot* for his ſonne, and *Sara* and *Melcha* for his daughters, and afterwards died in the land of Canaan in a Citie called *Vr*, of the Chaldies, where his ſepulchre is to be ſeene euen at this day. His daughters were married, *Melcha*

Hedio and Ruffinns, chap. 13. *Geneſ.* 9. Noe is made drunke, lieth naked, and is ſcorned, and curſeth him that derideth him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 14. *Geneſ.* 7. 1. Of the ſonnes of Sem the third ſonne of Noe and of their irs and Abrahams Progeny.

The originall of the Hebrewes.

Abrahams genealogy.

Melcha to *Nachor*, and *Sara* to *Abraham*. But *Thares* growing wearie of Chaldæa, after the funerals of *Aram*, they all of them transported themselues into Charan a city of Mesapotamia, in which place they buried *Thares*, when he had liued the space of 250. yeeres. For, about this time the life of man was abridged, and grew more short vntill the time of *Moses*: when as the space of mans life limited by God himselfe was 120. yeeres old, to which tearme of yeeres *Moses* had attained. *Nachor* had eight children by *Melcha* his wife; *Vx*, *Barux*, *Mauel*, *Zacham*, *Azam*, *Pheldus*, *Ladelphus* and *Bathuel*, (who were the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*.) But *Tabæus* and *Gadan*, *Taucus* and *Macham* were begotten by him on his concubine *Ruma*. To *Bathuel* one of the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*, was borne a daughter named *Rebecca*, and a sonne called *Laban*.

The yeere of the world, 1950. before Christs Nativitie, 2014.

The tearme of mans life about this tearme, 120.

G

CHAP. VIII.

H

How ABRAHAM *the Author of our nation departed from the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in a certaine countrey of the Chanaanites, which is now called* IVDEA.

ABRAHAM hauing no issue, adopted *Lot* the sonne of *Aram* his brother, and brother to *Sara* his wife: he departed out of the countrey of Chaldeis, when he was 75. yeeres old (hauing had commandement from God to depart thence into Canaan) in which countrey he remained, and left the same to his posteritie after him. He was a man accomplished in all things, full of vnderstanding, and apt to perswade those that gaue eare vnto him, without any default in his foresight and prouidence. For this cause he was supposed to surmount all men in vertue, and was he that first vndertooke to conuince the receiued and erroneous opinions of men, as touching the Deitie. He therefore first of all did most manifestly preach, and prooue, that there was but one God, gouernour and maker of all things, and that otherwise if any thing conferred or furthered our felicitie, it happened vnto vs not by our owne workings, but his holy will. And this obserued and approoued he by that, which chanceth both in the earth and the sea, as also those things, which he saw daily occurre by the influences of the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres: namely, that there was a certaine power that disposed them, and decently administred all things, without whose assistance, nothing would be profitable vnto vs; whereas nothing of himselfe hath any vertue, but all things are obedient to his omnipotent will, and for that cause, that honour and thanksgiuing should wholly be ascribed to him. For which causes and counsels of his (seeing the Chaldeans and Mesapotamians began to mutiny against him) he thought it expedient to forsake that countrey, and following the will and fauour of God, he went and dwelt at Chanaan; where being seated, he builded an altar & sacrificed vnto God. *Berosus* amongst other things maketh mention of our father *Abraham*, although he nameth him not, when he speaketh after this manner. *After the Deluge, and during the tenth generation, there dwelt amongst the Chaldeans, a most iust, excellent, and vpright man, and exercised in the knowledge of the celestiall bodies.* But *Hecatæus* made more then a mention of him: for he hath left a volume which he hath written of him. And as touching *Nicholaus Damascenus*, heare what he saith of him in the fourth booke of his Histories. Abraham *raigned in Damasco (where he was a stranger) whither he arriued with his army from a countrey situate aboue Babylon called Chaldæa, who a little while after) departing out of that region) went and dwelt with his people in a countrey at that time called Chanaan, and at this day Iudæa, and his posteritie multiplyed therein.* In an other treatise I will recite that which is reported of him. The name of *Abraham* euen at this day, is honourable in the countrey of Damasco, and there is a village to be seene which beareth his name, and is called *Abrahams* house.

The yeare of the world, 2014. before Christs Nativitie, 1940.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 15. *Gen.* 11. 12.

The wisedom of Abraham, Abraham the first Preacher of the word.

Berosus.

Hecatæus. Nicholaus Damascenus.

Abrahams house.

I

K

L

CHAP. IX.

ABRAHAM *oppressed by famine, departeth into Egypt, where staying a while, at last he returned backe againe.*

M

AFTER this (when famine had inuaded the land of Chanaan, *Abraham* had intelligence that the Ægyptians abounded in all plenty, and decreed with himselfe to retire himselfe towards them: as well to conferre with their Priests (and discourse with them of diuine things, and their knowledge as touching God) as also to follow them, if they were more grounded in vnderstanding, or reconcile them, if his iudgement were more assured then theirs. He led with him his wife *Sara*: and vnderstanding that the Ægyptians were much addicted vnto women

The yeare of the world, 2016. before Christs birth, 1938.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 16 *Gen.* 12. 13.

A men (to the ende the king ſhould not put him to death, of purpoſe that hee might enioy his wife *Sara*, who was very beautifull) he deuiſed this excuſe to ſay that ſhee was his ſiſter, charging her that if the matter came in queſtion, ſhee ſhould not faile but confirme the like. But no ſooner came he into Ægypt, but the like fortune encountred them, as *Abraham* had before time ſuſpected: for the beautie of his wife was ſodainly publiſhed in euery place. For which cauſe *Pharao* the King of that Nation (deſirous to ſee that with his eies, the which he had heard with his eares) he ſought for, ſent, and luſted after her: but God withſtood this his vnbridled luſt by afflicting the Kings ſubiects with a plague, and his affaires by ſedition. Whereupon taking counſell of the Prieſts what remedy might be vſed, and meanes might be ſought to appeaſe the diuine maieſty, they anſwered him, that this was the cauſe of their afflictions, for that hee thought to haue done
B violence to the ſtrangers wife: whereat being much affrighted, the King firſt queſtioneth with the woman what ſhee was, and who her companion ſhould be: and at laſt reſolued of the truth, hee ſatisfied *Abraham*, ſaying, hee ſuppoſed her to be his ſiſter, not his wife, and that his purpoſe was not to offer iniurie but ſeeke alliance: ſo giuing him a great ſumme of money, he gaue him leaue to conferre with the moſt excellenteſt & learnedeſt Prieſts among the Egyptians. Whence it came to paſſe, that he grew into great eſtimation in regard of his vertues: for wheras that Nation was diuided into different ſects and opinions, and through mutuall contempt & diuiſion were incenſed the one againſt the other; hee declared that their opinions (different and confuted by themſelues) in reſpect of religion, were moſt vaine and deuoide of all truth. For theſe his diſputations he was held in great regard among them, and eſteemed for a man moſt wiſe, and a per-
C ſonage moſt excellent; not onely in well conceiuing, but alſo in expreſſing and perſwading that which he vndertooke to teach: to theſe moſt gratiouſly imparted he the ſcience of Arithmeticke, and the obſeruation of the celeſtial bodies. For before that *Abraham* came into Egypt, the Egyptians were altogether ignorant of thoſe ſciences: but hee tranſported them from Chaldæa into Ægypt, and from thence are they deriued to the Greeks. As ſoone as he returned into Chanaan, he diuided the countrey with *Lot*: and for that there grew a contention betwixt their ſhepherds (as touching the bounding of thoſe paſtures where they fed their cattell) he gaue *Lot* the choice and election of that countrey which beſt pleaſed him, retaining vnto himſelfe that which was left. Thus pitching his tents neere the mountaine in a Citie called Hebron (which is by ſeauen yeeres more ancient then Tanis in Ægypt) he dwelled there. But *Lot* choſe the Plaine neere to
D the flood of Iordane, not farre from Sodome; which in thoſe daies was a goodly Citie, but at this preſent by the diuine iuſtice and wrath of God is vtterly defaced; ſo that no memorie remaineth thereof. The cauſes of which iudgement ſhall be expreſſed hereafter.

The yeare of the world, 2026 before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1938.

The luſt of the Egyptians

Abraham taught the Egyptians religion and arts.

Abraham an Excellent Aſtronomer.

The diuiſion of the fields betweene Abraham and Lot.

CHAP. X.

The ouerthrow of the Sodomites by the Syrians.

E AT that time when the Aſſyrians were Lords ouer all Aſia, the eſtate of Sodome flouriſhed in all affluence, increaſed in great riches, and multitude of gallant youthes, and the countrey was gouerned by fiue Kings: theſe were *Ballas, Bareas, Senabarus, Symoborus* and *Balin* (each one particularly ſeiſed of his prouince and kingdome.) Againſt theſe the Aſſyrians incamped themſelues, and hauing diuided their armie into foure parts (vnder the conduct of foure gouernours) they waged battell with them; in which the Aſſyrians attaining the day, they impoſed a tribute on the Kings of Sodome; who (after they had for twelue yeeres ſpace performed their dutie and paid their tribute) in the thirteenth yeere reuolted from them. Whereby it came to paſſe that the Aſſyrians leuied a new armie againſt them, vnder the conduct and command of *Marphad, Arioch, Chodollogomar*, and *Thargal*, who ſacked all Syria, and extin-
F guiſhed the poſteritie of the Giants. And drawing neere to Sodome, they incamped neere to the bituminous pits (for at that time there were pits in that place) but as ſoone as Sodome was deſtroyed, there aroſe a lake in that place, which (by reaſon of the bituminous matter that flowed in the ſame) was called Aſphaltites, that is to ſay, bituminous: of this lake hereafter wee will ſpeake ſomewhat. But the Sodomites encountring with the Aſſyrians, there was a dangerous skirmiſh fought, wherein many periſhed on both ſides; and the reſt were either ſlaine or taken, amongſt whom was *Lot* led away captiue, who came thither to aſſiſt the Sodomites.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 17. *Geneſ.* 14. Fiue kings of Sodome.

The yeere of the world, 2031. before Chriſts Nativity. 1933.

The lake of Aſphaltites.

CHAP. XI.

ABRAHAM *purſueth the Aſſyrians, and returneth victorious.*

The yeare of the world, 2031 before Chriſts birth, 1932.

ABRAHAM hearing of theſe things, and mooued, (both with the ſurpriſall of his coſen *Lot*, as alſo with the ſlaughter of his friends and neighbours) preſently addreſſed himſelfe with all his followers to giue them ſuccours: and ſuch diligence ſhewed he in purſuite of them, that the fift night after hee encountred the Aſſyrians neere to Dan, which is one of the ſources of Iordaine.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 18. *Gen.* 14. 15.

Where ſurpriſing them on the ſodaine (vnſuſpicious and diſarmed) hee killed thoſe that were aſleepe without ſuſpicion of his comming, and they that were not yet aſleepe, and lay wallowing in their drunkenneſſe he eaſily defeated and put to flight, purſuing them in ſuch ſort, that the ſecond day after he draue them all into Soba a Citie of Damaſco: declaring hereby, that victory conſiſteth not in the multitude of thoſe that manage their armes, but rather in the courage of thoſe that fight, and that a fewe generous hearts are more worth alwaies, then a faint-hearted multitude. For hee had not with him aboue three hundreth and eighteene of his houſhold ſeruants, and three of his friends, to defeat this huge armie; ſo that whatſoeuer they were that eſcaped out of this ſlaughter by flight, returned vnto their houſes with ignominie.

On what victorie dependeth.

As ſoone as *Abraham* had reſcued thoſe priſoners of Sodome which were taken by the Syrians, and his nephew *Lot*; he returned into his countrey, and met in his way with the King of Sodom (in a place called the Kings field) where alſo he was entertained by the King of Solyma called *Melchiſedech* (which is as much to ſay as the iuſt King:) for in truth he was no leſſe; but was held worthy by reaſon of his iuſtice in all mens opinion to ſacrifice as the high Prieſt of Almightie God. This Solyma in proceſſe of time was called Ieruſalem. This *Melchiſedech* did friendly entertaine all the followers of *Abraham*, not ſuffering them to want any thing that was fit for their ſuſtenance, but entertaining him alſo at his owne table he highly praiſed him, and ſung due hymnes of praiſe to the great God, for that by his fauor he had vouchſafed to grant him victory. *Abraham* on the other ſide preſented him with the tenths of his ſpoiles: but the King of Sodome remitted all the pray that was taken, and onely required to be poſſeſſed of thoſe Captiues which were of the countrey: which condition hee accepted not, anſwering that hee would receiue no profit of that pray, but that which hee muſt needly haue for the entertainment of his ſeruants. Yet gaue hee a portion vnto his friends who had ſuccoured him, the firſt whereof was called *Eſchol*, and the two other *Ennerus* aud *Mambres*. For this cauſe God praiſed *Abraham* ſaying; thou ſhalt not want the reward which is due vnto thee for thy valiant actes. To which he replied, and what good ſhall I reape of this recompence, if I haue not an heire to poſſeſſe it after my deceaſe? for as yet hee had no iſſue. Then did God promiſe him a ſonne, whoſe poſterity ſhould be ſo multiplyed, that they might in number equall the ſtarres of heauen; which when he vnderſtood, hee offered ſacrifice vnto God, following that commandement which hee had receiued: hee tooke therefore a Heifer of three yeeres old, a Goate of three yeeres, and a Ramme of three yeeres, and a Turtle, and a Pigeon: all which he diuided in twaine as he was commanded, the birds onely excepted. But before the Altar was prepared (at ſuch time as the fowles houered about to haue part of the blood of thoſe beaſts which were ſacrificed) hee receiued an Oracle, that tolde him that his progenie ſhould haue euill neighbours in Ægypt for the ſpace of foure hundreth yeeres, and that after they had ſuffered an inſupportable ſeruitude, they ſhould at laſt obtaine the victorie ouer their enemies. And after that they had by ſtrong hand conquered the Chanaanites, they ſhould be Lords and poſſeſſors of their countries and Cities. *Abraham* at that time dwelt neere to the Oake that was called Ogis, in the countrey of Chanaan neere to the Citie of Hebron. There being much grieued that his wife conceiued not, hee beſought God to giue him an iſſue male: God commanded him to bee of good cheere in all things, and that beeing come from Meſopotamia vpon good occaſions, hee alſo ſhould haue children. At that time *Sara* by the commandement of God cauſed one of her handmaides which was an Ægyptian borne to enter in vnto her husband, to the end he might haue iſſue by her; now *Agar* as ſoone as ſhe perceiued that ſhee had conceiued, began to contemne *Sara*, aſpiring to principalitie, and ſuppoſing that her iſſue ſhould ſucceed in the kingdom. For which cauſe *Abraham* deliuered her vnto his wife, to the end ſhe ſhould puniſh her: which ſhe perceiuing, ſhe decreed to flie, in that ſhe was afraid of puniſhment; beſeeching God to haue mercy on her: and as ſhee trauailed on her way thorow the deſart, the Angel of God appeared vnto her, cõmanding her that ſhe ſhould returne

Abraham bringeth back both Lot and the Sodomites that were priſoners. The Kings field. Solima was afterward called Ieruſalem. Melchiſedech the iuſt King.

Gen. 15.

God promiſeth Abraham a ſonne.

God promiſeth Abraham a progenie that ſhould many yeeres haue ill neighbours of the Ægyptians.

Gen. 16. Sara bringeth Agar her handmaid to Abrahams bed. Agar contemneth Sara.

A returne vnto her maſter and miſtris, aſſuring her that if hereafter ſhee would bee more modeſt, ſhee ſhould bee better intreated ; and how at that preſent ſhee was fallen into thoſe miſeries, by reaſon ſhee had proudly and inſolently behaued her ſelfe towards her Miſtris. Telling her moreouer that if ſhee diſobeyed God, and wandred any further, ſhee ſhould die the death : but that if ſhee returned from whence ſhee came, ſhe ſhould be the mother of a ſonne, who ſhould one day be King of that countrey where ſhee then was.

The yeere of the world, 2034. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1930.

The promiſe of Iſmael.

To this commandement of God *Agar* ſubmitted her ſelfe with all obedience, and returning backe againe to her Maſter and Miſtris, ſhee obtained pardon at their hands, and after a while brought forth *Iſmael*, which is as much to ſay as, Heard of God, becauſe God had heard the mothers prayers. *Iſmael* was borne to *Abraham* when he was foureſcore and ſix yeares old : but in the foureſcore and nineteenth yeare of his age God appeared vnto him, and tolde him that hee
B ſhould haue a ſonne by *Sara*, charging him to call him *Iſaac* ; giuing him to vnderſtand, that great nations and kings ſhould iſſue from his loines, who by force of armes ſhould conquer all the countrey of Chanaan, from Sidon euen vnto Ægypt. Commanding him, that his poſteritie ſhould bee circumciſed in their priuities, and that this circumciſion ſhould bee done the viii. day after their birth, by reaſon that hee would not that *Abrahams* poſteritie ſhould be intermedled with other nations. But hereafter will I declare the cauſe of our circumciſion. *Abraham* alſo asked counſell of God as touching *Iſmael*, whether he ſhould liue or no : who tolde him that he ſhould flouriſh many yeares, and that he ſhould become a father of many worthy nations. Then gaue *Abraham* thanks vnto God, and preſently circumciſed himſelfe, his ſonne *Iſmael*, with all his family : and *Iſmael* at that time was thirteene yeeres olde, but *Abraham* about foureſcore and
C nineteene yeeres of age.

Iſaac promiſed. *Geneſ.* 17.

CHAP. XII.

The puniſhment of Sodome.

ABOVT that time the inhabitants of Sodome became immeſurably proude, by reaſon of their affluence, proſperitie, and great riches ; and committed outrages againſt men, and impieties againſt God : in ſuch manner as they had forgotten the benefites which they had receiued at his handes, hating ſtrangers, and diſdaining to conuerſe the one
D with the other, but in diſordinate and abhominable inceſts. Whereat God beeing diſpleaſed, hee decreed to puniſh their intolerable pride, to ruinate their Citie from the toppe to the bottome, and in ſuch ſort to make deſolate their countrey, that from thence forward it ſhould neither nouriſh plant, nor bring forth fruite. After that God had pronounced this ſentence againſt the Sodomites ; *Abraham* (as he ſat vnder the Oake at Mambres before the doore of his tent) behelde three Angels, and ſuppoſing them to bee men and ſtrangers, hee aroſe and ſaluted them ; and approching neere vnto them, hee deſired them that they would accept of his entertainment, and lodge with him. Whereunto when they had condiſcended, hee commaunded his ſeruants to bake them bread of the fineſt flower, and hauing killed and roſted a calfe, hee ſet it before them (as they ſate vnder the Oake) ſuppoſing they would eate : but they inquired of him
E where *Sara* his wife was : to whom he anſwered that ſhe was within in the tent. They tolde him then that they would returne againe ; and that they ſhould find her a mother. But when his wife ſmiled thereat, and ſaid that it was impoſſible for her to beare children ; eſpecially in that her ſelfe was at that time 90. yeares olde, and her husband 100. they diſcouered themſelues, and ſaid they were angels of God, and that they were ſent one of them to aſſure him that he ſhould haue a ſonne ; the other two to deſtroy the Sodomites. Which when *Abraham* heard, hee was ſorrie for the Sodomites, and ariſing, beſought God that hee would not deſtroy both the iuſt and the vniuſt together. To whom God gaue this anſwere, that there was not one iuſt man among the Sodomites, and that if hee might but find tenne, hee would ſpare the city from puniſhment. Whereupon *Abraham* held his peace, and the Angels entred into Sodome : where no ſooner
F were they arriued, but *Lot* inuited them to take their lodging in his houſe (for hee was a man much giuen to hoſpitalitie, and ſuch a one as for bounty had beene *Abrahams* ſcholler.) But the Sodomites perceiuing that thoſe young men which were entred *Lots* houſe, were of excellent beautie, began to offer outrage and villany to their perſons : notwithſtanding that *Lot* exhorted them to moderate themſelues, and not to offer villanie to his gueſts, but in ſome ſort to haue a reſpect to his houſe : telling them, that rather then they ſhould continue in that intemperance, hee would giue them his daughters to vſe at their pleaſure. But hee preuailed nothing with

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 19. The ſinnes of the Sodomites.

Abraham entertaineth Angels.

The yeere of the world, 2048. before the Nativity of Chriſt, 1916.

The Angels promiſed Abraham that he ſhall haue a ſonne, and foretell the deſtruction of Sodome.

The Angels enter Lots houſe.

The yeare of the world, 2948 before Christs Nativitie, 1916.

them: whereupon God was in such wise prouoked by their iniquitie, that hee blinded their eyes in such sort, as they could not finde the gate to enter into *Lots* house, and condemned the Sodomites to a generall perdition. But *Lot* foremonished by him of their future ruine, departed from them, and tooke with him his wife and his two daughters as yet vnmarried (for their betrothed husbands, although they were forewarned by him, conteńed and held him for a dotard.) Then did God shoote his arrow vpon the Citie, burning it, and all the inhabitants therein: and desolating by the same fire all the countries round about; in such sort as it hath already beene declared by me in the History I wrote of the warres of the Iewes. But *Lots* wife, as they retired thence; looking backe towards the City, and more curiously beholding the destruction thereof, contrary to the commandement of God, was transformed into a pillar of salt, which I haue seene: for it remaineth euen vntill this day. As touching *Lot*, hee and his daughters fledde and dwelt in a little countrey farre from the fire, which was called Zoar (which in hebrew signifieth little:) In this place) which was voyd of men, and scant of victuals) *Lot* dwelled a long time, leading a solitary and poore life: and his daughters supposing that all mankind was extinguished vpon the earth, subtilly circumuenting their father, they lay with him when he least suspected it: and the reasons that drew them thereunto was, for that they feared least mankind should be vtterly exterminated. By this their approachment, they bare him two sonnes: the elder *Moab* (which is as much to say as of my father) and this is hee that was the father of the Moabites, which euen at this day are yet a great nation: and of the yonger sister, came *Ammon* (which signifieth the sonne of Race or kind) and both these two nations inhabite the countrey of Cœlosyria. In this sort departed *Lot* from the Sodomites.

The Sodomites are blinded. Lot and his familie are saued.

Lot fled to Zoar.

The interpretation of the names of Moab and Ammon. Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 20. *Genes.* 19.

As touching *Abraham*, hee went and dwelt in Gerar, in the countrey of Palestine; leading with him his wife *Sara* in manner of his sister; vsing the same subtiltie which before time hee had practised for feare of the Ægyptians:) for hee feared *Abimelech* the King of that countrey, who surprised with the loue of *Sara*, would haue rauished her, had he not bin hindred by a most grieuous sickenesse, which God inflicted vpon him: so that beeing out of all hope of recouerie, at such time as he slept, there appeared vnto him a vision, which told him that he should take heede lest he offered any outrage to the strangers wife, who was come into his countrey: and after he was somewhat recouered, hee tolde his friends how God had sent him that sickenesse to warrantize the right of the stranger, and to preserue his wife from violence; for that she was not his sister but his lawfull wife; willing *Abraham* thenceforward to bee of good cheere, promising him that the honour of his wife was inuiolate. This said, hee dismissed *Abraham* by the counsaile of his friends; and tolde him that he needed not to suspect his wife, by reason shee had suffered no villany. Assuring him that God had care of her, and that he deliuered her in safetie to him (beeing to that end protected by his mighty power) and in confirmation thereof hee called God to record, and the womans conscience, vowing that hee would not haue required her, if hee had knowne shee had beene married: moreouer he required him to be at peace with him, and by his prayers to appease Gods wrath, which was kindled against him. And that if thence forward hee would stay with him, he should want nothing: or if he lifted to depart, he promised him guides, and all other things, for which he came vnto him. *Abraham* answered him, that he had in no sort dissembled with him as touching the alliance of his wife; but that she was his brothers daughter, and that he thought he might not safely trauell thorough his countrey, except hee had vsed that subtiltie; auowing moreouer that he had not beene the cause of that sickenesse which had befalne him: but that he singularly affected his good, and was readie to abide with him.

Abimelech surprized with the loue of Sara.

Whereupon *Abimelech* imparted vnto him both lands and money, and accorded to conuerse with him in all vprightnesse, and without offer of offence, and made a couenant and sware vnto him by a certaine pit which was called Bersabe (that is to say, the pit of swearing or couenant) which name that place retaineth vntill this day. Not long time after, *Abraham* had a sonne by *Sara* his wife according as God had promised him, and hee called his name *Isaac* (which in the Hebrew tongue signifieth laughter) because *Sara* laughed at such time as God sayd vnto her shee should beare a sonne, hauing in her selfe no likelihood of conceiuing, by reason shee was striken in yeeres. For at that time she was ninetie yeeres old, and *Abraham* one hundreth when the child was borne, and incontinently the eight day after was he circumcised; which custome is yet continued amongst the Iewes, who circumcise on the eight day.

Bersabe the pit of swearing.

Isaac laughter

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of ISMAEL ABRAHAMS *ſonne, and of the Arabians his poſteritie.*

BVT the Arabians celebrate it in the thirteenth yeere. For *Iſmael* the author thereof, and *Abrahams* ſonne by the concubine, was circumciſed in the thirteenth yeere after he was borne. Of which *Iſmael* it behoueth we ſpeake more exactly in this place. *Sara* loued *Iſmael* (begotten on her ſeruant *Agar*) from the beginning, with no leſſe affection then as if he had beene her owne ſonne, for he was brought vp as *Abrahams* heire. But after ſhe had brought forth *Iſaac*, ſhe thought it no more requiſite that *Iſmael* ſhould be brought vp with her ſonne, in that he was elder, and for feare leaſt after his fathers deceaſe, he ſhould offer his yonger brother iniurie. She incited *Abraham* therefore to ſend both him and his mother to ſome other place: but at the firſt he gaue no eare to *Saraes* requeſt, thinking it to be more then barbarous crueltie, to driue away a tender childe and his mother, deſtitute of all neceſſaries. At length by the commandement of God he liſtned to his wiues counſell, and committed the childe vnto his mother (being of himſelfe as yet vnapt to trauell) and giuing them a pitcher of water and bread, he commanded them to goe thither, whither their neceſſitie ſhould driue them. And when their victuals failed them, and their water was conſumed, ſhee laid the childe being faint and weake vnder an Oake; and to the end that in her preſence he ſhould not breath his laſt, ſhe went far away from him. At that time an Angel of God appeared vnto her, ſhewing her a fountaine hard by that place, and charging her to looke to the carefull education of her childe: becauſe that by the conſeruation of *Iſmael*, ſhe was to expect great happineſſe. Vpon theſe promiſes ſhe tooke comfort, and falling into the company of ſheepheards, ſhee by their bountie eſcaped from miſerie.

The yeare of the world, 2048. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1916.

Hedio and Ruffinns, chap. 12.

Gen. 21.

The Iewes were wont to circumciſe on the eight day.

The Arabians not before 13 yeeres.

Abraham baniſheth Iſmael and Agar.

The Angel of God meeteth with Agar.

Afterwards, when he attained mans eſtate, he married a wife of the nation of the Egyptians (from whence his mother had her originall) by whom *Iſmael* had twelue ſonnes: namely, *Nabaioth, Cedarus, Abdeel, Edumas, Maſſamus, Memaſſus, Maſmeſus, Chodamus, Themanus, Ieturus, Naphæſus, Calmaſus* (all which inhabite the lands which are betweene Euphrates and the red ſea; the name of which countrey is Nabathæa. Theſe are they that began and made famous the nation of the Arabians, as well in reſpect of their proweſſe, as alſo in reſpect of the dignity of *Abraham*.

The twelue ſonnes of Iſmael. *Gen. 25.*

The Region of Nabathæa.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of ISAAC ABRAHAMS *legitimate ſonne.*

AS touching *Iſaac*, *Abraham* loued him with an intire and fatherly affection; as his onely begotten ſonne engendered in his age by the bountie of God. The childe alſo addicting himſelfe vnto all vertue, carefull to honour his father and mother, and ſtudious of the ſeruice of God, inuited both his parents the rather to affect and loue him. So that *Abraham* was very deſirous to forſake this preſent life: prouided, that he might leaue behind him all the goods which he had, vnto his ſonne; which through the mercy of God he happily effected. Whereupon (vnder triall and conformitie of his faith) God appeared vnto him, and reckoned vp all the benefits which he had beſtowed on him, how he had granted him victorie ouer his enemies and how (he had eſtabliſht and bleſt him with preſent felicitie by his fauour) for which cauſe he required him to ſacrifice and make an oblation vnto him of his ſonne *Iſaac*, commanding him that he ſhould conduct him to the mountaine of Morea, and there to ſacrifice him. In doing whereof, he ſhould manifeſt the deſire he had to ſerue him (in preferring that which was agreeable to God before the life of his ſonne.) *Abraham* ſuppoſing that it was no waies lawfull to diſobey God, but that he ought to ſubmit himſelfe to his will, as to him by whoſe prouidence all things had their being) ſaid nothing to his wife, as concerning that which God had commanded him, neither how he had determined the death of his ſonne.

The yeere of the world, 2074 before Chriſts Nativitie, 1890.

Abrahams obedience.

Moreouer, he made it knowne to no one of his houſhold ſeruants, becauſe (as he ſuppoſed) they might haue hindered him from the ſeruice of God. He therefore tooke his ſonne *Iſaac* with two ſeruants (loading an Aſſe with ſuch things as were requiſite for ſacrifice) and trauelled towards the mountaine, his ſeruants attending him for two daies ſpace; and on the third day following, as ſoone as he perceiued the mountaine, he left the reſt of thoſe that accompanied him in the Plaine, and attended onely by his ſonne and himſelfe, he came vp vnto the mountaine

The yeere of the world, 2074. before Christs Nativitie, 1890.

taine (vpon which afterward king *Dauid* appointed that the Temple ſhould be builded.) They carried with them alſo the reſt of thoſe things which were requiſite for ſacrifice (ſaue onely the beaſt that was to be offered) now about this time, *Iſaac* was fiue and twentie yeeres old, and did himſelf prepare the Altar, and inquired of his father what he ſhould offer, conſidering that as yet they had no ſheepe for ſacrifice. *Abraham* anſwered him, that God would furniſh them, who was of power ſufficient, to giue men that in abundance whereof they had need, and to depriue them of that they had, and whereof they held themſelues throughly poſſeſſed: and that it was he would giue them wherewith to ſacrifice (if it ſhould pleaſe him to ſhew himſelfe fauourable, and propitious to that ſacrifice of his) now as ſoone as the Altar was made readie, and the wood prepared and laid vpon the ſame, and all things were in readineſſe, he addreſſed his ſpeech vnto his ſonne and ſaid thus.

Iſaac was 25. yeeres old when hee ſhould haue beene ſacrificed.

Abrahams oration at ſuch time as his ſonne ſhould haue beene ſacrificed.

My ſonne, I haue oftentimes demanded at Gods hands that he ſhould giue thee life, by my infinite interceſſions and prayers, and euer ſince thou wert borne into this world, I haue intermitted no care and diligence in thine education, neither haue I thought that in any thing I might be made more happy, then that departing out of this world, I might ſee thee at mans eſtate, and leaue thee the heire and Lord of all my ſubſtance: but ſince it hath pleaſed God, that I ſhould be thy father, and that the ſame God likewiſe now thinketh good that I ſhould forſake thee, put vpon thee a conſtant minde, and take in good part that thus thou muſt be ſacrificed; for in ſo doing I fulfill the commandements of God: who requireth at our hands that we doe him this honour, for the fauours which he hath beſtowed vpon me, in aſſiſting me, and in familiar manner conuerſing, and aſſociating me both in warre and peace. Since therefore that being borne, thou art to die, (not after the accuſtomed manner of the liuing) but being offered in ſacrifice by thine owne father, to the generall father, God: I deeme it reaſonable, that ſince it ſeemeth good vnto him that thou depart out of this life (not by ſickneſſe, nor by warre, nor by any other inconuenience, that naturally happeneth vnto men) that it is behoufefull alſo that thou render thy ſoule vnto him in the midſt of prayers, and the celebration of this ſacrifice, to the end he may receiue and ſeate thee neere himſelfe: Thou ſhalt be my purueyor and ſtay of mine age (which is the cauſe for which I haue nouriſhed thee, if thou leaue mee God for my purueyor and comfort in thy place. Then *Iſaac* with a noble heart (like the gracious ſonne of ſo godly a father) heard all that which his father ſaid with great contentment, and aſſured that he would rather neuer haue beene borne, then he ſhould once neglect the ordinance of God and of his father: or ſhew himſelfe negligent to ſubmit his will to both their pleaſures, conſidering that if his father onely ſhould command the ſame, he ſhould doe very euill if he diſobeyed him: which ſaid, he marched towards the Altar, and offered himſelfe to the ſlaughter: which had ſurely happened at that inſtant, if God had not regarded him: for with a loud voice he called *Abraham* by his name, commanding him that he ſhould not kill his ſonne, auerring that he had not giuen him that commandement, becauſe he tooke pleaſure in humane bloud, neither for that by ſuch impietie he would depriue them of that ſonne, of whom it was his pleaſure to make him the father, but that by this act he intended to proue his affection, to ſee whether being commanded ſuch a thing, he would be obedient; and for that he had made triall of his faith and readineſſe, and his vnſpeakable pietie, he did not repent him of that good he had done vnto him: that the time ſhould neuer be wherein he would forget to haue care of him, and his race, whenſoeuer he ſhould pray vnto him, and that when the courſe of his yeeres were happily ouerpaſt, he ſhould leaue a great ſigniory to thoſe of his children, which ſhould be good and legitimate. He tolde him moreouer, that he would multiply the race in diuers Nations, and that he would beſtow great benefits vpon them, and that the memorie of the chiefe of his of-ſpring ſhould be enuied by all men for their greatneſſe. After that God had ſpoken after this manner, it pleaſed him on the ſodaine (no man knoweth how) to cauſe a Ramme to be ſeene, and found thereabouts for the ſacrifice. And thus (being deliuered from all euils and inconueniences beyond their expectations, after they had heard ſo many promiſes of ſo many bleſſings) they embraced one another, and celebrated the ſacrifice; which done, they returned towards *Sara* in ſafety, and paſt the remnant of their liues in happineſſe, God giuing them his bleſſing in whatſoeuer they vndertooke.

Iſaacs anſwer.

God offereth a Ramme to Abraham to ſacrifice in ſteed of Iſaac.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XV.

The death of SARA ABRAHAMS *Wife.*

NOt long time after this, *Sara* died; after she had liued one hundred twenty and seuen yeares; and was buried in Hebron: (for the Chananeans freely offered them free buriall) yet *Abraham* chose rather to buy a place to bury in, of *Ephrem* a certaine Citizen of Hebron, for foure hundreth sicles, where the monuments both of him and his posteritie are builded.

The yeere of the world, 2187. before Christs Nativitie, 1877.

CHAP. XVI.

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 23

B

How the Nation of the Troglodites came of CHETVRA *the wife of* ABRAHAM.

Gen. 22.

The age of Sarah. 127.

Genes. 7. 25 1.

AFter this, *Abraham* married *Chetura*, by whom he had sixe children, strong in trauel, and excellent in wisedome: namely *Zembranes*, *Iazar*, *Madar*, *Madian*, *Lousoubac*, *Suus*, who likewise had sonnes; *Suus* had *Sabacan* and *Dadanes*. Of *Dadanes* issued *Latusimus*, *Assurus*, *Luures*. The children of *Madian* were *Epha*, *Ophres*, *Anochus*, *Ebidas*, *Eldas*. Of all these children and their successours *Abraham* gathered and established the Colonies which possessed the country of the Troglodytes, & all the country of Arabia the happy, whose confines extend euen vnto the red sea. Some report that this *Ophres* conducted an Army into Libya and possessed the same: & that his successours (making their abode in that country) called it by the name of A rica.

The originall of Troglodytes.

Libya called A rica.

C And this my opinion is confirmed by *Alexander Polyhistor* who writeth after this manner. *Cleodemus* the Prophet who is also called *Malchus*, and hath written the acts of the Iewes (according as *Moses* their law-maker hath compiled the same in writing) saith, that of *Chetura* there were diuers children borne vnto *Abraham*, and he nameth three by their names: to wit *Apher*, *Surim* and *Iapher*; and that of *Surem* the Assyrians tooke their name: of the two others *Apher* and *Iapher*, the Citie of Affricke and the countrey of Africa take their names. That they warred with *Hercules* against *Libya* and *Antæus*, and how *Hercules* hauing taken *Ophra* his daughter to his wife, had begotten of her *Dedor* who was father to *Sophon*, from whom those Barbarians that are called *Sophaces* haue taken their name.

Alexander Polyhistor, "

But *Abraham* knowing that he should prouide a wife for *Isaac* his sonne, beeing almost forty

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

D yeares old, sent the oldest seruant of his family to betrothe and intreat for *Rebecca* the daughter of the sonne of *Nachor* his brother for *Isaac*, and bound him to the performance thereof with great oathes (celebrated according to these Ceremonies, which were that laying their two hands one ore anothers thighes, they should call God to witnesse of their intent) hee sent also strange presents vnto them, such as were seldome seene in those parts: hee then departing from him was long time vpon the way (because that in winter time it is troublesome to trauel through *Mesopotamia*, by reason of the deep bogs, and in sommer for want of water) besides the robberies of the country, which strãgers & trauellers could not possibly escape, except they stood vpõ their guard, and had conuoy. Hereupon at length he arriued and entred a City called Carras, & being in the suburbes of the same, hee encountred with diuers damsels that went to fetch water, where-

Iaac marieth Rebecca.

The manner of swearing among the ancient Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 2189. before Christs Nativitie. 1875.

E upon he inwardly besought God, that if the marriage were pleasing in his sight, he might find *Rebecca* amongst them, for whose cause *Abraham* had sent him thither to require her in mariage for his sonne: and that he might know her by this signe, that asking all the rest for water, they should refuse him, and she only should satisfie him. Tormented and tossed with these thoughts, he approched the Wel, & required those virgins that they would giue him drink, which they denied him saying, that they could not get water but with great labour, which they must beare into their houses, and not lauishly bestow one others: whereupon one amongst them reproued the rest for that discourtesie, which they vsed towards the stranger; saying that they had neuer beene conuersant amongst men, that refused to giue him water that requested it, wherupõ she gaue him drink with an amiable countenance: and he conceiuing good hope of all his businesse, yet being further desi-

F rous to know the euent of the matter, hee prained the honesty and courtesie of *Rebecca* who had not refused to trauell in her owne person to satisfie his necessitie, asking her of what parents shee was, tearming them happy that had such a daughter, praying God that it might please him to grant them the good hap to marry her to their contentment, and match her with a man of honest reputation, by whom she might be plentifull in good and lawfull children: *Rebecca* made no difficulty to tell him the names of her Parents, (the better to gratifie him) neither concealed she her owne name, but answered in this sort. I am called, said she, *Rebecca*, my father was named *Bathuel*,

thuel, who is long ſince dead. *Laban* is our brother, who together with my mother hath care of G
all our family, and hath the charge and protection of my virginity. Which when hee vnderſtood
he reioiced at al that which had happened vnto him, and was comforted with thoſe things which
he had heard, perceiuing manifeſtly how God had proſpered his iourney. Whereupon drawing
out a Iewell (with certen other ornaments, ſuch as virgins take delight to weare) hee offred them
vnto the maide, telling her that he gaue her theſe preſents in requitall of that kindneſſe ſhee had
offred him in ſatisfying his thirſt, for that ſhe amongſt ſo many other virgins had onely ſhewed
her ſelfe affable and gracious; requiring her that hee might bee entertained in her brothers houſe
(by reaſon that night had depriued him of the means from trauelling any further) & that he was
charged with certaine iewels of an eſpouſed of great price, which in no place (as he ſaid) might be
in more ſafety then in their cuſtody, whom in effect he had found ſo curteous & honeſt: aſſuring H
her that the vertue which appeared in her, gaue him ſufficient teſtimony both of the curteſie of
her mother and brother, who would not (as he ſuppoſed) take it in ill part if he were entertained:
to conclude, that he would in no waies be chargeable vnto them, but would pay for his lodging
and expences.

The yeare of the world, 2089 before Chriſts birth, 1815.

Rebecca growes acquainted with Abrahams ſeruant.

To this *Rebecca* anſwered, that he had reaſon to conceiue a good opinion of her Parents hu-
manitie, but yet did in ſome ſort preiudice them in ſuſpecting their liberality, aſſuring him that
his entertainement ſhould in no ſort be mercenary but voluntary, and free and according to their
affection. Yet firſt (ſaid ſhe) I will certifie my brother *Laban* hereof, and afterwards guide and en-
tertaine you in our houſe: which done, ſhe conducted him into their tent, commanding her bro-
ther *Labans* ſeruants to take care of his Camels, as for himſelfe ſhe entertained and feaſted him at I
her brother *Labans* table.

The talke which Abrahams ſeruant had with Rebecca.

When ſupper was paſt, he ſpake both to the brother and mother of the virgin after this man-
ner. *Abraham* the ſonne of *Thares* is your couſen. For, *Nachor* (good miſtris) the grand-father
of your children was *Abrahams* brother of one and the ſame father and mother. He now ſendeth
me vnto you, requiring you to giue this Damſell for wife to his legitimate and onely ſonne, edu-
cated & brought vp to be heire of all his ſubſtance: whom although he might haue matcht with
the richeſt maidens of his countrey, yet hath hee refuſed all of them, deſiring rather to impart
this honour to one of his kindred and nation: ſet not light therefore his good affection and de-
ſire. For, beſides all other bleſſings and good fortunes, which haue happily befallen mee in this
my iourny, I haue by Gods eſpeciall prouidence, found out both the maid, and your houſe. For, K
at ſuch time as I drewe neere the City and beholding many virgins that went a watering, I be-
ſought God that I might light vpon this maiden, and he vouchſafed me my deſire: Ratifie there-
fore on your part this mariage contracted by Gods prouidence, and honour *Abraham* in gran-
ting your conſent by this your daughters mariage, whom I am ſent to requeſt at your hands, with
moſt intire affection. Now they in that they both allowed a thing ſo behoufefull, and perceiued
alſo that it was conformable to the will of God, they ſent their ſiſter vnto him vnder the conditi-
ons demanded: and *Iſaac* then married her at ſuch time as he had the managing of *Abrahams* af-
faires, by reaſon that the other ſonnes of *Abraham* were already departed to take poſſeſſion of
their Colonies.

The yeere of the world, 2124. before the Nativity of Chriſt, 1240.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 28. *Gen.* 24.

L

CHAP. XVII.

of ABRAHAMS *death.*

Abraham died after he had liued 175 yeares.

A Few daies after this, *Abraham* deceaſed (a man full of vertue vntill his laſt end) and ho-
noured by God (according to that intire loue he had to vertue) with great affection. All
the daies of his life contained one hundreth ſeuenty and fiue yeares, and he was buried in
Hebron with his wife *Sara*, and by his ſonnes *Iſaac* and *Iſmael*.

CHAP. XVIII.

of ISAACS *ſonnes,* ESAV *and* IACOB, *and of their nativity and education.*

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Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 26 *Gen.* 25.

AFTER the death of *Abraham, Rebecca (Iſaacs wife)* waxed bigge with childe, and the
time of her reckoning beeing neere at hand, *Iſaac* was ſore troubled, and ſought counſell
at Gods hands: who anſwered him, that *Rebecca* ſhould bring forth two twins, and that
of thoſe two ſonnes, two nations ſhould be deriued, both which ſhould be called by their names,
and that he who ſeemed to be the leaſt of them, ſhould growe to be the greateſt: not long time
after

A after (according as God had foretold him) ſhe was brought to bed of two twinnes, the eldeſt of whom was very hairy from the top of the head vnto the ſoale of the foote: and at ſuch time as he iſſued out of his mothers wombe, his younger brother held him by the heele, the Father loued the elder, who was called *Eſau*, and *Seir* by reaſon of his haire, (which the Hebrewes call *Seir* in their language) but the younger who was called *Iacob*, was deerely beloued by his mother. *The yeare of the world, 2124. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1840.*

Now for that a great famine raigned in that countrey, *Iſaac* (hauing reſolued to retyre himſelfe to Egypt, by reaſon of the abundance and plenty of that countrey) hee went and dwelt at Gerar, according as God had commanded: In which place king *Abimelech* receiued and entertained him (according to the law of hoſpitalitie, and the league of friendſhip which was betwixt *Abraham* his father and him.) In the beginning therefore, hee ſhewed vnto him great ſignes of B friendſhip; but afterwards, the enuy he had conceiued, hindred him from perſiſting in the ſame: for perceiuing that God was fauourable vnto *Iſaac*, and had an eſpeciall care ouer him, hee draue him out of his countrey: but hee perceiuing well that enuy had altered him, and that *Abimelech* began to be changed, hee retyred himſelfe not farre from Gerar into a place called the Straights; and as hee there digged to finde out a watering, *Abimelechs* ſhepheards came and ſet vpon him, & hindred him in ſuch ſort as he could not finiſh his purpoſe: and for that hee purpoſely retyred from them, they verily ſuppoſed they had gotten the victorie: Anon after, when hee began to digge in another place, other ſhepheards of *Abimelech*, outraged him anew, as at the firſt: for which cauſe hee left this fountaine imperfect alſo; expecting with ripe iudgement a more conC uenient opportunitie, which was afterwards offered him by reaſon that the King gaue him leaue to digge, whereupon hee laboured out a fountaine, and called it by the name of Rooboth, which ſignifieth *large*. And as touching the other two, hee called the firſt of them Eſcon, which is as much to ſay as *ſtrife*: and the other Sienna, which ſignifieth *hoſtilitie*.

Iſaac came vnto Gerar. *Geneſ. 26.*

Abimelech expelleth Iſaac being moued thereunto by enuy. Fauces.

Thus increaſed he daily more and more both in power and riches. But *Abimelech* ſuppoſing that his affluence would be many waies hurtfull vnto him, and remembring himſelfe that he had not faithfully entertained friendſhip with him, but in ſome ſort giuen occaſion of ſuſpicion, by meanes of ſome hard meaſure: fearing leaſt hereafter the iniuries freſh in memorie, ſhould more diſtract him then their olde and auncient plighted friendſhip; and miſdoubting his reuenge, hee repaired vnto him, and contracted a new league of amitie with him, leading with him one of his D chiefeſt captaines, as an abiter betweene them, by whoſe meanes hee obtained whatſoeuer hee required: ſo courteous was *Iſaac*, and ſo ready in memorie of his fathers olde couenant to forgiue new iniuries. And ſo *Abimelech* hauing obtained his purpoſe, returned to his houſe. *Eſau* one of the two ſonnes of *Iſaac* (whom the father eſpecially loued aboue all the reſt) hauing attained the age of forty yeares, tooke to wiues *Ada* the daughter of *Edom*, and *Alibama* the daughter of *Eſebeon*, two princes of the Chanaanites (and that of his owne authoritie; without his fathers aduiſe or priuitie; who would not haue conſented, had the matter beene remitted vnto him, becauſe he held it inconuenient to mixe and ioyne him, or his, in affinitie with any dwellers or inhabitants of the countrey.) This notwithſtanding, hee would not diſpleaſe his ſonne by commanding him to giue ouer his wiues: but determined with himſelfe to conceale and keepe E the matter ſilent.

Abimelech reneweth friendſhip with Iſaac.

Eſau his wiues.

When *Iſaac* was waxen olde and wholly depriued of his ſight, he called for *Eſau* his ſonne and ſaid vnto him: that although he had not any default or blindneſſe in him, yet his age would hinder him to doe that ſeruice, which hee both ought and wiſhed to doe: and therefore hee willed him to goe on hunting, and that hee ſhould make ready ſome meate for him that hee might eate, and after his repaſt, hee might pray vnto God that it would pleaſe him to be aſſiſtant vnto him all his life time, and bee a comforter and aide vnto him: proteſting moreouer, that ſince he was vncertaine of the houre of his death, hee thought good to bleſſe him, and by his prayers to procure Gods mercy towards him, before hee ſlept with the dead. Hereupon *Eſau* went on hunting: but *Rebecca* in the meane time (deſirous that *Iſaacs* bleſſing ſhould light vpon her ſonne *Iacob*) contraF rie to her husbands intent and minde, commanded him to goe, and kill two kids, and prepare a repaſt for his father. *Iacob* beeing obſequious and obedient to his mother in all things, fulfilled her command, and as ſoone as the meate was ready, hee wrapped his armes and couered his hands with the Goats skins; hoping by the hairineſſe thereof, to make his father beleeue, that hee was *Eſau*. For beeing his brother at one and the ſame birth, hee reſembled him in all things except in this thing onely: but fearing leaſt hee ſhould bee ſurpriſed in his ſubtiltie before his father *Iſaac* had finiſhed his prayers, and in ſtead of his bleſſings he might be loaden with his curſes, hee pre-

Gen. 27.

Iſaac ſendeth Eſau on hunting.

The yeere of the world, 2186. before Chriſts Nativity. 1778.

Iacob by his mothers counſell ſtealeth his brothers bleſſing.

The yeare of the world, 2186. before Christs Natiuitie, 1778.

preſented the meat vnto his father. But *Iſaac* perceiuing ſome alteration in his voyce, called his ſonne, who ſtretching out his hands vnto him couered with the kids skinnes, Thou art (ſaith hee) more like vnto *Iacob* in thy voice; but by thy hairineſſe, thou ſeemeſt vnto me to be *Eſau*. Thus ſuſpecting no deceit, and hauing already eaten, hee addreſſed himſelfe to pray, and called vpon God ſaying. O Lord of all ages, and maker of all creatures, thou haſt promiſed great bleſſings vnto my father, and haſt giuen me many and preſent felicities, and haſt vowed that thou wouldſt be mercifull vnto my poſterity, and plentifully powre vpon them more & more ample benefits: let this thy fauour, I beſeech thee, be continued towards me; neither deſpiſe thou me by reaſon of this my preſent weakeneſſe, which is the cauſe that I haue more neede of thy helpe. Saue and keepe this my ſonne by thy clemency, warrantize him from all euill, giue him a happy life, and poſſeſſion of al bleſſings & benefits which are in thy power to beſtow vpon him: make him fearfull to his enemies, and gracious to his friends. Thus prayed hee vnto God, thinking he had bleſſed *Eſau*. Scarce had he finiſhed his prayers, but *Eſau* returned from hunting, which though *Iſaac* perceiued, he was no waies moued with diſpleaſure, but helde himſelfe ſilent. *Eſau* beſought him that he might obtaine as much as he had vouchſafed his brother: but *Iſaac* denied him, in that he had beſtowed all his bleſſings vpon *Iacob*: for which cauſe *Eſau* lamented and wept. His father (amated and mooued by his teares) foretold him that he ſhould excell in hunting, in force of body, in armes, and other ſuch exerciſes, whereby he ſhould purchaſe immortall glory both to himſelfe and his poſterity, yet notwithſtanding that he ſhould be his brothers vaſſall. But for that *Iacob* feared leaſt his brother ſhould ſeek to be reuenged of him for robbing him of his fathers bleſſing, he was by his mothers means deliuered from this perill. For, ſhe perſwaded her husband to take *Iacob* a wife neere allied vnto her, out of Meſopotamia. *Eſau* at that time had maried another wife called *Baſſemath* the daughter of *Iſmael*: for neither *Iſaac* nor his were well affectioned towards the Chanaanites: but were offended by reaſon of his former eſpouſals. For which cauſe *Eſau* to giue them contentment married *Baſſemath*, whom afterward he loued more entirely then all the reſt.

Eſau required a bleſſing.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 17.

CHAP. XIX.

How IACOB *fled into Meſopotamia for feare of his brother.*

Gen. 28.

BVT *Iacob* being ſent into Meſopotamia by his mother, vnder hope to marry the daughter of *Laban*, her brother (whereunto *Iſaac* conſented through the counſaile of his wife) paſſed through the countrey of Chanaan. And for that there was a conceiued and open hatred betwixt *Iſaacs* people and the inhabitants of Chanaan, he would not take vp his lodging amongſt any of them, but lay abroad in the fields, reſting his head vpon ſtones, which he had heaped together in ſtead of a pillow: and during the time of his reſt, this viſion following was preſented vnto him. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a ladder, that extending it ſelf from the earth, reached vp vnto heauen, along the ſteps whereof there deſcended certaine reſemblances more excellent to looke on, then the ordinary port of humane nature could impart; and on the top thereof God manifeſtly appeared, and calling him by his name, ſpake vnto him after this maner. *Iacob*, ſure thou art the ſon of a good father, and deſcended from a grandfather renowned and famous for his great vertue: thou muſt not be daunted, or appauled by thy preſent trauels; but rather bee confirmed in hope of future good hap. For by mine aſſiſtance thou ſhalt be bleſſed, and endowed with many benefits. For I am he that brought *Abraham* hither, from the countrey of Meſopotamia, at ſuch time as he was purſued by his parents: I haue alſo made thy father happy, and will be no leſſe gracious and fauourable vnto thy ſelfe.

Iacobs ladder

God ſpaketh vnto Iacob.

Be confident therefore, and proſecute thy iourney vnder mine aſſiſtance. The marriage which thou purſueſt ſhall haue a happy iſſue, and thou ſhalt haue good children, who in number ſhall grow infinite, and ſhall likewiſe leaue after them a plentifull and famous poſterity, and I will giue them the ſoueraignty ouer this country, both to them and their ſucceſſors, and they ſhall people and repleniſh both the earth and the Sea, as farre as the Sunne enlightneth the world. Let not therefore any danger diſmay thee, nor trauaile diſcomfort thee: for beſides all this, whatſoeuer thou ſhalt vndertake, I will not ceaſe to aſſiſt thee. Theſe things did God foretell vnto *Iacob*, who very highly reioicing at that which he had ſeene, and that which had beene denounced vnto him, annointed the ſtones on which the promiſes of ſo many bleſſings had beene made, and vowed to offer ſacrifice vnto God on the ſame, if at ſuch time as hee had attained the good hee ſought, he ſhould grant him the grace to returne in health and ſafety into his countrey: which

Iacob voweth a ſacrifice vnto God and calleth the place Bethel which is the houſe of God.

as

A as ſoone as he returned backe he performed, offering vnto God the tenth of all that which he had giuen him. And as touching the place where the viſion appeared vnto him he hallowed it, and called it by the name of Bethel, which in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth the houſe of God. Continuing thus his iourney into Meſopotamia he trauelled ſo long, till at laſt he arriued at Charran: and hauing met in the ſuburbes of the Citie with certaine ſhepheards and yong men accompanied with yong maidens, ſitting neere to a certaine fountaine, he drew neere vnto them, deſiring them to giue him drinke: and falling in diſcourſe with them, he asked them whether they knew one that was called *Laban*, and whether he were yet aliue. All of them anſwered that they knew him well, and that he was a man of that reputation that his name could not be concealed, that his daughter was accuſtomed to feede her flocke with them, and that they wondered B that ſhe was not yet arriued: of whom (ſaid they) thou maiſt perfectly vnderſtand all that which thou deſireſt to know. Whileſt thus they paſt the time in talke, the Damſell drew neere accompanied with her ſhepheards: whom one of the company informed that *Iacob* was inquiſitiue after her father; who, reioycing after the manner of yong maidens, asked him what he was, and whence he came, and what neceſſitie had driuen him thither? wiſhing ſhee had the meanes to ſupply whatſoeuer his neceſſities required. *Iacob* being ouercome, not by the force of affinitie, or by her good behauiour and curteſie, but with the loue of the maiden, was inflamed ſeeing her ſo faire and matchleſſe in beautie, and ſaid vnto her. If thou art the daughter of *Laban* there is a greater and more ancient coniunction betwixt both thy father, thy ſelfe and me, then either thy yeeres, or my birth can attaine vnto. For, *Abraham*, *Aran* and *Nachor*, were *Thares* ſonnes; C *Bathuel* thy grand-father was *Nachors* ſonne, *Iſaac* my father was the ſon of *Abraham*, and *Sara* daughter of *Aran*: there is yet a neerer and dearer bond of friendſhip wherewith we are linked one vnto another. For, *Rebecca* my mother is ſiſter vnto *Laban* thy father, borne of one father and mother; ſo that you and I are cooſens: and therefore now am I come at this preſent to ſalute you, and renue that ancient loue which our alliance requireth at our hands. But ſhee remembring her of all thoſe things which her father was wont to report and diſcourſe of *Rebecca*, and knowing that her Parents were deſirous to heare ſome news from her, ſhe wept for ioy, remembring her of the loue of her father, and hung about his necke, and embraced the yong man, and after ſhe had ſaluted him ſhe ſaid vnto him: Thou bringeſt a moſt deſired & great pleaſure to my father & all his family, who neuer forgetteth thy mother, but oftentimes maketh mention of her: D and would eſteem it a great felicity to heare tidings from her. Then deſired ſhe him preſently to follow her to her father, leaſt any longer he might be depriued of ſo deſired a pleaſure. This ſaid, ſhe brought him vnto *Laban*, were being acknowledged by his vncle, he both by that meanes liued ſecurely amongſt his friends, as alſo brought him great contentment, by his vnexpected acceſſe vnto them. Some few daies after, this *Laban* told him that he tooke ſo much contentment in his preſence, that he could not expreſſe it in words, yet required he him to manifeſt the cauſe that had induced him to leaue his father and mother in that extreame age, at ſuch time as they had moſt neede of him, to find him out: Moreouer he promiſed him all aſſiſtance and fauour in whatſoeuer caſe he had to make vſe of him. Whereupon *Iacob* diſcourſed vnto him the whole matter, that *Iſaac* had two ſonnes, himſelfe and *Eſau*, that his brother) in that by his mothers de- E uiſe and counſell, he had defrauded him of his Fathers bleſſing) ſought and deſired to kill him, as he that was the rauiſher of that principalitie from him that was deſtinated vnto him by God, and the ſurpriſer of all his fathers other intended vowes: that this, as alſo his mothers command was the cauſe why he came thither: by reaſon they are all brothers, and by reaſon that in eſpeciall his mother was their neereſt akinne; telling him that next after God hee hoped to finde his greateſt aſſiſtance and helpe by the meanes of his vncle. Whereupon *Laban* promiſing vnto him whatſoeuer humanitie he could imagine (as well in reſpect of their common auncestors, as for the loue he bare vnto his mother, towards whom although ſhee were abſent, he would expreſſe his good affection, in ſhewing himſelfe well affected towards him that was there preſent:) he told him then that he would giue him the charge of his flocke, and make him maſter ouer all F his ſhepheards, and that when he ſhould thinke good to returne backe againe to his friends, he ſhould depart with ſuch rewards and honours as might well beſeeme a friend ſo neerely allied vnto him as he was. Which when *Iacob* vnderſtood, he anſwered that he would willingly indure any ſort of labour in *Labans* ſeruice, and that his deuoire towards him would be a delight to himſelfe, but that in lieu of his labours he required *Rachel* to wife, who deſerued to be honoured by him with no leſſe title for many cauſes, but in eſpeciall for that ſhe had brought him thither: auowing that the loue which he bare vnto her was the cauſe why he vſed thoſe ſpeeches. *Laban* (being

The yeere of the world, 2186. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1778.

Gen. 29.

Iacob arriueth at Charran in Meſopotamia among his mothers kindred.

Iacobs talke with Rachel. Rachels excellent beautie.

Iacobs talke with Laban.

The yeere of the world, 2107. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1771.

Iacob for Recompence requireth Rachel for his wife.

The yeere of the world, 2103. before Christs Nativitie, 1771.

(being highly delighted and contented with this his discourse) granted him his consent in the G
marriage, telling him that he could not haue wisht for a better sonne in law: and that if he would
soiourne a while with him, he would make him Lord of all that his heart desired, especially for
that he was no waies minded to send his daughter among the Chanaanites; and that it repented
him, that (by reason of marriage) his sister had beene drawne thither. *Iacob* condescended vpon
these conditions, and couenanted to abide with him for the space of seuen yeeres (for he deter-
mined to serue his father in law during that terme of yeeres, to the end that hauing made proofe
of his vertue, it might the better appeare what he was.) Now the time which was couenan-
ted betweene them being expired, and *Iacob* expecting the contented possession of his loue
which was promised him, *Laban* prepared a nuptiall feast, and when the night drew on and *Iacob*
least suspected, he bringeth his daughter lesse faire in face, and more elder in yeeres, and layeth H
her by him, who deceiued with the darkenesse, and for that he had drunke liberally, lay with
her: but the day after discouering the deceit, he questioned with *Laban* and accused him, who
asked him pardon, alledging the necessitie which inforced him to doe that which he did. For,
he had not brought in *Lea* vnder intent to deceiue him, but that the custome of the countrey
compelled him thereunto, yet that the same should no waies hinder him, but that he should en-
ioy *Rachel*, and receiue, see, and haue vse of her, after seuen yeeres more were fully expired. Here-
with *Iacob* grew pacified, and suffered himselfe to be perswaded (in that the loue which he bare
vnto *Rachel* suffered him to do no otherwaies) and when the other seuen yeeres were expired, he
married *Rachel*. Now, both of these had two chamber-maids which their father had giuen
them. *Leas* maide was called *Zelpha*, and *Rachels Bala*, who were no slaues but onely subiects. I
Lea was touched with great griefe in that *Iacob* bare greater affection to her sister then to her
selfe, bethinking her oftentimes, that if shee might haue children, she should be better esteemed
and beloued by her husband: for which cause shee continually besought almightie God that it
might please him to giue her issue: whereupon it happened that God gaue her a sonne, and *Iacobs*
affection was turned towards her, for which cause shee called him *Ruben*: that is to say, the sonne
of vision, because she had obtained him through the mercie of God.

Iacob in steed of Rachel lyeth with Lea.

After him she bare three children, *Simeon* (whose name signifieth, that God had heard her) *Leui*,
(which is as much to say, as the firmenesse of society) and last of all *Iuda*, (which signifieth
thanksgiuing.) At that time *Rachel* fearing least shee should lose the better part of her husbands
loue, by reason of the fertilitie and fruitfulnesse of her sister, caused her chamber-maide *Bala* to K
lie with him, by whom he had a sonne called *Dan*, that is to say, the iudgement of God: and
after him *Nepthalim* (which signifieth ingenious; by reason that shee vsed subtiltie to requite
her sisters subtiltie.) In like sort of *Zelpha* he begat *Gad* (which signifieth aduentrous) and after
him *Asar* (that is to say, good hap bringer) because that *Lea* was more honoured by the multi-
tude of her progeny.

The explication and names of Iacobs sonnes. Gen. 30.

Rachel brings in Iacob to Bala.

Lea bringeth in Zelpha.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before Christs Nativitie. 1758.

Gen. 31.

Ruben, the eldest of all the sonnes of *Lea*, brought his mother apples of Mandragora, which
when *Rachel* had perceiued, she desired her to giue her a part thereof in that shee longed to taste
of the same: whereunto *Lea* would yeeld no consent, replying that she ought to content her selfe,
in that she had the prerogatiue in loue in respect of both their beloued, which was *Iacob*. *Rachel*
mollifying the heart of her sister with kinde words, said vnto her, that shee would be content that L
Iacob should lie with her for that night: which *Iacob* performed for the loue of *Rachel*, and *Lea*
once more had children, namely, *Isachar* (which signifieth, Come by hire) & *Zabulon*, which im-
porteth a pledge of good will; besides whom she had a daughter also called *Dina*. Not long after
this, *Rachel* lay with *Iacob*, and brought forth a sonne who was called *Ioseph*, which name signifi-
eth an addition. During all this time (which was for the space of twentie yeeres) *Iacob* had the
gouernment of his father in lawes flocks: but afterwards he thought good (accompanyed with
his wiues) to returne to his owne inheritance; which when his father in law perceiued, he would
in no sort giue his consent thereunto, for which cause he couertly determined to forsake him.
To this intent he made triall of his wiues to see how they were affected towards his flight: who
hartned him by their consents, insomuch as *Rachel* hauing surprized the Images of those gods M
which were honored in that country, fled away with her sister, who both of them led with them
all their childrē on both sides, their handmaids, with the rest of al their substance: *Iacob* also draue
away the moity of the cattell without the witting or will of *Laban*. *Rachel* also bare with her the
Images of the gods, although she had beene taught by *Iacob* to contemne them and yeeld them
no honour: but shee supposed that if *Laban* pursued and ouertooke them, in hauing recourse to
them shee might obtaine pardon. But *Laban* a day after the departure of *Iacob* and his wiues
had

Iacob with his wiues, children and flockes flie without his fathers priuitie.

Rachel beareth away with her her fathers houshold gods.

Laban pursueth Iacob, but God deliuereth him from his purpose.

A had notice thereof; and being therewith ſore agrieued, hee purſued after them, intending to aſſaile them by force, and on the ſeuenth day he ouertooke them vpon a certaine hill where they ſat them downe to take their reſt, in that it was euening: but God appearing to him in a dreame gaue him counſell to vſe no violence, neither towards his ſonne in law, nor his daughters; but rather to pacifie his yre towards them, and to liſten to a peaceable accord betwixt himſelfe and *Iacob*: aſſuring him that if in contempt of *Iacobs* weakeneſſe he ſhould lift vp his arme to aſſaile him, that he himſelfe would ioyne with *Iacob* to yeeld him ſuccours. *The yeare of the world, 2200, before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1758.*

The next day, after that *Laban* had receiued this Oracle from the mouth of God, as ſoone as it was day he called *Iacob* vnto him, to the end they might conferre together (hiding nothing from him which the night before he had beheld in his dreame. As ſoone as *Iacob* was come vn-
B to him vnder ſafe conduct, he began to accuſe him; alledging that he had receiued him into his houſe, at ſuch time as he came vnto him being poore and naked of all meanes: and how he had giuen him great abouncance of goods. I haue (ſaith he) giuen thee my daughters in marriage, hoping by that meanes to increaſe thy loue towards me more and more; but thou haſt had neither reſpect of thy mother, neither of the acquaintance or parentage betwixt thee and mee, neither of the wiues which thou haſt eſpouſed, neither of thy children whoſe grandfather I am; but haſt dealt with me after an iniurious and hoſtile manner, driuing away that which appertained vnto me, ſeducing my daughters to abandon him that begat them, and carry away my houſhold gods with them, which both I and my predeceſſours, haue ſerued and honoured; and euen as much, as men of warre would not haue done vnto their enemies, that haſt thou done vnto me: Labans accuſation againſt Iacob.
C yea thou that art my kinſman, my ſiſters ſonne, the husband of my daughters, my pledge and my familiar ſeruant, haſt dealt thus with me: On the other ſide *Iacob* alleadged for himſelfe, that God had not onely made impreſsion in his heart, but that all men alſo are wholly addicted to the loue of their countrey; and that after ſo long ſpace of time, it ſeemed good vnto him to viſit his natiue ſoyle. And as concerning that crime (ſaith he) which thou obiecteſt againſt mee, as touching the prey, if any other but thy ſelf be iudge, thou ſhalt be conuicted to haue dealt iniuſtly with me: for whereas thou oughteſt to haue rewarded me, for the maintenance and increaſe I haue made of thy goods, haſt thou not done vs great wrong to enuie vs a little part and portion thereof? And as concerning thy daughters, know this that they haue not followed me by reaſon they haue been conueyed away by ſubtiltie, but vnder that loue and dutie which married wiues beare Iacobs anſwer to Labans obiection.
D vnto their husbands: they doe not therefore onely follow me, but they come after their children. Theſe things alledged he for himſelfe. Further he replyed and accuſed *Laban*, becauſe that being his mothers brother, and hauing giuen his daughters to wife, he had notwithſtanding bitterly vexed him by his ſeuere commandements, vnder which he had beene obedient during the ſpace of twentie yeares, that the troubles he had endured vnder colour of marriage with *Rachel* had beene comberſome vnto him; yet notwithſtanding that it was but a trifle in reſpect of that which he ſuffered afterwards; which, had he borne him an enuious affection or hoſtile hatred, he could very well haue eſcaped. In effect *Laban* had dealt moſt maliciouſly with *Iacob*. Iacobs accuſation againſt Laban. Labans ſubtill dealing with Iacob.
E For ſeeing that God aſsiſted him in all that he enterpriſed, *Laban* promiſed to giue him all the cattell that were borne white, and ſometime that which was brought forth blacke: and when as that which *Iacob* had named and choſen did increaſe, then did not *Laban* performe his promiſe vnto him, but deferred him ouer to the next yeeres increaſe, by reaſon he had alwaies a reſpect of the greater flocke, and promiſed that which he hoped would not come to paſſe, and which if it fell contrarie, he was ready to infringe. And as touching the gods, he told him that he might make ſearch for them. Labans couenant with Iacob. *Gen. 32.*

This condition did *Laban* accept: but *Rachel* vnderſtanding thereof, thruſt the ſaid gods into a ſacke, and made them to be carried on a Camels backe, and ſhee ſat vpon them, ſaying, that ſhe was indiſpoſed, by reaſon at that time ſhee had her naturall purgations. And for this cauſe *Laban* deſiſted from ſearching any further, ſuppoſing his daughter being ſo affected would not conceale or ſet her ſelfe ſo neere things that were ſo ſacred: and he made a couenant with
F *Iacob*, that none of them ſhould call to remembrance the interchangeable vnkindneſſes that had paſt betwixt them, but that he ſhould cheriſh his daughters, all which they bound with an oath. This couenant was made vpon a certaine mountaine, where they reared a pillar in the forme of an Altar: whence it came to paſſe that this pillar was called Galaad, that is to ſay, the hill of witneſſe, from whence the countrey of Galaad hath taken his name euen vntill this day: and after that the alliance was made, and that they had banquetted together, *Laban* returned backe againe into his owne countrey.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before Christs Nativitie, 1798.

But as *Iacob* trauailed towards the countrey of Chanaan, he encountred many visions, which G
presaged vnto him good hope and fortunes to come; and he called the place where this thing hapned, the Field of God. And being desirous to know how his brother *Esau* was affected towards him, he sent messengers before him to sound and gather the exact truth thereof, by reason he stood in feare least the memory of his old discontent should be renewed: charging his messengers to signifie vnto *Esau*, that *Iacob* (deeming it to be a thing inconuenient to liue with his brother, who was displeased with him) had of his owne freewill forsaken the countrey, and that at this present he was vpon his returne, thinking that the length of time were sufficient to procure a reconciliation betweene them. He therefore led with him his wiues and children, with all those riches which God had giuen him; offering himselfe vnto *Esau* with all that of most esteeme which he had, by reason that he thought it the greatest benefit that might happen to H
him, to impart vnto his brother a part of those commodities, which he had receiued at Gods hands. All which they signified vnto *Esau*, who reioyced very much thereat, and went foorth to meete his brother, accompanied with foure hundred armed men. But *Iacob* hearing that he marched forward to meete him, attended by so many men at armes, was very much afraid: yet fixing his confidence in God, he prouided for the time, least any detriment should happen vnto him, studying euery way to defend both him, and his, from inuasion. Whereupon diuiding his troupes, he caused some to march before, and the rest to follow speedily after: so that if any did assault the first, they might retire themselues to the troupe that followed.

Iacob sendeth messengers to his brother Esau.

Genesis 38.

After this manner hauing ordered all things about him, he sent certaine with presents to his brother, namely with beasts of charge, and a great number of diuers kinds of foure-footed beasts, I
(which for their rarenesse might worke more content and admiration in those to whom they were presented.) All these marched one after another, to the intent, that being encountred thus in rankes, they might seeme to be of greater number then they were: to the end, that if as yet there remained any discontent in the heart of *Esau*, these presents might serue to mitigate the same. He commanded them also that marched formost, that they should vse courteous salutation towards *Esau*. Hauing thus all the day disposed his troupes, as soone as the night was come, he caused all his companies to march, who passed the riuer of Iaboch: but *Iacob*, who was left hindmost, was encountred with a vision, in which he wrastled with an apparition, and he became victor.

Iacob reconcileth his brother with rewards.

Iacob wrastleth with an Angel and is called Israel.

Now this vision spake vnto him, exhorting him to reioyce at that which had hapned vnto him, K
assuring him that he had not atchieued an easie matter, but that he had surmounted an Angell of God, which was a signe of great good which should befortune him, and that his posteritie should be inuincible, and that neuer man whatsoeuer he were, should ouercome him: commanding him to call his name *Israel*, that is to say according to the Hebrewes, a *resister of an Angell*. These things were foretold vnto *Iacob* vpon his request, who perceiuing also that he was an Angel of God, praied him to informe him of that which should happen vnto him: which the vision did, and afterwards vanished. *Iacob* tooke great pleasure thereat, and called the place Phanuel, that is to say, the face of God: and for that in wraftling he had hurt his broad nerue, he afterwards abstained from eating of the same, and by reason thereof our nation doe neuer feede thereon. L

Now when he had intelligence that his brother neerely approched him, he commanded his wiues that they should march forward euery one with their handmaidens, to the end that they might from afarre behold the fight of the men, if so be that his brother should assaile them. But himselfe he humbled in reuerencing his brother, who drew neere vnto him, without intent of circumuention: and *Esau* saluted him, and enquired of him as touching the companies of women and children; and after he vnderstood how all went, he was desirous to lead them to his father. But *Iacob* excused himselfe, by reason of the wearinesse of his cattell, and *Esau* retired to Sair where he made his abode, and had imposed that name on that countrey, by reason of his thicke haire. *Iacob* also retired himselfe to a place, which at this day also is called the Tents, and from thence into Sichem, a city of the Chanaanites.

Iacob saluteth his brother Esau.

Gen. 34.

Iacob commeth to Scenas

The History of Dina, Iacobs daughter.

Now at such time as the Sichemites celebrated their feast, *Dina* which was *Iacobs* only daugh- M
ter, went into the City to see the brauery of the women of that country. But *Sichem* the sonne of King *Emmor* rauished her, and deflowred her: and being surprised with her loue, he besought his father that he might take her to wife: who listning thereunto, went vnto *Iacob*, praying him to ioyne *Dina* his daughter, in lawfull marriage, with his sonne *Sichem*, *Iacob* not daring to contradict him by reason of his authority and qualitie; and on the other side, not thinking it to

be

A be either a thing lawfull, or conuenient to match his daughter with a ſtranger, required at his hands a time of deliberation to conſult thereupon. Hereon the king departed, hoping that *Iacob* would liſten to the marriage. But *Iacob* hauing diſcouered vnto his ſonnes the rauiſhment of their ſiſter, and the requeſt of *Emmor*, deſired them to deliberate amongſt themſelues what thing was to be done in the matter: whereupon ſome held their peace, not knowing what to ſay; but *Simeon* and *Leui* (the brothers of the ſame wombe, with their ſiſter) complotted together this practiſe. In as much as it was a feſtiuall, and that the Sichemites intended nought but pleaſure and banquetting, they iſſued by night vpon their firſt guards, and killed them that were a bed; and from thence entring into the Citie, they killed all the males (and with them the king and his ſonne) but to the women they offered no violence. Which being executed
B without the knowledge of their father, they brought their ſiſter backe againe. *Iacob* was very much aſtoniſhed at this accident ſo ſtrangely executed, and was wroth with his children: but God appeared vnto him and comforted him, and commanded him that he ſhould purifie his tents, and accompliſh thoſe ſacrifices which he had vowed to performe, at ſuch time when firſt he went into Meſopotamia, and the viſion appeared vnto him. Whileſt then he cleanſed thoſe which followed him, he found the Gods of *Laban*, which beſide his knowledge *Rachel* had ſtolne, and hid them in Sichem in the earth vnder an Oake.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1758.

Simeon and Leui kill the Sichemites, *Gen.* 35.

Iacob digging vp Labans gods, goeth and ſacrifice h at Bethel.

Afterwards departing from thence, he ſacrificed in Bethel, where he had ſeene the viſion, at ſuch time as he firſt of all tooke his iourney into Meſopotamia: and as he trauailed in the land of Ephrata, *Rachel* died in child-bed, and was buried there: and ſhee only hath not enioyed the
C honour, which is done in Hebron to thoſe of her parentage.) After he had made great lamentation, he named the child which ſhe bare at that time, *Beniamin*, (by reaſon of the dolours which happened vnto his mother.) Theſe are all the children of *Iacob*, twelue males and one daughter, of whom eight were begotten on his lawfull wiues, ſixe of *Lea*, and two of *Rachel*; and on their chamber-maides, foure; two of each of them, whoſe names I haue heretofore recorded. From thence went *Iacob* to Hebron a Citie of Chanaan, where *Iſaac* made his abode, and they liued but a ſmall time together, becauſe *Rachel* was dead and departed from him.

Rachel dieth in child-bed. Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 28.

CHAP. XX.

ISAAC *dieth and is buried in Hebron.*

D

Iſaac died a little time after the arriuall of his ſonne, and was buried with his wife by his ſonne in Hebron, among their fathers. This *Iſaac* was a man beloued of God; and guided by his eſpeciall prouidence. After the deceaſe of *Abraham*, he liued a long time: and after he had paſſed his life in all vertue for the ſpace of 185. yeeres he deceaſed.

The yeere of the world, 2230. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1734.

Iſaac dieth, 185 yeeres old. *Gen.* 35.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

E

The Contents of the Chapters of the ſecond Booke.

1. *How* Eſau *and* Iacob, Iſaacs *ſonnes, diuided their habitations, and how Idumæa fell to* Eſaus *lot, and Chanaan to* Iacobs.
2. *How* Ioſeph *the yongeſt of* Iacobs *ſonnes, by reaſon of his dreames which foretold his future felicitie, incurred his brothers enuie.*
3. *How* Ioſeph *was ſold by his brethren into Egypt, and grew in great authoritie in that countrey; and how at length he had his brothers vnder his power.*
4. *How* Iacob *with all his progenie came vnto his ſonne.*
5. *Of the affliction of the Hebrewes in Egypt, for the ſpace of* 400. *yeeres.*
6. *How vnder the conduct of* Moſes, *they forſooke Egypt,*
7. *How the redde ſea diuided it ſelfe, and gaue the Hebrewes a paſſage at ſuch time as they fled out of Egypt.*

F

CHAP. I.

How ESAV *and* IACOB, ISAACS *ſonnes, diuided their inhabitance: and how Idumæa fell to* ESAV *lot, and Chanaan to* IACOBS.

The yeere of the world, 2230. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1734.

BVT when *Iſaac* was dead, the ſonnes diuided their habitations among themſelues, and were neither of them content with that which they inherited by their father: but *Eſau* leauing the Citie of Hebron to his brother, went and dwelt in Seir; and was Lord of the countrey of Idumæa, which he named by his name (for it was ſurnamed Edom) for the occaſion which followeth. He being very yong, returned one day ſore wearied, trauailed, and hungry from hunting; and finding his brother dreſſing for himſelfe a meſſe of lentill pottage, which were very red in colour, and further increaſed and incenſed his appetite; he required them at his hands, that he might eate them. But he taking the opportunitie and occaſion of his brother *Eſaus* hunger, conſtrained him to forſake his birth-right, and to ſell him the ſame, on condition, he ſhould giue him what to eate. *Eſau* then tranſported with famine ſurrendred vnto him his birth-right, and confirmed it with a ſolemne oath. And thereupon, his equals in age, in way of mockery, called him Edom, by reaſon of his red meat: for Edom in Hebrew, ſignifieth Red. His countrey likewiſe was called Edom: but the Greeks, to the end they might make the name more currant, called it Idumæa. He became the father of fiue children, of whom he had three by his wife *Alibamma*, whoſe names were *Iaus*, *Iolamus*, and *Choræus*: as touching the other two, *Aliphaces* was the ſonne of *Aza*, and *Raguel* of *Moſmetha*: theſe children had *Eſau*. *Aliphaces* had fiue legetimate children, *Theman*, *Omar*, *Ophus*, *Iotham*, *Ocauaxes* (for *Amelech* was illegitimate, borne by one of his concubines, whoſe name was *Themana*.) Theſe dwelled in that part of Idumæa, which is called Gobolitus; and in that part, which by reaſon of *Amelech*, is called Amalechitis. For, Idumæa being in times paſt a land of great extent, continued the name of Idumæa thorough the whole countrey: and the particular prouinces of the ſame, kept the names of thoſe that firſt inhabited the ſame.

Iſaacs ſonnes departed their habitations.

Eſau the firſt begotten, ſelleth his birth-right.

Eſau called Edom. Gen. 36.

Eſaus ſonnes and poſterity.

CHAP. II.

IOSEPH *the yongeſt of* IACOBS *children, is enuied by his brothers.*

The yeere of the woold, 2206. before the Nativity of Chriſt, 1658.

BVT *Iacob* attained to that felicitie, that ſcarcely any other had beene ſo happy; for he ſurpaſſed all the inhabitants of that countrey in riches: and by reaſon of the vertues of his children, he was both enuied and regarded. For, they were accompliſhed in all perfections, animated and endowed with ſtout hearts; prepared to execute any worke of the hand, and to indure all ſorts of trauell: finally, all of them were furniſhed with knowledge and prouidence. But God had ſuch care of him, and ſo diligently procured and furthered his good fortunes, that that which ſeemed vnto him to be griefefull and contrary, he brought to an iſſue proſperous for him, and increaſefull for his riches: and brought to paſſe, that both he and his children were the firſt motiue to our auncestours to forſake the land of Ægypt, for that cauſe which here inſueth. *Iacob* hauing begotten *Ioſeph* of *Rachel*, loued him entirely, both in reſpect of the beauty of his body, as alſo of the ornaments and vertues of his ſpirit: and beſides both theſe, his prudence, wherein he outſtripped all his other brothers. This cordiall affection of his father, mooued enuie and hatred amongſt his brothers towards him. And beſides theſe, the dreams which he had ſeene, and told both to his father and brethren; which foreprophecied vnto him a ſingular felicitie. For, it is the common cuſtome of men to be iealous of their proſperitie, with whom they are familiar.

Gen. 37. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Iacobs ſons hated their brother Ioſeph.

Now the viſions which *Ioſeph* ſaw in his dreame, were theſe. Being ſent by his father in the company of his brothers, to reape corne in the time of harueſt, he ſaw a viſion (farre different from thoſe which accuſtomably happen in ſleepe) which (as ſoone as he awoke) he told vnto his brethren, to the end they ſhould interpret it. He tolde them therefore, that he thought in his dreame the night paſt, that his ſheafe of corne was ſetled in a place where he had fixed it, and that theirs ranne towards his, and worſhipped the ſame. Which viſion of his ſeemed, to foretell him of his ample fortune; and how he ſhould obtaine the Lordſhip ouer all of them. But they concealed all theſe things from *Ioſeph*, making ſhew that they could in no ſort interpret the dreame: but being by themſelues apart, they breathed forth contrarie imprecations, wiſhing that

Ioſephs dreame.

A that nothing of that which they interpreted as touching his dreame, might take effect, but perseuering more and more in enuie and hatred towards him. But God (opposing his power against their enuie) sent *Ioseph* a second and more strange vision. For he dreamed that the Sun, the Moone, and eleuen of the starres descended downe to the earth, and humbled themselues before him. Which vision he reuealed to his father in the presence of his brethren (without suspition of any hatred in them towards him) and besought him to interpret vnto him the meaning thereof. Now as touching *Iacob*, he greatly reioyced at this dreame, by reason hee conceiued in his mind the interpretation thereof, and (in comparing and alluding his coniectures not rashly, but with prudence) hee reioyced at those great matters which were signified by that dreame: which foretold, that his sonne *Ioseph* should be highly fortunate, and happy; and that the time
B should come in which his father, mother and brethren should honour him, and worship before him. For, he compared the Moone (which ripeneth and encreaseth all things that grow) to his mother: and the Sunne which giueth forme and force) to his father. And as touching his brothers, who were eleuen in number, he compared them to the eleuen stars, (which receiued their force both from the Sunne and the Moone.) Neither did *Iacob* without iudgement and consideration so interpret this vision. But, *Iosephs* brothers were highly aggrieued at this presage, conceiuing as hainously and hatefully thereof, as if this felicity had beene portended to a stranger, and not to their brother, with whom they might equally partake his good fortunes whatsoeuer, beeing as well allied in felicity vnto him as in consanguinity. Whereupon they resolued on his death and destruction, and hauing complotted these counsailes amongst themselues, and gathered
C in their harueſt, they retired themselues with their flockes towards Sichem (which was a part of that countrey) very fit to nourish and feede their cattell, where they kept their flockes without giuing any notice of their departure to their father. But hee perceiuing that no man came from the herd, that might tell him any tydings, beeing sorrowfull and carefull of his sonnes, hee sent *Ioseph* to the flockes, to vnderstand how they did, and how their affaires prospered.

The yeare of the world, 2206 before Christs Nativitie, 1758.

Iosephs dreame of the Sunne, Moon and Starres.

The interpretation of Iosephs dreame.

Iosephs brothers complot his death.

Sichem a fit place to graze in.

CHAP. III.

How IOSEPH *was sold into Egypt by his brethren, and grew in great credit in that countrey: and how his brethren at length were vnder his subiection.*

D BVT so soone as they saw their brother comming towards them, they reioyced, not as at the arriuall of one of their household friends sent vnto them by their father, but as if their enemy had encountred them; who by the will of God was deliuered into their hands. They therefore mutually agreed to put him to death, and not to let slip the present opportunitie. But *Ruben* the eldest amongst them seeing their disposition and conspiracie to kill him, endeuoured to dissuade them; setting before their eyes how hainous and wicked the enterprise was, and what hatred they might incurre thereby. For (said hee) if before God and before men it
E bee a wicked and detestable thing to lay hands on, and to murther a stranger: how much more haynous a crime will it bee helde for vs, to bee conuicted to bee the murtherers of our brother? whose death will heape sorrow on our fathers head: and draw our mother into great griefe and desolation through the losse of her sonne, robbed and bereft from her beyond the ordinary course of men. For which cause he prayed them to be aduised in these things, & that they would consider in their mindes, what thing might happen, if this childe, who was faire, vertuous and yong, should bee done to death: praying them to giue ouer this vnnaturall resolution, and to feare God, who was both the Iudge and Witnesse of their deliberation intended against their brother: and that if they would desist from this hainous act, God would take pleasure in their repentance and reconcilement; but if they proceeded in their enterprise, he assured them that he would punish them like fratricides; since nothing is hidden from his prouidence, whether it bee committed in the desart, or attempted in the City. For, whersoeuer men are, there is it alwaies
F to bee thought, that God likewise is. Further, that when they should haue perpetrated this fact, they should alwaies haue their consciences as an armed aduersarie against them, which neuer would forsake them, whether they were good, or whether such as theirs would bee, if they should fortune to murther their brother. Furthermore he alleadged, that it was an impious fact to kill a mans owne brother, although hee had done him iniurie; and much more meritorious to forgiue a mans friend, that had offended against him. Moreouer hee said, that *Ioseph* had done them no wrong, whose tender yeeres rather required care and compassion at their hands,

Ioseph commeth vnto his brothers, who resolue to murther him.

Ruben dissuadeth his brothers death.

The yeere of the world, 2217. before Christs Nativity. 1747.

The yeere of the world, 3217. before Christs Natiuitie, 1747.

then hate and tyranny. Besides that, the cause of his slaughter would aggrauate their offence, G if it should be knowen that for enuy of his future felicity they should take away his life, all which good hap they likewise might participate by reason of consanguinity, and that it was their dutie to think, that whatsoeuer blessing God imparted to *Ioseph* was theirs; and that for that cause they were to imagine, that God would be more displeased against them, if they should endeauour to depriue him of his life, whom he had esteemed and adiudged worthy of prosperity to come. *Ruben* alledging these and many other things, besought them and laboured to diuert them from shedding their brothers bloud: but seeing that all these his motiues could in no sort mollifie them, but that they hastened the rather to commit and perpetrate the murther; he counselled them that at least wise they should allot him some milder kinde of death. Telling them that he endeuoured all what in him lay at the first to dissuade them: but since it was throughly resolued H among them that he should not liue, that lesse mischiefe should follow of it, if they would be ruled by his counsell; for by that meanes there will should haue effect, yet, a more milde and lesse hurtfull in comparison of murther: that it were better for them to temper their hands, and keep them immaculate by casting him into the next pit, and there leauing him in the hands of death: to this counsell all of them agreed. So *Ruben* tooke *Ioseph* and bound him with cords, and let him downe easily into a pit which was drie, which done he departed to seeke out a more conuenient place for pasture.

Ruben perswadeth them to cast Ioseph into a pit, Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3.

Gen. 37. 39.

But when *Ruben* was gone, *Iuda* one of *Iacobs* sonnes (espying certaine merchants of Arabia, of the countrey of the Ismaelites, who from the countrey of Galadena carried Spicery and Syrian merchandise into Ægypt) counselled his brothers to draw vp *Ioseph* out of the well, and to sell I him to those Arabians, assuring them by that meanes it would come to passe that *Ioseph* should die, the farther off from them amongst strangers; and as touching themselues, they should be exempt from that pollution: which counsell of his being commended by them all, they drew *Ioseph* out of the pit, and sold him to the Arabians for the summe of twenty siluerlings, at such time as he was seuenteene yeeres of age. Now had *Ruben* resolued in himselfe to saue *Ioseph* without his brothers priuity: for which cause coming by night vnto the pit, he called him with a loud voice and seeing that he gaue him no answer, he began to coniecture with himselfe that his brethren had done him to death, he reprooued them therefore very bitterly; but after they had told him what was become of him, he gaue ouer his mourning. After these things were thus brought to passe, the brethren consulted amongst themselues in what sort they might cleere themselus from K their fathers suspition, and concluded among themselues to teare the coat wherewith *Ioseph* was attired at such time as he came vnto them, and which they had taken from him, when they cast him into the well, to the end that hauing defiled it in the bloud of a Goat, they might afterwards beare it vnto their father and shew it him, to the end he might suppose that *Ioseph* was slaine by wild beasts; which done, they came vnto the old man (not altogether ignorant of his sonnes misfortunes) and told him that they had not seene their brother *Ioseph*, neither could they assure him what mishap had befallen him; but that notwithstanding they had found his Ierkin altogether bebloudied and torne, which made them suspect that he was slaine by some wilde beasts, if so be he were sent vnto them attired in that coate.

Ioseph by the counsell of Iuda is sold to the Arabian merchants

Ruben by night commeth to the pit.

But *Iacob* (that hitherto expected and hoped for more successefull tidings, in that he supposed L and hoped that *Ioseph* had only beene captiue) gaue ouer this opinion, and tooke the coat for a most assured testimony of his sonnes death; for he knew that he was apparelled therewith at such time as he sent him to his brothers: for which cause he lamented *Ioseph*, from that time forward as being dead, and as if he had not any more sonnes. And such was the griefe of his heart, that he conceiued no consolation in the rest; but suffred himselfe to be perswaded by the brothers, that *Ioseph* had beene slaine by sauage beasts: he therefore sat him downe being clothed in sackcloth, and charged with sorrow; and neither could his sonnes by their counsels mitigate his moanes, nor he himselfe remit the rigor of his lamentation.

Iosephs brothers perswade his father that he is deuoured by wilde beasts.

Iacob bewaileth Ioseph for dead.

Now *Ioseph* was sold by the merchants and bought by *Putiphar* (an Ægyptian Lord, and a steward of king *Pharaohs* houshold) who held him in high estimation, and trained him vp in all liberall sciences, suffering him to liue not after a seruile, but liberall manner, and committing vnto M his charge the care of his houshold, all which fauours he made vse of. Yet was he no waies diuerted by these his priuiledges and promotions from his innated vertue; testifying hereby, that prudence doth not submit to aduerse fortune, if a man vse the same orderly, and not at that time onely when fortune fawneth and flattereth.

Ioseph is sold in Egypt to Putiphar.

Putiphars wife soliciteth Ioseph to lie with her.

It fortuned not long after, that his masters wife was enamoured with him, both in respect of

A of his beautie, as alſo of the dexteritie and diligence; ſuppoſing that if ſhee opened her minde vnto him, ſhee might the more eaſily enioy him, and that hee might eſteeme it a part of his felicitie, to bee beloued by his miſtris. All which ſhee ſuppoſed and imagined, hauing onely regard of that ſeruile condition, wherein at that preſent hee was, and not of his manners which continued alwaies entire; notwithſtanding any change that could happen vnto him: for which cauſe ſhee diſcouered vnto him her deſire, and deſired him to grant her an amorous encounter; but hee refuſed her demand, aliedging that it were a moſt wicked requitall of him towards his maſter, if it ſhould come to paſſe that he who had bought him, and ſo greatly honored him, ſhould receiue ſo great an iniurie and outrage: for which cauſe he exhorted her, to conquer her appetite, depriuing her of all hope of euer compaſſing her concupiſcence, alledging vnto her, that deſire is then B leſſe actiue when hope is extinguiſhed; auowing that hee had rather ſuffer all the miſchiefes that might bee imagined, then to conſent or condiſcend vnto her in that wickedneſſe. And although (ſaid hee) it bee vndecent for a ſeruant to contradict the will of his miſtreſſe, yet that the filthineſſe of the fact did diſſwade him from attempting the ſame. But this his repulſe did more and more inflame her, for that ſhee ſuppoſed that *Ioſeph* ſhould not denie her: and her diſordinate affections increaſing daily, ſhee deuiſed and complotted a new meanes in hope to bring her loue to her deſired iſſue.

The yeare of the world, 2217 before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1747.

Putiphars wife complotteth a ſecond ſubtilty to allure Ioſeph.

Whereas therefore a ſolemne and publike feaſt was at hand, wherein according to cuſtome, the Ladies were wont to dignifie the ſolemnitie by their aſſiſtance: ſhe fained a ſickneſſe, perſwading her husband thereunto, hoping by that meanes ſhee might haue the better opportunitie (in C being ſolitarie and alone) to ſolicite *Ioſeph*: which falling out accordingly (as ſhe had her ſelfe deſired (ſhe began to court and compaſſe him by theſe flattering and fawning allurements and perſwaſions; Telling him that hee had done well if vpon her firſt requeſt he had obeied her without any contradiction, in reſpect of her dignity who required the ſame, & her incredible paſſiō which had ſo farre commanded her, that notwithſtanding ſhee were his miſtreſſe, ſhee ſhould indignifie and forget herſelfe ſo much as to ſolicite him: that now hee ſhould behaue himſelfe more wiſely and better; if in amends of his forepaſſed obſtinacie hee now at laſt would conſent. For if he reſpected this her ſecond ſummons, it was farre more affectionate and importunate then the former, for (ſaith ſhee) I haue fained ſickneſſe to this ende, to ſolicite and preferre thy company before a publike triumph. Or if at firſt thou didſt miſtruſt mee, thou maiſt hereby conceiue that I D doe not maliciouſly tempt thee, in that I yet continue in the ſame affection. For which cauſe either make choice of this preſent pleaſure, and be obſequious to her that loueth thee, vnder hope of further preferments, or bee aſſured of my hate and reuenge if thou preferreſt thy opinion of chaſtitie before my fauour. For bee aſſured that thy chaſtitie ſhall profit thee nothing, if I ſhall accuſe thee to my husband, and auow that thou haſt ſought to violate me: for although thy allegations bee more true, yet ſhall my words bee of more force, and my accuſations more acceptable in *Putiphars* eares then thine. But neither by theſe words, nor her teares the witneſſes of her vowes, could *Ioſeph* bee peruerted, neither could remorſe ouerworke him, nor terrour compell him to forſake his purpoſed chaſtitie, but that hee conſtantly reſiſted againſt thoſe iniuſt afflictions, wherewith ſhee threatned him: chooſing rather to ſuffer any miſery whatſoeuer, then E to be priſoned with the poſſeſſion of her offered adulteries, being well aſſured that he was worthy of extreame puniſhment, if on a womans intreatie hee ſhould condiſcend to any ſuch treachery. Hee likewiſe admoniſhed her of her dutie, alledging the lawes, rights, and cuſtomes of matrimonie, willing her rather to reſpect them, then her momentanie luſt: for that the one was ſpeedily followed with repentance, proceeding ſodainly of griefe, not amendment of ſinne, with a continuall and great feare likewiſe, leaſt the fact ſhould be diſcouered: whereas the company ſhee might haue with her husband, was voide of danger, and attended by a conſcience, as well before God as men. Moreouer, that it was more conuenient for her to gouerne and command him as his Lady and Miſtris, rather then to be ſhamed in making him the ſecretary of their common ſinne: for that it is more conuenient to bee aſſured in the confidence of a good life, F then in ſecret to commit ſinne. In theſe and ſuch words ſought hee to abate the brunt of her furious affection, and to reuoke her from her depraued fancies, to ſubmit to the law of reaſon; but ſhee, the more inſtantly he diſſwaded, the more earneſtly inuaded him; and where by no meanes ſhee could peruert him by words, ſhee laid violent hands vpon him, to conſtraine him perforce: but *Ioſeph* (vnable to indure any longer the intemperancie of the woman, leauing his garment behind him whereby ſhe held him) brake ſodainly out of the chamber. Shee partly impelled by the griefe of repulſe, partly affrighted with feare leaſt her laſciuiouſnes ſhould be made knowne

Ioſeph once more repulſeth the aſſaults of her luſt.

Ioſeph leauing his raiment behind him fled from the adultreſſe.

to

The yeare of the world, 2217 before Christs birth, 1747.

to her husband, decreed first of all falsely to accuse *Ioseph*, and by this meanes to take reuenge G
vpon him; holding it to be a craft worthy a womans wit, to anticipate and first of all to accuse her
accuser. She therefore sat her downe sad and perplexed, colouring the griefe of her defrauded
lust vnder the cloake of indignation for her attempted honour, and violated chastitie. Now when
her husband came home, and (being troubled in minde to behold these her agonies) demanded
the cause thereof: Liue thou no longer (said shee) my husband, except thou rigorously punish
that wretched slaue, who attempted to violate thy bed, forgetting both what he was when he
came into thy house, and with how great beneuolence thou hast entertained him, yea who was
to be esteemed more ingrate then ingratitude, except euery way he approoued himselfe faithfull
vnto thee: yet hath he not forborne to offer iniurie, no not to thine owne wife, and that which is
more, on a holy day, and in thine absence; whereby it manifestly appeareth that the moderati- H
on which hitherto he pretended, rather proceeded of seruile feare, then natiue modesty. And
that which hath the more emboldened him, is in that (besides all hope, and beyond his merit)
thou hast fauoured him: for seeing all thy goods were committed to his trust and dispensation,
and perceiuing that he was preferred before all thine ancient seruants, he thought it lawfull like-
wise for him to attempt and outrage thy wife: and to procure more credit to her words, she pro-
duced his garment, which (as she said) he left behind him at such time as he sought to violate her.
But *Putiphar* intangled by the words and teares of a woman, and attributing too much to his
wiues dissembling loue, omitting the further and faithfull inquisition of the truth, after he had
first of all praised his wiues faith and loyaltie, he cast *Ioseph* thus condemned of hainous wicked-
nesse into the prison of malefactors, esteeming his wiues chastitie, and commending it the more, I
in that he was now made a witnesse of her approoued honestie.

The adulteresse accusation against Ioseph.

Ioseph is cast into prison.

But *Ioseph* committing his innocencie vnto God, neither tooke care how to excuse himselfe,
neither to expresse how the matter fell out: but silently suffering the necessitie of his bonds, he
was onely comforted with this one hope, namely, that God was more powerfull, then they that
had imprisoned him: whose prouidence he presently experimented. For the keeper of the pri-
son considering both his faith and diligence in all that wherein he imployed him, as also the dig-
nitie of his forme, loosed him out of bonds, and by that meanes in some sort lessned his misery, gi-
uing him also an allowance more liberall then the rest of the prisoners had. Now when they that
were in the prison (as often as they had intermission from their labor) conferred together (as men
in misery are wont to doe) and questioned among themselues of the cause of their damnation: K
a certaine butler neere about the King (condemned by him in displeasure to be cast into Irons)
grew familiar with *Ioseph*; and for that he accounted him to be a prudent and prouident man, he
told him his dreame, praying him that if any presage might be gathered thereby, that he would
expound it vnto him, lamenting his misfortune, who not onely was persecuted by the kings dis-
pleasure, but also when he should take his rest, troubled from heauen by dreames. For he said
that in his sleepe he beheld three great clusters of grapes, hanging on three seuerall branches of
a vine; which were all ripe and ready to be gathered, and that him thought he pressed them in-
to a cup which the king held, and that afterwards hauing strained the Must, hee offered it to the
King, and that he willingly dranke thereof: now when he had shewed him his dreame, he desi-
red him that if he had any knowledge giuen him from God, he would vouchsafe to interpret his L
vision vnto him. *Ioseph* answered him that he should be of good courage, willing him to expect,
that within three daies he should be deliuered from his bonds, and be admitted againe to the
kings seruice, and restored to his former credit. For he interpreted that the vine bringeth forth
a fruit very good and profitable for mans vse, for that by the mediation thereof faith and friend-
ship is fixed and confirmed amongst them, and discords dissolued: furthermore that troubles
and sorrowes were asswaged by the vse thereof, in stead of which pleasures succeeded. This said
he, as thou tellest mee that the king receiued being pressed out by thy hands. Know therefore
that thou hast a good dreame offered thee, and that it signifieth thy deliuerance from misery
within three daies, according to the number of those clusters which thou gatheredst in thy
dreame. Remember me therefore I pray thee, as soone as the euent hath approoued this my pre-
diction to be faithfull and vnfained; and when thou art at liberty, forget vs not that are left here M
to lie in miserie, who departest to enioy thy foretold felicitie; for I am not here thrust into bonds
for my wickednes, but I am punished like a malefactor for my vertue and modestie, in that I ra-
ther respected the honour of the house in which I liued, and his credit who committed mee to
prison, then mine owne pleasure. And thus the butler as it became him, reioyced at the inter-
pretation of his dreame, and expected the euent. Now a certaine other seruant, who had the
command

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 4. *Gen.* 39. Ioseph's patience in bōds.

The keeper of the prison dealeth friendly with Ioseph.

The butlers dreame expounded.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before the Nativity of Christ, 1736.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Nativitie, 1726.

A commaund of the kings bakers, and liuing in the ſame priſon with the butler, conceiuing ſome hope through *Ioſephs* ſo happy interpretation (for that he likewiſe had ſeene a viſion) deſired him to expound vnto him what interpretation was to bee had of a dreame, which hee had the night paſt, which he expreſſed in theſe words. Me thought (ſaid hee) that I carried three baskets on my head: of which, two were repleniſhed with bread, and the other with fleſh (and diuers other kinds of cates, ſuch as are prepared for kings.) But the birdes of the ayre houering round about me, deuoured all the victuals, beeing nothing appauled by mee, although I droue them from thence. Which ſaid, he expected a preſage no leſſe fortunate then the former.

The yeere of the world, 2228. before Chriſts Nativity. 1736.

The Bakers dreame.

But *Ioſeph* (after he had coniectured vpon the circumſtances of the dreame, and foretold him that he would rather haue informed him of more ſucceſſefull fortunes, then his dreame did in-

The expoſition of the Bakers dreame.

B tend:) told him that he had onely two daies left him, wherein he was to liue. For theſe were deſignated by the two baskets: but by the third, that hee ſhould bee hanged and deuoured by the foules, which he could not driue from him. Neither did it otherwiſe fall out with both of them, then *Ioſeph* had foretolde: For vpon the prefixed day, the king (celebrating the feaſt of his natiuitie) commanded that the baker ſhould bee hanged: but as touching the butler, hee deliuered him from his bonds, & reſtored him to his former office. But God deliuered *Ioſeph* (after he had for the ſpace of two yeares ſpent his time in the miſery of the priſon: and was in the meane ſpace no waies aſſiſted by the vngratefull butler) by preordinating this meanes and maner of his libertie. Whereas king *Pharaoh* had that night in his ſleepe ſeene two viſions, and had alſo receiued

Gen. 41.

Pharao the king of Egypt his dreame.

the interpretation thereof, forgetting the one, he onely remembred him of the dreames, which

C in his opinion had no fortunate ſignification. Whereupon early in the morning (calling before him the learneſt amongſt the Egyptians) hee required the interpretation thereof. Now when hee could in no ſort be ſatisfied by them, the king was the more and more moued: which when the butler apperceiued, hee remembred him of *Ioſeph*, and of his wiſedome and prudence in theſe ſorts of coniectures; and repairing vnto the king tolde him of *Ioſeph* and of his viſion, and the euent thereof, which he had whileſt hee was in priſon, together with *Ioſephs* interpretation; and how the ſame day, the maſter of the bakers condemned to the gallowes, gaue greater credit to his predictions: how he was kept priſoner as a ſlaue by *Putifar* the maſter of his houſhold, and that he ſaid how amongſt the Hebrewes he was deſcended of good and honourable parents. Command him therefore (ſaid he) to be ſent for, neither deſpiſe the man for his preſent miſerie,

D for thou maieſt manifeſtly vnderſtand by him, the ſignification of thy dreames. Whereupon the king ſent for him preſently, and friendly taking him by the hand, hee ſpake vnto him after this manner: Good young man, in that I vnderſtand by the report of my ſeruant, that thou art prudent; ſhew me the interpretation of my dreames in ſuch manner as thou diſcouereſt his vnto him, and thou ſhalt doe me a high pleaſure: but beware thou neither conceale any thing for feare, or ſpeake ought for flatterie, or to feede mee with falſhoods, but tell me all things truely, although they ſhall in a ſort breed my diſcontent to heare them. Me ſeemed that I walked by a riuer ſide, & that I ſaw ſeuen well fed and very fat kine, which retyred themſelues from the floud into the paſture: and againe, mee thought that ſeuen others came from the paſture to encounter them, who were very leane and vgly to behold, who when they had deuoured the ſeuen others

Ioſeph is deliuered from bonds.

Pharaos dreame of the ſeuen kine.

E that were fat and great, yet neuer the more increaſed, but were all of them miſerably vexed with hunger. But after this viſion being awaked out of my ſleepe, and troubled in my minde, thinking with my ſelfe, what that viſion might ſignifie, beeing ſeized by little and little by a pleaſant ſlumber, I fell aſleepe once againe. And againe, I ſaw a viſion more prodigious then the former, which doth likewiſe trouble and terrifie me the more. For I ſaw ſeuen eares ſprong out of one roote, that hung downe and bowed their heads, becauſe they were loaden with graine ready to be reapt: after which, there appeared ſeuen other, weake, and languiſhing for want of deaw, who deuouring thoſe other great and full eares, left mee highly aſtoniſhed. Hereunto *Ioſeph* anſwered: This dreame (O king) although it hath been ſeene in two figures, yet ſo it is that it importeth one and the ſame accident, which is to enſue. For both thoſe oxen (which are creatures borne

The yeare of the world, 2227. before Chriſt Nativitie 1727.

The yeare of the world, 2228. before Chriſts birth, 1726.

The interpretation of Pharaos dreame.

F and bred vp for the plough and labour) which you ſaw deuoured by the leaner, and thoſe eares of corne conſumed by the weaker; foreſignifie a famine & ſcarcitie in Egypt for ſo many yeares, as there were Oxen and eares of corne in good plight: ſo that the fertility of theſe good yeares ſhall be conſumed by the ſterility of ſo many other yeares, according to their number; and there ſhall be ſuch ſcarcitie of neceſſary prouiſion, that it ſhall be hard to preuent and ſupply their defects: all which is ſignified by thoſe ſeuen leane kine, who, hauing deuoured the good, could not be ſatisfied by the ſame. All theſe things God foretelleth vnto men, not to the end they ſhould

be

The yeare of the world, 2238. before Christs Nativitie, 1726.

By Iosephs counsell the succeeding scarcitie is made more tolerable.

Ioseph is entitled by Pharao to great honours.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

Ioseph marieth a wife in Egypt on whom he begat Manasses & Ephraim.

The famine in Egypt.

Iacob sendeth his sonnes into Egypt to buy wheat.

Gen. 42.

Ioseph soundeth his brothers to the end he might vnderstand his fathers & Beniamins estate.

Rubens answer vnto Ioseph both for himself and his brothers.

be terrified and affrighted; but that being forewarned, they might prouide for themselues, to the end they might more easily preuent the imminent danger. If therefore thou shalt lay vp and store the aboundance of the plentifull yeeres, Egypt shall not feele the penurie that shall follow. And when as the king (admiring at *Iosephs* prudence and wisedome) demanded after what maner he might prouide in the time of plenty, how to preuent and redresse the future sterilitie: hee warned and counsailed him, that the Egyptians should vse parcimony, and that that which remained of those yeares superfluitie, might bee reserued for future necessities. He counselled him also to bind the husbandmen, that they should hoard vp their corne in their barnes, and onely to distribute to the people as much as was sufficient, and no more. Hereupon the king (not onely praising *Iosephs* counsell, but also his interpretation of his dreames) made him Lord and commissarie of all the store; and commanded him to prouide whatsoeuer hee thought necessarie in that behalfe, either of his owne or of the peoples: assuring him that hee thought no man more necessarie to execute this counsell, then himselfe who was the authour thereof. Hauing therfore this authoritie giuen him by the king to vse his owne signet, and to be cloathed in purple, he was conducted thorow all the country vpon a chariot: and hee assembled the labourers of corne, and distributed to euery one by measure, that which they wanted for seede corne, and for their nourishment, without letting any man vnderstand for what cause he did it.

About this time had he already attained to thirty yeares olde, beeing helde in great honour by the king, and was for his incredible prudence, surnamed by him *Psontom phanechus*, which signifieth the discouerer of hidden things: he was also honoured with a wife of great dignity, for by the procuration of the king, he tooke to wife a virgin, daughter to *Putifar* the *Heliopolitan* priest, whose name was *Asaneth*, by whom he begat children also, before the famine began in Egypt. The elder of whom was called *Manasses*, which signifieth Obliuion (because attaining better fortune, he grew in obliuion of his former miserie:) but the younger was called *Ephraim* (which signifieth Returne, for that he was restored to the libertie of his aunceſtours.) Now when as according to *Iosephs* interpretation, the seauen yeares of plenty and affluence were ouerpassed in Egypt; the eight yeare of famine beganne to infest the land, and for that the euill was vnexpected, the headlong multitude grieuously trauailed with hunger and misery, began to flocke about the kings gates and garners. Hereon the king called for *Ioseph*, who presently distributing graine to those that wanted it, became without controuersie, the father and conseruer of the comminaltie. Neither did he only make merchandize with those that inhabited that countrey: but with strangers also, deeming that the whole race of mankinde was allied the one with the other; and that it was conuenient, that such as wanted should be succoured by their meanes, who had better fortune. And because the same calamitie both oppressed Chanaan and other kingdomes of the world, *Iacob* also sent all his sonnes into Egypt to fetch corne; (as soone as hee vnderstood that strangers also had libertie to traffique in that place) onely with himselfe he retained *Beniamin*, whom he begat on *Rachel*, and who was brother german vnto *Ioseph*: who as soone as they arriued in Egypt, repaired vnto *Ioseph*, beseeching him that they might be permitted to buy corne, (for nothing was done without his expresse command) for euen then found each man fit occasion to honour the king, when they bethought themselues how to honour *Ioseph*. Hee taking knowledge of his brothers, who thought on nothing lesse then of him (by reason that in his youth he was sold away by them, and age had altered the lineaments of his face; and besides, no one of them might suspect that hee had attained to so great dignitie): determined to trie and tempt them, to the end he might the better gather how they were affected. For hee both denied them his licence to buy corne, & commanded them also to be apprehended for spies, telling them that they were gathered of diuers nations, and they fained kinred: for how can it be (saith hee) that a priuat man should bring vp so many worthy sonnes; which felicity scarcely and very seldome is granted vnto kings? This did he, to the end hee might gather some intelligence of his father, and in what estate hee liued, during the time of his absence; and what was become of *Beniamin* his brother: for he was sore afraid, least they had offered the same hard measure to the lad, which they had inflicted vpon him. But they were strooken with a mighty feare, bethinking them on their imminent perill, supposing that they had trauailed this long iourney all in vaine: & for that they saw their accusation must be answered; *Ruben* the eldest of them, began after this maner to plead their common cause. Neither are we come hither (said he) as spies, neither vnder pretence to indamage the king; but dire famine (whose furie we seeke to preuent) hath compelled vs to come into this countrey, grounding our selues on your humanitie; who (as we haue heard) haue not onely made offer of sale of corne, and meanes of sustenance to your citizens: but also

vnto

A vnto all ſtrangers. And that we are brothers and borne of the ſame father, our very countenances teſtifie no leſſe,in that they vary not very much the one from the other. Our father by name, is *Iacob*; by nation, an Hebrew: who begat vs his twelue ſonnes on foure women, who while they all were in ſafety, our affaires were fortunate and proſperous: but one of them being dead, whoſe name was *Ioſeph*,our domeſticall fortunes began to grow to ruine. Our father languiſheth in continuall lamentations, whoſe teares doe no leſſe afflict vs, then in times paſt the vntimely death of our deareſt brother did affect vs. Now are we come to buy corne, hauing left in our fathers cuſtody the yongeſt of our brothers called *Beniamin*: That thus it is, if ſo thou pleaſe to ſend any one vnto our houſe,thou maiſt be aſſured. Thus ſpake *Ruben* both on his owne and his brothers behalfe; whereby he might exempt from *Ioſeph* his ſiniſter opinion of them: who

The yeere of the world,2238. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1726.

B knowing that both his father and brother were in health,commanded them to be ſhut in priſon, vnder pretence to call them to further examination vpon his better leiſure. Some three daies after (calling them before him)he began thus: Since (ſaith he) you proteſt that you came not hither into this kingdome on purpoſe, either to preiudice the King,or worke treaſons towards the State; and that you pretend your ſelues to be the ſonnes of one father: you ſhall induce me to beleeue that your allegations be true, if leauing ſome one with me as pledge of your loyalties (who ſhall be wel entertained)you beare hence your deſired corne vnto your father,and returne againe vnto me, bringing with you your brother, whom (as you ſay) you left behind you: for this ſhall be an Argument that you faine not. Amazed at theſe words,& ſuppoſing that their extreame calamity was at hand, they lamented their fortunes, oftentimes expoſtulating amongſt

Ioſeph commaudeth his brothers to priſon.

C themſelues, that the dire reuenge of their brother oppreſſed with vndecent tyranny, was fallen vpon them. Moreouer, *Ruben* reprehended their too late and vnprofitable penitencie, ſaying, that thoſe afflictions which God (the iuſt reuenger of innocency) had inflicted on his impious brothers, were conſtantly to be borne. After this manner ſpake they one vnto another, ſuppoſing that no man was preſent who vnderſtood the Hebrew tongue: and they all lamented being inwardly touched with the words of *Ruben*, and condemned their perpetrated wickedneſſe, as if they had not beene the authors of the fact, for which at that time they thought that God did moſt iuſtly puniſh them. *Ioſeph* beholding them in this perplexitie, vnable to diſſemble any longer his brotherly loue,in that the teares already began to burſt out of his eyes,which at that time he deſired to conceale, he departed from among them.

Ioſephs brothers repent them of that euill they had done vnto him.

D Not long after returning againe vnto them,he retained *Simeon* with him, who in the meane time ſhould remaine as pledge with him vntill their back returne,and giuing them licence to buy their corne, he commanded them to depart: giuing withall a ſpeciall commandement to one of his ſeruants, that the money which they had brought to buy corne, ſhould ſecretly be ſhut vp into their ſackes,and they permitted to depart; all which his ſeruant performed. But *Iacobs* ſons returning into Chanaan told their father all that which had happened vnto them in Ægypt, and how they were attached for ſpies, and traytors to that countrey; and that when they proteſted that they were brethren,and that the eleuenth was left at home with their father,they would not beleeue them:moreouer that *Simeon* was left pledge with the Gouernour, vntill *Beniamin* came thither to giue teſtimony of their truth: whereupon they deſired their father, without con-

Ioſeph ſendeth away his brothers, and only retaineth Simeon.

E tradict on or ſiniſter conceit, to ſend their yonger brother with them. But *Iacob* was diſpleaſed with that which his ſonnes had done; and whereas he was not a little grieued that *Simeon* was left behind, he thought it worſe then death alſo to be depriued of *Beniamin*; and neither could *Ruben* with his praiers (offering his ſonnes for pledges, that if any ſiniſter fortune ſhould fall vpon *Beniamin* by the way,the Grandfather might reuenge him on his children) perſwade *Iacob* to yeeld conſent: but they vncertain what to do,were more & more terrified, in that they found their money incloſed in their ſackes of corne. Now when corne began already to faile them; *Iacob* being compelled by force of famine,determined to ſend *Beniamin* with his other brothers: for it was vnlawfull for them to returne into Ægypt, except they kept their couenant. And whereas neceſsitie preſſed them daily more and more, and his ſonnes ceaſed not inſtantly to call

Iacob is ſore grieued for Simeons abſence,and becauſe Beniamin ſhould depart from him *Gen. 39.*

F vpon him; yet as yet was he doubtfull and vnreſolued: at laſt *Iuda* a man vehement by nature, began more liberally to reproue his father, in that he was too carefull of his brother, to whom nothing might happen without the will of God, whether it were abroad or at home: and that without reaſon he had care of his ſonne *Beniamin*, in ſuch ſort as it was not poſſible for them to get ought out of *Pharaos* country which was neceſſary for their nouriſhment; that he ought alſo to haue care of the life of *Simeon*, leaſt whileſt he dallied and delayed to ſend *Beniamin* on the iourney, *Simeon* in the meane time ſhould be ſlaine by the Ægyptians. Moreouer hee exhorted

Iacobs ſons, but eſpecially Iuda, vrge their father to ſend Beniamin with them.

him

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Nativity. 1726.

Iacob sendeth his sonnes with presents into Ægypt.

him to commit the care of his sonne vnto God, promising to bring him backe againe in safetie, G or else to die together with him: Moreouer he said, that certaine gifts gathered from the profits of Chanaan, as the iuice of Mirabolans, Stacte, Terebinth, and Hony, should be sent as presents vnto *Ioseph*, together with the double price of their corne. Thus shedding teares on both sides, they depart from their father, leauing him miserably tormented for the health of his sons, and contrariwise suspecting with themselues, lest thorow his absence their father should be slaine with sorrow. In this perplexity spent they a whole day. At last the old man remained in his house wholly afflicted, and they trauelling into Ægypt, did mitigate their present griefe with the hope of better fortune; where no sooner were they arriued, but they repaired vnto *Ioseph*, being sore afraid least it should be laid to their charge, that vnder colour of fraud and deceit they had caried away with them the price of their former corne; which presently before *Iosephs* steward they H carefully excused, saying, that they found the mony among their wheat at such time as they emptied their sacks, which now in discharge of their truth they had brought backe againe: but he denying that he euer missed their money, & they being deliuered from this feare, began to be more secure; so that *Simeon* was sodainly set at liberty to conuerse among his brethren. Now when *Ioseph* was returned from the seruice of the king they offer him presents: and enquiring of them how their father did, they answered that he was in health: then perceiuing that *Beniamin* was yet aliue, whom he saw among them, he asked whether that were their yonger brother, and hearing that it was he, he onely vttered these words, that God had the prouidence of all things, and departed from them being vnwilling that any of them should see him shed teares, which he I could not any longer containe. Inuiting them afterwards vnto a banquet, hee commaunded them to sit down in order according as they were wont to do when they were with their father, and whereas he kindly intertained all of them, he honoured *Beniamin* with a double share. After the banquet, at such time as they were all laid downe to rest, he commanded the Steward to measure out the wheat, which euery one should beare away with him, and to hide the price thereof againe in their sacks; but in *Beniamins* sacke he commanded him to put his cup wherein he most delighted: which he therefore did, with intent to make triall of their loues towards *Beniamin*, and whether they would sticke vnto him being accused of theft, or leauing him behinde as a malefactour, returne vnto their father, as if the matter no waies touched them. Which being done according as he had commanded it, earely in the morning all *Iacobs* sonnes arose, and taking with them *Simeon*, departed onwards of their iourney, reioycing as well at his resti- K tution, as *Beniamins* returne, whom they both promised and protested to bring backe againe to their father; when behold sodainly a troup of horsemen roundly beset them, amongst whom was that seruant who had hid the cup in the sacke. Now they being troubled by this sodaine incursion, and asking them why they set vpon them whom they so lately had both inuited & intertained so honourably? the Ægyptians answered and exclaimed against them, calling them wicked men, who forgetting their late benefits receiued, and *Iosephs* gentlenesse and humanitie, were so wicked as to returne him iniuries for his courtesies, threatning them that they should be punished for their theft: and telling them that although for a time they had deceiued the minister of the table, yet could they not deceiue God; and againe, asking them whether they were well in their wits, in supposing that for this offence they should not be incontinently punished. L In these or such like speeches the seruant insulted ouer them. But they, who nothing at all suspected this subtilty, accused him, saying, that they wondred at the mans intemperancy, who durst so rashly accuse them of theft, who did not keepe backe, no not the price of their corne which they found in their sacks, whereas none but themselues knew ought of that money, so farre were they from purposely offring any wrong: yet in that they thought this inquisition wold better satisfie them, then deniall, they bid them search their sacks; offering themselues each of them to suffer punishment if any one of them were found guiltie of the theft. This search which they offered, the Ægyptians accepted, yet referred they the punishment to be inflicted only on him who had done the iniury. Afterwards beginning to search, and orderly looking into each mans sacke, but that they might seeme to discharge their dutie more cunningly: ~~now all the rest be-~~ M ~~his sacke, but that they might seeme to discharge their duty more cunningly~~: now all the rest being secured in themselues, they onely as yet were carefull of their brother *Beniamin*: they hoped also that he would not be found guilty of falshood: for which cause they more freely vpbraided their persecutors, obiecting vnto them how thorow their importunitie they had beene hindered the better part of their iourney. Now as they searched *Beniamins* sack, they found the cup: whereupon all the brothers began to mourne and lament, both bewayling their brothers fortune,

Iacobs sonnes arriue in Ægypt, and Simeon is set at libertie.

Ioseph vnknowen to his brethren saluteth both them and Beniamin.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. *Genes.* 44.

Ioseph tempteth Beniamins brothers whether they would assist him.

Iosephs brethren are staid in their iourney.

Iacobs sonnes are accused of theft.

A fortune, who was like presently to suffer death for the theft; and their owne mishap, who hauing plighted their faiths vnto their father for *Beniamins* safe returne, were compelled to falsifie the same thorow this present accident. And that which further increased their griefe, was, that when as they most of all hoped to be free from dangers, they were by fortunes enuy thrust into so great calamitie: confessing themselues to be the authors both of their fathers, and this their brothers misfortune; who neuer ceased to importune and compell their father (although he were vnwilling and resisted) to send the childe with them. *The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Nativity. 1726.*

Now the horsemen hauing laid hands on *Beniamin*, led him vnto *Ioseph*; whom his brothers presently followed. Who beholding his brother thrust into prison, and the rest bemoaning them round about him in mourning habits: Haue you, said hee (O most wicked men) either so contemned my humanity, or Gods prouidence, as that you durst attempt and offer such an hainous B iniury against him, who entertained you with hospitality, and dismissed you with benefits? To whom they answered, that they were ready to suffer punishment for *Beniamin*, calling againe to their remembrace *Iosephs* iniuries, saying: that he was happy, who deliuered by death from life was exempt from all calamities; and that (if he liued) God inflicted that plague on them for his sake. They said also, that they were the plague and great misfortune of their father, because that (to his former sorrow, which he had conceiued euen vntil that time of *Iosephs* death) they had also annexed this new misery: neither did *Ruben* desist to reprehend them in bitter manner of that wickednesse which they had committed. But *Ioseph* told them that he dismissed them all (saying that their innocency was approoued vnto him) and that hee onely would be contented with the C lads punishment: For (said he) neither is it reasonable that he should be deliuered for the loue of those who had not offended: neither that they should bee punished for him, who had done the theft. He commanded them therefore to depart, and promised them safe conduct on their way. Beniamin is attached for theft.

Whilest all of them were grieuously wounded with these words (so that scarcely one of them could speak for sorrow) *Iuda* (who had perswaded his father to send *Beniamin* with them, & who amongst the rest was a man of confidence) purposed to expose himselfe to all danger, vnder resolution to deliuer his brother from perill: whereupon hee addressed himselfe to *Ioseph* and spake thus. Dread Lord (quoth he) wee confesse that we are all ready to suffer punishment (although we haue not all of vs committed the offence, but onely the yongest amongst vs) and although we suppose his life to be almost desperate, yet our only hope as yet resteth in your goodnes and cle- D mencie. For which cause we beseech you, that you will not only haue compassion of vs, but of your owne nature, and that in this case you would bee pleased to take counsaile, not of your iust indignation, but your natiue goodnesse: gouerning your wrath with a great mind, to which vulgar men both in great and small occurrences, are wont to submit. Consider, I pray you, whether it stand with your dignity to kill those, who present themselues to be punished, & desire in no sort to liue, except it be by the benefit of your mercy. Suffer not your selfe to be depriued of this honour: that after you haue deliuered vs from famine and liberally furnished vs with corne, so of your mercy likewise you haue permitted vs to returne vnto our family, being trauelled by the same perill, and to bring them home sustenance. For one and the same bounty is it to continue them in life, who are trauelled with famine; and to forgiue them death, who haue merited it by E their offences: to whom their wickednesse hath enuied that bounty which you haue heroically extended towards them. It is one and the same grace imparted by you in diuers maners. For thou shalt saue those whom thou hast fed; & that life which thou wouldest not suffer to faile by force of famine, thou shalt redeliuer and giue againe: whereby thy clemencie may be more commendable, whilest both thou giuest life, and those things likewise whereby life is maintained. Moreouer, I thinke that God himselfe hath giuen thee this meanes to expresse thy vertue, that it may appeare that thou setteſt lighter by the iniuries offered vnto thee, then by thy will to doe good; and that thou art not liberall to them onely, who are poore and innocent. For although it bee a great praise to yeeld succour in aduersities; yet is a prince no lesse honoured by his clemency especially in a cause that concerneth his particular interest. For if they that remit small offences, F are followed by deserued praise; what is it to restraine a mans ire in a capitall crime; doth it not most neerely approximate the diuine clemencie? And had I not good experience by *Iosephs* death, how grieuously my father digesteth the want of his children, I would not so earnestly intreat for his safety, but so farre forth and no otherwise, but as it might redound to the praise of thy clemency; and were there not some to whom our death would bring both griefe and discontent, we were willing all of vs to suffer punishment. But now whereas we haue not so much commiseration of our selues (although as yet wee be but yong, and haue not much tasted the pleasures, and Iudaes oration vnto Ioseph for Beniamin.

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and fruit of this life) as of our wretched parent being drowned in yeeres and cares, wee offer vp G
vnto thee these our prayers in his name also, and beseech thee to grant vs life, though at this
day wee are vnder thy iustice for our offences. Assuredly hee is a good man, and begat vs,
that wee should be like vnto him: worthy is hee neuer to taste or be tried by any such calamitie,
who now through our absence is discruciate with care and sorrow. Now if so be hee should re-
» ceiue any tidings either of our death, or the cause thereof; hee will not indure any more to liue:
» the infamy of our deaths will shorten his daies; and make his death by this meanes more vnhap-
» py, who rather then he should heare the rumours of our shame, would hasten his death in suppo-
» sing them. All these well considered, (although thou art iustly moued by this offence;) remit the
» reuenge vnto our father, and rather let thy pitty towards him, then our iniquity towards thee pre-
» uaile with thee. Impart this honour to his old age: which if it be depriued of our presence, neither H
» will, nor can desire to liue; yeeld this respect to thy fathers memory; yea ascribe it to the very
» name of a father, wherewith thou art honoured: so God the father of all men, will blesse thee in
» that name, and fortunate thee in thy increase: whom also thou shalt honour, if in respect of that
» common name, thou take compassion of our father, in considering the sorrow that hee shall in-
» dure, if perhaps hee shall be depriued of his children. It now lieth in your power to giue vs that,
» which you may depriue vs of, by that power which God hath giuen you: and in doing vs this fa-
» uour you shall imitate the nature of God; and in this respect become like vnto him. For, since it
» lieth in your power to doe both the one and the other, it were better thou didst good then euill,

Power giuen to saue.

and contenting thy selfe with thy power, not to remember or vrge thy reuenge: but onely to
thinke that thy power was giuen thee, to keepe and conserue men; and that the more mercie I
» thou extendest towards many, the more honour thou redoublest on thy head: now it lieth in thy
» power by forgiuing our brothers errour to giue vs all life. For neither can we be safe, except he
» be saued, neither may we returne home vnto our father, except he returne: but heere must wee
» suffer whatsoeuer our brother suffereth. Neither do we craue any other mercy at thy hand (dread
» Prince) if we be repulsed in this, but that thou wilt inflict one and the same punishment on vs, in
» no other manner, then as if we had beene partakers of the felony: for this were more better for
» vs, then that wee our selues through sorrow, should offer violence to our owne soules. I will not
» alleadge or vrge his youth, or iudgement as yet vnripened, neither will I inferre that pardon is
» vsually granted vnto such: but here will I make an end, that whether we be condemned in that I
» haue not sufficiently pleaded his cause, or whether we be absolued; we may wholly ascribe this K
» grace to your fauour and clemency: to the bounds of whose praise this likewise shall bee added,
» that not only thou hast saued vs, but also in pardoning vs of the punishment which we haue iust-
» ly deserued, hast had more care of vs then wee our selues. If therefore it bee thy pleasure to ad-
» iudge him to die, suffer mee to suffer for him, and send him backe vnto our father: or if it please
Gen. 40. thee to retaine him for thy slaue, I am more fit then hee to doe all sorts of seruices, as you may
perceiue; and am ready to suffer all that which may bee inflicted on mee. When *Iuda* had spo-
ken thus, he humbled himselfe at *Iosephs* feete, indeuouring as much as in him lay, to mollifie and
appease his ire; in like sort also all the other brothers prostrated themselues, offring themselues to
die for *Beniamin*.

Ioseph maketh himselfe knowne to his brethren.

But *Ioseph* conquered with pitty, and vnable any longer to personate a displeased man, sent a- L
way all those that were present, and being alone with them, discouered himselfe vnto his bro-
thers: and in this sort to them only hee disclosed himselfe and saide. I cannot but commend the
pietie and loue which you beare vnto your brother, which I find to be greater then I did expect,
» gathering my coniectures from those things which in times past haue hapned vnto mee. For to
» this end haue I done all this, that I might make triall of your brotherly beneuolence: whereof
» since you haue giuen me a notable proofe, I will not ascribe that which you haue done vnto me
» to your natures, but rather wholly to the wil of God, who hath at this present furnished you with
» all things which are profitable for you, and will hereafter giue you greater things, if hee with-
» draw not his fauourable hand from vs. When as therefore I vnderstood of my fathers rather de- M
» sired then hoped health, and found you to be such as I desired you should be towards your bro-
» ther, I freely forget those iniuries which in times past were done vnto me: rather making choice
» to giue you thankes as the ministers of Gods prouidence, that against this time prouided for our
» common profit, then remember mee (as then it seemed vnto mee) of your pretensed malice. I
» therefore pray you, that forgetting those things which are past, you will be of courage and waxe
» confident, suffering willingly the good euent of an ill intent, neither that blushing at your for-
» mer faults, you should be any wayes amated. Let not therefore the euill sentence which in times
»

past

A past you pronounced against me, any waies trouble you, since you perceiue it hath wanted effect: but reioyce ye at these works of God, and go and tell your father that which you haue seene, for feare lest he being consumed with immoderate care of you, I my selfe be depriued of the chiefest fruite of my felicity, before hee come to my presence and bee made partaker of those benefits. Wherefore depart you, and bringing with you him, your wiues, and children, and all your kindred, come backe vnto me: for it were inconuenient (my deare brethren) that you should not be partakers of my felicity, especially since this famine is as yet to continue for the terme of fiue yeeres. This said, *Ioseph* embraced his brethren: but they were wholly confounded in teares and sorrow, and the greater was their repentance, in that they had sinned against so kinde a brother. After all this, there followed a banquet. And the King vnderstanding that *Iosephs* brethren were arriued, (as if some good fortune had befallen him) right heartily reioyced, and hee gaue them B charriots laden with corne, and golde, and siluer, with other presents to present their father with, who enriched with diuers gifts (some by their brother vnto his father, other some to themselues, but in especiall to *Beniamin*) they returned home into their countrey. But after that *Iacob* vnderstood by his sonnes in what estate his sonne *Ioseph* was, that he had not onely escaped from death (which he had so long time bewailed) but also that he liued in high prosperity, and ministred to the King of Ægypt, and had welny the whole gouernment of the kingdome vnder his hands: he easily beleeued all things that were told him, and acknowledged the great workes of God, and his goodnesse shewed vnto him, although for a time it seemed to be intermitted. And a little time after, he addressed himselfe to goe and visit his sonne *Ioseph*.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Nativitie, 1726.

The King reioyceth to know that Iosephs brothers were arriued.

Hedio & Rufinus. ch. 7 al 4

Iacob reioyceth to heare the promotions and honours of Ioseph.

C

Chap. IIII.

How Iacob *with all his progeny departed vnto his sonne.*

BVt when hee arriued neere the fountaine of Couenant, hee offered in that place a sacrifice vnto God; and fearing least his children should inhabite Ægypt, by reason of the fertility of the place, and that his posteritie by not returning backe into the land of Chanaan, should leese the possession of that which God had promised them; and furthermore, doubting least that his iourney into Ægypt, beeing by him enterprised against the will of God, should bee ominous vnto his children; suspecting likewise lest hee should die before hee came D to *Iosephs* presence: hee was wonderfully perplexed in minde. Whilest thus he ruminated and examined these things in his thought, hee was surprised with a heauy sleepe, during which time God appeared vnto him and called him twise by his name: who asking who it was that called him, God answered: Doest thou not acknowledge (O *Iacob*) that God, who hath both protected thee and thy ancestors, and succoured you in all your necessities? who contrarie to thy fathers purpose made thee Lord of his family, and when as by thy selfe thou diddest trauell into Mesopotamia, I brought to passe, that being matched in wedlocke very happily, thou returnedst into thy countrey backe againe, being blessed with many children, and stored with much riches. I also kept thy progeny in safety, and when it seemed thou hadst lost *Ioseph*, I raised him to that high steppe of dignity wherein now hee liueth; and made him the next in person to the king of E Ægypt. And now also I am come vnto thee vnto this end, that I may guide thee in this thy iourney, and that I may foretell thee that thou shalt leaue thy life betwixt the hands of *Ioseph*, and that thy posterity shall bee mighty and famous for many ages, and shall possesse that land, the empire whereof I haue promised them. Assured and made confident by this dreame, hee more willingly hastened, both he, his sonnes, with all their progeny into Ægypt, whose number amounted to the summe of 70. Their names in that they are somewhat hard, I had not written downe, except it were to satisfie some, who contend that wee are Ægyptians and not Mesopotamians. The sonnes of *Iacob* therefore were twelue in number, of whom *Ioseph* came thither long before them. Now are the rest to be reckoned vp with euery one of their progenies. *Ruben* had foure sonnes, *Anoches, Phalles, Essaron*, and *Charmisus*. *Simeon* had sixe, *Iumilus, Iaminus, Puthodus, Iachenus, Goar, Saar*. *Leui* also had three, *Gelsemis, Caathus*, and *Mararis*. *Iuda* had likewise three, F *Sala, Phares, Zara*; with two sonnes of *Phares, Esrom* and *Amyrus*. *Issachar* had foure, *Thulas, Phruras, Iobus*, and *Samaron*. *Zabulon* had three, *Saradus, Elon*, and *Ianel*. And these were the children he had by *Lea*, who also led with her *Dina* her daughter: the number of whom amounteth to 33. But *Rachel* had two sonnes, of which the elder who was called *Ioseph*, had likewise two, *Manasses* and *Ephraim*. But *Beniamin* had ten, *Bolossus, Baccharis, Asabel, Gela, Naamans, Ises, Aros, Nomphthis, Optatis*, and *Sarodus*. These fourteene added to those abouenamed, make vp

The yeere of the world, 2239. before Christs Nativitie, 1725.

Gen. 46. God appeareth to Iacob about the fountaine of couenant.

Iacob with his sonnes and nephewes depart into Egypt.

Iacobs progeny.

The yeare of the world, 2292. before Christs Nativitie, 1728.

the number of fortie seuen. And this was the legitimate issue of *Iacob*. But on *Bala Rachels* handmaid *Dan* and *Nepthalim*, who was attended by foure sonnes, *Eleinus*, *Gunes*, *Sares* and *Hellimus*. But *Dan* had onely one sonne called *Vsis*. Now if those be added to the aboue named, they make vp the number of 54. But *Gad* and *Asser* were borne by *Zelpha Leas* handmaid, of these *Gad* was attended by seuen sonnes: *Zophonias*, *Vgis*, *Sunis*, *Zabros*, *Erines*, *Erodes* and *Ariel*. *Asser* had one daughter and sixe male children, whose names were *Iomnes*, *Essus*, *Iebus*, *Baris*, *Abarus*, *Melmiel*. These fifteene being added to the foresaid fifty foure, make vp the number aboue named, together with *Iacob*. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding that his father was at hand (for *Iuda* posted before to giue him notice thereof) he went out to meete him, and incountered him neere to a towne called Heros, who was seased with such extreame and vnexpected ioy, that he had almost expired; but *Ioseph* recomforted him, being himself almost endangered thorow extreame ioy, yet not in such extasie and extremity as his father: afterwards desiring him to march softly onward, he taking with him his fiue brethren hasted vnto the King, signifying vnto him that his father with all his family were arriu'd. Who no sooner vnderstood therof, but that he ioyfully asked *Ioseph* in what studies he tooke delight: who answered him that his exercise was keeping of cattell, and that he had no other trade. And this answer made he to the intent they might not be diuided one from another, but that liuing altogether, they might take care of their father: another reason was, lest emulation should happen betwixt them & the Ægyptians, if so be they should be conuersant in the same studies; for it was not lawfull for that nation to exercise the shepheards trade. Now when *Iacob* was brought into the kings presence, & after he had done him reuerence, and prayed God for the prosperitie both of him and his Realme; *Pharao* asked him how long he had liued: and when he had vnderstood that he was a hundred and thirty yeeres old, he admired at the age of the man: and after he had certified him that his ancestors had liued far longer time, he commanded him and his sonnes to dwell in Heliopolis, where also the kings shepheards had their pastures. But the famine increased in Ægypt, and the euill augmented more & more, by reason that Nilus did not ouerflow the earth, neither extended his armes ouer the same: on the other side God rained not vpon the earth: Moreouer in that the euill was vnsuspected, it was more grieuous especially to the communaltie, who had laid vp nothing, neither did *Ioseph* giue them corne without readie money; which when they began to want they exchanged their cattell and slaues for corne; but they that had lands, sold a certaine portion thereof vnto the king for their prouision. And when as by this meanes all these possessions came into the kings hands; they went to inhabite the one heere, the other there, to the end that the King might be more assured of the possession of their land: the sacrificers only were accepted, to whom the lands which they had, remained intire. Finally, this necessity reduced both the bodies and minds of the whole nation into seruitude after such a manner, that they esteemed no labour or meanes vnseemely, that might serue them towards the maintenance of their sustenance. But when the famine ceased, & the earth watered by the ouerflow of the flood, began to gather her former fertility; *Ioseph* visiting euery city of the kingdom, & assembling the multitude in euery one of them, restored them the profits of those lands which they had sold vnto the king, and exhorted them to manure the same in no worse maner then they would do their owne, comanding them to pay the fift part vnto the king which was due vnto him by his prerogatiue and kingly right. Who reioycing at this vnexpected restitution, earnestly intended and prosecuted their tillage: and by this meanes not only *Iosephs* authoritie, but also the peoples hearts were not a little tied vnto the King: and the inheritance of the fift part of the profits remained with the Kings that succeeded and all their posteritie.

Iacob almost deceased for ioy.

Ioseph with his fiue brethren resorteth to Pharao.

Genes. 47. Iacob talketh with Pharao & is appointed to inhabit Heliopolis.

The famine in Ægypt.

The yeare of the world, 2245. before the Nativitie of Christ, 1719.

A great profit redounded to the king by this famine.

Ioseph commanded them to pay the fift part of their profits to the king.

But *Iacob* after he had liued seuenteene yeeres in Ægypt, ended his life betwixt the hands of his sonnes, hauing first besought God to giue them prosperitie and aboundance, and prophecied that euery one of their posteritie should attaine to the possession of a part of the land of Chanaan, all which not long after came to passe. Besides, praising his sonne *Ioseph* for that forgetting the iniuries done vnto him, he had bestowed diuers benefits on his brethren, yea and such as well beseemed his benefactors; he commanded his sonnes, that they should admit *Iosephs* sons *Ephraim* & *Manasses* into their number, at such time as they should diuide the land of Chanaan, as hereafter it shall be declared. Last of all, he praied them to burie him in Hebron. And he died at such time as he had liued one hundred and fiftie yeeres wanting three, being second to none of his ancestors in pietie, and obtained the reward which he ought iustly to possesse, in that he was a man adorned with so many vertues. But *Ioseph* by the Kings permission went and transported his fathers bodie into Hebron, and there buried it very magnificently. But his brothers fearing to returne with him, and refusing to follow him, in that they suspected their father being dead

Hodier. & Rufinus chap. 8.

Iacob died when he was 147. yeeres old.

Iacob is buried in Hebron

A dead, that hee would be reuenged on them in that they had not any friend left aliue, vnder whose fauour they might hope for pardon, he commanded them, that laying their suspicions aside they should suspect no euill: and hauing brought them backe againe with him, hee gaue them great possessions; neither did he euer intermit to entertaine them with brotherly kindnesse. But he likewise died, when he had liued one hundreth and ten yeares; a man endowed with admirable vertue, and prudent in all affaires, and moderate in his gouernment: by which means it came to passe that neither his forraine birth, neither his calamities whereof we haue spoken, did any wayes hinder him, but that he was exalted and continued in high dignitie. The rest of his brothers also, hauing spent their liues in happines, died in Ægypt, whose bodies their sons and nephewes transported and buried in Hebron: but *Iosephs* bones were afterwards translated by the Hebrewes into

B Chanaan, at such time as they departed out of Ægypt into Chanaan: for hereunto had he bound them by oath. But in that I am to declare this, and other actions of this Nation, I will first of all shew the cause why they departed out of Ægypt.

The yeere of the world, 2311. before the Nativity of Christ, 1653.

Ioseph dieth when he was 110. years old.

Iosephs bones trãslated into Chanaan.

CHAP. V.

Of the affliction which the Hebrewes endured in Egypt, for the space of foure hundreth yeares.

THe Ægyptians are a Nation addicted vnto delicacie, and impatient of labour, subiect onely to their pleasures, and affecting gaine: whence it came to passe, that bearing hatred toward the Hebrewes, and enuying their happines, they were very euilly disposed

C towards them. For seeing the race of the Israelites flourish and to abound in riches, which they got by their labour and industrie, they conceiued an opinion that their aduancement and increase, would bee the ouerthrowe and decrease of the Ægyptians; so that at length they forgot the benefits which *Ioseph* had done vnto them: and after the royaltie was transported into another familie, they committed diuers outrages against the Israelites, and complotted against them in what manner they might more grieuously afflict them. For they were inioyned by them to cut Nilus into diuers trenches, and to enuiron their Cities with walles, and to build fortifications and banks, wherby the inundations of the flood might bee diuerted. They also vexed our nation in building their hie and vaine Pyramides, compelling them to learne diuers artes, and to accustome themselues to endure labour; and in such afflictions led they their liues

D for the space of 400. yeares, the Ægyptians studying nought else but to tire the Israelites with continuall labour, and our country-men endeuouring themselues alwaies to performe far more, then was expected from them. Liuing thus in this estate, there grew afterwards an other occasion, which instigated them the more to seeke the ruine and desolation of our Nation. For one of the sacred secretaries (to whose predictions those kind of people doe very much attribute) foretold the King, that about that time there should be one bred and born amongst the Israelites, that in time to come should grieuously afflict the estate of the Ægyptians, and wonderously enhance the good hap of the Israelites; who should surpasse all other in vertue, and purchase to himselfe immortall glory, if so be he should attaine to mans estate. Wherewith the King being greatly terrified, he published an edict by the aduise of this secretary, that whatsoeuer male child should bee

E borne amongst the Israelites, hee should bee cast into the floud to be drowned: hee commanded likewise the Ægyptian midwiues diligently to obserue the time when the Hebrew womẽ trauelled with child, carefully to keepe & marke their children at such time as they were deliuered. For it was enioyned thẽ that they should be brought to bed by such midwiues, who by reason of cõsanguinitie with that Nation, should not transgresse the kings commandement. Hee enacted also a law with a penaltie, that if any should bee so bold to conceale their children, both they and all their family should be done to death. Great was this their calamitie, not onely in that respect, because they were depriued of their children, & for that the parents themselues were made the ministers to murther their owne children; but foreseeing also the future time they were intolerably dismayed, expecting nought else but the certaine and fatall extirpation of their whole nation, by

F reason that when the children were slaine, the parents themselues not long after were assured to die: thus conceited they in themselues into what extreame misfortune they were fallen. But no man whosoeuer, although he complot neuer so many stratagems, can resist the wil of God. For both the childe, of whom the sacred secretary had foreprophecied, was secretly brought vp vndiscouered by the kings spies, and approoued by the euents of his life, that he was no false Prophet. *Amarames* an Hebrew borne and a noble man amongst his Nation, fearing both the publike perill, least the whole nation should be brought to nothing thorow the want of issue; and his

The hiſtory of the booke of Exodus. Hecto & Rufnus, chap. 1. *Exod.* 1.

The enuie of the Egyptians towards the Hebrewes.

The yeare of the world, 2353. before Christs birth, 1611.

The Hebrews insupportable seruitude.

The prophecy as touching Moſes.

Pharao commanded that all the male children of the Israelites should be done to death

Exod. 2.

The yeere of the world, 2373. before the Nativity of Christ, 1591.

owne priuate misfortune, whose wife at home was big with childe and readie to lie downe; was troubled in his minde, and vncertaine what to doe. For which cause he made his recourse vnto God, beseeching him that at the length he would haue mercy on those men of whom onely he had beene perpetually honoured; and that it would please him to bring to end the present affliction which threatned the whole nation with vtter ruine and destruction. But God being mooued vnto mercy by his most humble prayer appeared to him in a dreame, and recomforted him, commanding him to be confident: telling him that he had in memory the pietie of his auncestors, and that he would for euer remunerate them, euen as in times past he had beene gracious to their forefathers. For it was he that had increased their posteritie, and multiplied them to so mighty a nation, that by his fauour, *Abraham* departing alone out of Mesopotamia into Chanaan; besides other felicities, had issue by his wife that was before time barren, and left ample possessions to his successors: to *Ismael*, *Arabia*; to *Chæturas* children *Troglottida*, and to *Isaac* *Chanaan*. Neither can you euer forget without note of impietie and ingratitude, the attempts also which were happily atchieued in warre by my meanes: but *Iacobs* name also is renowned amongst forraine nations, both in respect of the felicitie wherein he liued, and also for that prosperitie which by hereditarie right happened vnto his posteritie, who taking their originall from 70. men that accompanied their father into Ægypt, are now increased to the number of sixe hundreth thousand: know therefore now also, that I inwardly and heartily affect your publike securitie, and priuately thy glory. For this childe, for feare of whose natiuitie the Ægyptians haue condemned all your children vnto death, shall be borne vnto thee: he neither shall be discouered by the constituted spies, and after he hath escaped beyond all expectation, shall he bee brought vp, and in his time shall he deliuer the Hebrews from the thraldome of the Ægyptians, and shall obtaine an eternall memorie, for this his famous action, not only amongst his owne nation, but also amongst strangers: for this fauour will I extend vnto thee, and on thy posteritie that followeth after thee; he shall also haue such a brother, who shall deserue both in himselfe, and in his posteritie to inherite the priesthood for euer. After these things were declared in a vision vnto *Amram*, he awaked and told it to his wife *Iochabel*, and by reason of the prediction of this dreame, their suspicion and feare the rather increased more and more: for they were not onely pensiue in respect of their childe; but also by reason of the future great good fortune that was promised them. But anone after the woman being brought a bed, gaue credit to the Oracle; who had so easie and gentle a labour, that she beguiled the ouerseers and spies, in that she felt none of those throes which doe commonly afflict such as are in labour: so that she nourished the infant three moneths secretly in her house, without being in any sort discouered. But afterwards *Amram* fearing to be surprised, and sore doubting least he should incurre the kings displeasure, if the matter were discouered, whereby both he and the childe should be made away, and Gods promises should be frustrate; he had rather wholly commit the safetie of his son to his prouidence: supposing that if the boy were hidden, which notwithstanding would be hard to effect, yet that it would be troublesome vnto him to liue in continuall perill both of his owne and his sonnes safetie: moreouer, he thought that God would purvey some meanes of assurance, to the intent that nothing of that which he had foretold might be prooued false. Grounding himselfe on this resolution, they prepared and made a cradle of sedge, after the manner of a couch, so great as it was sufficient to lay the child in at ease, and hauing pitched it on euery side least the water should pierce the same, they put the child into it, & suffered him to float along the streame in committing him to the mercy of God. Whilest in this maner it was borne down by the stream; *Mariam*, the sister of the yong infant, by her mothers command went along the banke on the other side of the riuer, obseruing whither at length the basket would be carried, and where it did arriue. At that time God manifestly declared, that nothing is atchieued by mans wisedome, but that all things are brought to passe by his omnipotent bountie, and that they who for their profit & particular securitie seeke the ruine and destruction of others with neuer so much subtiltie, care, and diligence; yet are they oftentimes deceiued in their expectations: Againe, that they that submit their wils vnto Gods will, are warranted from all wrongs by such meanes as were neuer thought on; which may most manifestly be perceiued by this childe.

G H I K L M

Amrames Moses father prayeth God to be mercifull to the Hebrewes.

Moses birth.

Moses cast into the flood.

Thermuthis the kings daughter walking along the riuer side, espied this basket caried away by the course of the streame, and presently commanded certaine swimmers to draw the cradle on drie land, and bring it before her: who executing her command, she opened the basket & beheld the child; who in that he was faire and well featured did greatly delight her. For God so loued and fauoured *Moses*, that he caused him both to be nourished and brought vp by them, who for

Thermuthis Pharaos daughter causeth Moses to be taken out of the riuer.

feare

A feare leaſt he ſhould be borne, had decreed to deſtroy all the reſt of the race of the Hebrewes. *Thermuthis* therefore commanded them to fetch her ſome one nurſe, who might giue the childe ſucke; who refuſing the ſame, and all other nurſes whatſoeuer they were ſent for to ſuckle him: *Mariam* as if by good fortune and not of ſet purpoſe, ſhe had light into their company, began to ſpeak thus vnto *Thermuthis*. In vaine (ſaid ſhe) O Queen, doſt thou endeuour whileſt thou ſtriueſt to giue this babe ſucke by any but an Hebrew nurſe, for he will not accept it: for if thou call vnto thee a nurſe of the ſame nation, and agreeable with his nature, doubtleſſe he will take the nipple. This ſpeech of hers being both heard and plauſibly accepted; the Queene commanded her to execute the ſame, and to bring her an Hebrew woman that gaue ſucke: which ſhee diligently performing returned and brought her mother with her, whom none of the aſſiſtants

The yeare of the world, 2272. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1592

B knew, who preſenting her breaſt vnto the childe he willingly tooke the dugge; ſo that vpon the Queenes requeſt the nouriſhment of the childe was wholly committed vnto her. And by reaſon of this accident, and for that he was caſt into the riuer, he was called *Moſes*; for the Ægyptians cal water *Mo*, and ſaued *yſes*; ſo this name compoſed of theſe two, was impoſed on this childe, who afterwards without exceptions became the wiſeſt man among the Hebrewes, according as God had afore prophecied. For he was the ſeuenth after *Abraham*; for he was *Amrams* ſonne, and *Amram* ſonne vnto *Cathus*, and he to *Leui*, and *Leui* to *Iacob*; who tooke the originall from *Iſaac* the ſonne of *Abraham*. He had a iudgement riper then became his age, for euen amongſt his

The yeare of the world, 2276. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1588.

Moſes whence he receiued his name.

Moſes the ſeuenth after Abraham.

C childiſh delights he ſhewed himſelfe more diſcreet then all his equals, and in whatſoeuer he did, it gaue teſtimony that at ſuch time as he ſhould attaine to mans eſtate, he would mannage mightie things. When he was but onely three yeeres old, God adorned and endowed him with an admirable audacitie. He was ſo faire and amiable, that there was not any one how auſtere and inhumane ſoeuer he were, which but in beholding him would not be aſtonished: and it chanced alſo that diuers, who encountered him as he was borne thorow the ſtreetes, turned themſelues about to behold him, and intermitted their other affaires onely to looke vpon him: for the admirable and innated beautie which was in this infant, did rauiſh all thoſe that beheld him. Whence it came to paſſe that *Thermuthis* in that ſhee had no other iſſue, adopted him for her heire, & conducting him vnto her father, ſhe preſented him before him, ſaying, that ſhe was carefull of a ſucceſſor, by reaſon God had not vouchſafed him to haue any iſſue. For (ſaith ſhe) I haue brought vp this infant no leſſe excellent in wit then diuine in beautie, and haue receiued him mi-

Moſes the adopted ſonne of Thermuthis daughter vnto Pharao.

D raculouſly by the bounty and grace of *Nilus*, whom I haue decreed to adopt my childe, and to eſtabliſh him as ſucceſſor to thee in thy kingdome. This ſaide, ſhe deliuered the infant into her fathers armes: who after he had embraced and hugged him at his breaſt (to giue his daughter the more content) he put his Diademe vpon the childs head: but *Moſes* pulling it from his head after a childiſh manner, caſt it on the ground, and ſpurned it with his feete; which act of his was ſuppoſed ominous to the Realme, and dangerous for the King. Whereupon the ſacred ſecretarie (who had foretold that his natiuity would be the deſtruction of the Egyptians) willed them to kill the child, and enforced himſelfe to enact it, crying out with a loud voyce and ſpeaking vnto the King after this manner: O king, this child by whoſe death God promiſeth vs ſecurity, hath already confirmed the preſage, inſulting ouer thy kingdome and ſpurning at thy Diademe. Take

E from the Ægyptians that feare which they haue conceiued thorow him, by his death: and from the Hebrews that hope, which they build on his courage & life. But *Thermuthis* haſtily conueied and ſnatched him thence, and the King was not ouer forward to lay hands on him, by reaſon that God diſpenſed all things in that ſort, in that hee had a care of *Moſes* preſeruation. Hee was therefore very carefully brought vp, and in reſpect of him the Hebrewes in generall were repleniſhed with good hope, but to the Ægyptians his education both was ſuſpected and grudged at: but by reaſon that if the lad ſhould haue beene ſlaine, there was not any one eyther akinne or adopted, or otherwiſe whatſoeuer, that had regard of the eſtate of the Ægyptians, they abſtained from his ſlaughter. Being therefore thus borne and after this manner brought vp, at ſuch time as he increaſed in years, he euidently by his vertue made it known vnto the Ægyptians, that he was born

Moſes deliuered from death.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. all. 7.

F to abaſe their pride, and to exalt the Hebrewes by this occaſion which enſueth: The Æthiopians, who confine vpon Ægypt, hauing ſpoyled & deſtroyed the country round about them, ſpoiled and made pillage of all the goods of the Ægyptians; who incenſed againſt them for the wrongs and iniuries which they had offered, leuied an armie, intending to reuenge them of that diſgrace which their enemies had offered them: but in the battell they were all put to flight, ſo that ſome of them were ſlaine; and the reſt ſhamefully flying, returned with ignominie worſe then death, into their owne countrey. The Æthiopians made proude with this good fortune,

The Ægyptians warre againſt the Æthiopians.

inſtant-

The yeere of the world, 2376. before Christs Nativity. 1588.

instantly pursued them; and supposing it a cowardly part in them, not to take the benefit of their present good fortune, and conceiuing an assured hope of conquering Ægypt, they generally wasted the same: and hauing tasted of the sweetnesse of pillage, without any temper or moderation in their victorie, they were incensed to attempt greater matters. And whereas they perceiued, that hauing wasted all their neighbour regions, no man durst sally out to encounter them in armes, they marched forward toward Memphis, euen vnto the sea, arriuing neere no Citie that either had the heart, or durst make head against them. By which calamities the Ægyptians beeing ouersore oppressed, they send one to aske counsell of the Oracle, in what manner they might preuent their miseries; and when as an answer was giuen them, that they should choose an Hebrew to assist them in the warres, the king commanded his daughter to giue them *Moses*, who together with the Empire, might gouerne the whole armie. Shee taking an oath of the king, that no iniurie or violence should be offered him, deliuered him into his hands; esteeming it to bee a great good fortune for *Moses*, that he was called to the succours of her countrey: and contrariwise she blamed the *Sacrificers*, who were not ashamed to demand his aide and assistance, whom they had foreiudged, and adiudged to bee slaine as their common enemy. But *Moses* exhorted by *Thermuthis* and the King, willingly tooke the charge vpon him. Whereat the Priests of both nations were very ioyfull; for the Ægyptians hoped, that when by his vertue and valour he had ouercome their enemies, they afterwards might more easily dispatch and murther him, by some treason and sinister meanes: and the Hebrewes conceiued a hope that they might depart out of Ægypt, by reason that *Moses* was the Generall of the armie. *Moses* therefore making haste, before such time as the enemies had any notice that he was dislodged, he leuied his army, and conducted them, not along the bankes of the riuer, but through the maine land; wherein he made manifest his most admirable prudence. For the iourney by land being very dangerous, by reason of the multitude of serpents (for the countrey thereabouts breedeth vp all sorts of them, and some of that kinde, as the like thereof are not seene in any place else, all different in propriete, malignitie, and horrible forme: and amongst these likewise there are some winged, and apt to flie, who not onely offend those that they encounter on the earth very priuily, but also tower very high in the aire, who houer about to hurt those that are not aware of them) he for the security of his army, and to the end he might march without any inconuenience, inuented this maruailous and admirable stratageme. For he caused two paniers of sedge to be made, in forme of cofers, and filled them with certaine birds which were called *Ibes*, who are mortall enemies to serpents, and before whom the serpents flee: and sometimes in flying from them like Harts, they are laid hold of and swallowed by them. Otherwise these birds are managed and made tame, and are not harmefull to any but to serpents, of whom I will now cease to write any further, because the Greekes doe already know what kind of bird it is.

The Egyptians require Moses to be their Captaine.

Moses marcheth against the Ethiopians.

When as therefore hee arriued in the countrey of serpents, hee let flie his *Ibes* against the venomous beasts, and made vse of them to encounter the other: and when hee had marched in this sort, he attained and surprised the Æthiopians, before they suspected him; and sodainly charging them, he ouercame them in battell, spoiling them of the hope they had to conquer Ægypt; and entring the townes of Æthiopia, hee raised them, and made a great slaughter of the inhabitants. The Ægyptian armie hauing tasted the happie successe that happened vnto them vnder the conduct of *Moses*, intermitted not their occasion, especially for that they saw that the Æthiopians were welnigh conquered, or rather wholly destroyed: and in the end hauing driuen them euen vnto Saba, the chiefe citie of Ethiopia (which *Cambyses* called Meroe, for the loue which he bore vnto his sister, who was so called) they besieged them. The Citie was strong, and very hard to bee assailed, by reason of the riuer Nilus, which enuironed it round about: on the other side, the riuers of Astapus and Astaborra did flow in so freshly, as they could neither breake the course of the water, nor wade ouer the streame: for the citie is builded in an Island, inuironed with a strong wall round about, hauing great rampiers betwixt the riuers and the walles built, to resist the inundations of the waters; which are the cause that the Citie may be very hardly taken, although the opposite armie had found meanes to passe the water. Now when *Moses* was very sore grieued that his armie profited nothing, by reason that the enemies durst not encounter them in open field; behold what a chance happened: *Tharbis* the daughter of the King of Ethiopia beholding *Moses*, at such time as hee approched with his armie neere vnto the walles of the Citie, and seeing how valiantly he fought and behaued himselfe, and wondering at the exploits and enterprises which he made (which was the cause that the Egyptians, almost despairing of their estates and libertie, were grown so forward) and how the Ethiopians, not long before esteemed

The victorie which Moses and the Egyptians had against the Ethiopians.

Saba their chiefe citie besieged.

Tharbis the King of Ethiops daughter requireth loue and marriage at Moses hands.

A med the conquerers, and happie in their warlike exploits and fortunate executions, were in the greateſt extremitie of danger) ſhee was ſurpriſed with his loue: and for that this paſſion augmented more and more in her, ſhee ſent vnto him ſeuen of her moſt faithfull and houſhold ſeruants to offer him her loue, and intreat with him of marriage. The which he accepted, vnder that condition that ſhe ſhould deliuer the Citie into his hands, promiſing her vnder a ſolemne oath, that at ſuch time as he were maſter thereof, he would take her to wife without falſifying or breach of his promiſe. The matter was no ſooner motioned, but the effect followed; ſo that hauing ſurpriſed and conquered the Æthiopians, and after he had giuen thankes vnto God, *Moſes* accompliſhed the marriage, and ſent the Ægyptians backe againe into their countrey. Who conceiued an occaſion of hatred againſt *Moſes*, becauſe he had beene the cauſe of their ſafetie; and
B began ſeriouſly to conſult and deuiſe amongſt themſelues, how they might betray him, ſuſpecting leaſt he by reaſon of the happy ſucceſſe he had had, ſhould begin to quicken and reuiue ſome alterations in Ægypt: they accuſed him therefore of murther before the king, who already of himſelfe had him in ſuſpicion, as well in reſpect of the hatred he bare him for his noble carriage and courage, during ſuch time as he was Generall, as alſo for the feare he had conceiued of the deſtruction of Ægypt foretold by his prieſts; who inceſſantly incited him againſt *Moſes*, ſo that the king was vpon the point to lay hands on him and murther him.

The yeere of the world, 2376. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1588.

The yeere of the world, 2400. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1564.

The Ægyptians ſeeke to betray Moſes.

But he hauing intelligence of thoſe his practiſes, eſcaped and fled ſecretly, flying from his preſence thorow the deſart, by which the enemies leaſt ſuſpected that he ſhould haue fled: and al-
C though at no place in his iourney he found victuals to ſuſtaine him, yet ouercame he his penury by his patience. And arriuing neere a Citie of the Madians, ſituate vpon the ſhoare of the red ſea (that was named by one of *Abraham* and *Chæturas* ſonnes) he ſat him downe neere vnto a fountaine refreſhing himſelfe, and taking his eaſe after his laborious iourney: for it was about nooneſted, and the Citie already appeared in his ſight. In this place there befell an occaſion vnto him, deriued from the manners and cuſtome of liuing, among the inhabitants of the countrey; by which he both expreſſed his vertue, and found an opportunitie to better his eſtate. For whereas the Region is ſore trauelled with want of water, the ſhepheards had a cuſtome to ſtriue which of them ſhould firſt poſſeſſe the pits, for feare leaſt the water ſhould be quite conſumed by others, before that they and their cattell had quenched their thirſt. To this fountaine therefore there came ſeauen virgins, which were ſiſters and daughters of *Raguel* the Prieſt, whom the
D inhabitants of that place held in great eſtimation, who had the charge to attend their fathers flockes, for that it is the exerciſe wherein the Troglodites are wont to exerciſe their women. Theſe haſted themſelues to draw ſufficient water for their troupes into the troughes, expreſſely made to receiue the water; and when in the mean time the ſhepheards came and ſurpriſed them, and droue away the virgins, to the end they might be maſters of the water: *Moſes* ſuppoſing it a matter vnworthy his honour, to ſuffer this outrage, and to indure that by violence men ſhould deprriue virgins of their right and intereſt; he droue away the ſhepheards, who would haue enioyed that which appertained not vnto them, and gaue neceſſarie ſuccours to the diſmayed maydens. Who as ſoone as they were returned into their fathers preſence, tolde him the outrage that was done them by the ſhepheards, and the ſuccours that they found by the hands of a
E ſtranger, beſeeching him that the courteſie which he had ſhewen vnto them, ſhould not bee forgotten, but that in ſome ſort he might receiue recompence. The father commending his daughters thankfulneſſe towards their benefactor, commanding them to bring *Moſes* into his preſence, to the end he might remunerate him according as he deſerued. As ſoone as he came into his preſence, *Raguel* told him how his daughters had giuen him to vnderſtand, how kindly he had aſſiſted them: and hauing his vertue in admiration, he ſaid that he had not aduentured himſelfe, nor done kindneſſe to thoſe that were without ſenſe of the curteſies that were ſhewed vnto them, but vnto thoſe who were capable to giue him thankes, yea ſo ready to requite him, that the greatneſſe of their requitall ſhould farre ſurpaſſe the meaſure of his humanitie. Hee
M therefore adopted him for his ſonne, and gaue him one of his daughters to wife, and made him
F ſuperintendent and maſter of his flockes (in which in times paſt the wealth and riches of forraine nations conſiſted.) *Moſes* hauing obtained this good fortune at *Ietheglaus* hands (for ſuch was *Raguels* ſurname) he abode there with him and attended his flockes. But not long after he led his cattell to graze neere to the mountaine Sinai, which is the higheſt of all thoſe that are in that quarter, and good for paſturage, by reaſon of the holſome hearbs that grow thereabouts: which notwithſtanding was not fed vpon before that time, becauſe the ſhepheards durſt not frequent there-abouts, by reaſon of their opinion that dwelt in that countrey, who ſaid that God inhabited

Exod. 2.

The yeere of the world, 2412. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1551.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cha. 11. al. 8.

Moſes flyeth to the Citie of Madian.

Moſes aſſiteth Raguels daughters againſt the ſhepheards.

Raguel marrieth his daughter to Moſes.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativitie. 1510.

bited that mountaine: there happened there vnto him a maruailous prodigie, which was, that a flame of fire seemed round about him in a bush, without offensing either the greene herbes, or the flowers, or the boughes charged with fruit, although the flame were both great and vehement. Hee not little amazed at this vnexpected spectacle, at last grew more and more amazed when as hee heard a voice issuing out of the fire, which called him by his name; taxing and accusing him of boldnes, in that he was not afraid to tread vpon that ground, which hitherto was vnaccessible, and religiously reuerenced, and vnhaunted by men; counselling him that he should depart a farre off from the flame, and content himselfe with that vision: for although that hee were a vertuous man, and descended from great personages, yet that he ought not to bee curious to make further search into the same. The same voyce also tolde him, that the honour and glory which he obtained amongst men, was by the assistāce of God, charging him to be of a good courage, and to repaire into Ægypt, for that in that place hee should bee captaine and guide of the Hebrew nation, and should deliuer that people which were therein, from the outrage & seruitude which they suffered. For (said the voyce) they shall inhabit this happy countrey, wherein your father *Abraham* hath dwelt; and they shall enioy all sorts of blessings vnder the conduct of thee and thy prudence. Moreouer it commanded him, that hauing brought the Hebrewes out of Ægypt, hee should offer sacrifice of thanksgiuing, at such time, as hee should arriue againe in that place. And such was the Oracle which hee receiued from out of the flame. *Moses* altogether rauished at that which he had both heard and seene, spake thus: O Lord, it were madnes in me, and no prudence, if I should distrust thy power the which I reuerence, and which as I know hath bin manifested vnto my predecessors: notwithstanding I stand in doubt how I, who am a man of no eloquence, and of lesse force, should perswade my brethren by my words, to forsake the countrey wherein they inhabite, to follow mee into that countrey whether I will conduct them: And although they should be perswaded to doe the same; how can I force *Pharao* to permit them to depart from thence, by whose labours and trauels, the Ægyptians are dayly increased in goods and riches? Whereupon God gaue him to vnderstand, that he should take vpon him a good courage, and promised him; that he himselfe would assist him, and that if hee had neede of eloquence he would bestow vpon him the facultie of perswasion; or if he were driuen to act any thing, that he would redouble his forces; commanding that in confirmation of those promises he had made him, he should let fall his staffe vpon the ground: which hauing done, a Dragon began to creepe vpon the ground, and in turning and rouling himselfe, lifted vp his crest on high; making semblance to defend himselfe against those that should assaile him: and againe, a little whiles after became a staffe againe. Afterwards he commanded him to put his hand into his bosome: and no sooner had he obeyed, but that he drew it out altogether white, & in colour resembling chalke: and a little while after it recouered his ordinary forme. Moreouer, he further willed him to draw water out of the next well, and to poure it on the ground, and he saw it turned into a bloodie colour. Amazed at these accidents, he was commanded to be of good courage, and assured that he should haue great assistance. Moreouer, that he should vse these signes before all men, to the end (saith God) that all may beleeue that being sent by me, thou dost all this according to my commandements. Furthermore I enioyne thee, that without any further delay, thou haste thee into Ægypt; and that thou trauell day and night, without leesing time, without delaying any more to succour the poore Hebrews grieuously afflicted in Ægypt. *Moses* hauing no cause to distrust that which God had promised him, and being confirmed by these things wherof he was both an eye-witnesse, and auditor; he required God, that if there were any occasion to expresse the like power in Ægypt, he would vouchsafe to further the effect; beseeching him further that he would not conceale his name from him, to whom he had participated the hearing of his voyce, and the sight of his presence; that it might please him therefore to declare vnto him his name, to the end that when he should offer sacrifice vnto him, he might call vpon the same. God declared vnto him his name, which before time had beene concealed amongst men, and of which also it is not lawfull for me to speake. *Moses* wrought these signes not only at that time, but also when or whersoeuer he thought it requisite: by all which he gaue further credit to the fire which had appeared vnto him, and assured himselfe that God would be his fauourable defender, that he would deliuer his brethren, and intangle and enwrap the Ægyptians in great calamities. And after that he had vnderstood that *Pharao* King of Ægypt was dead (during whose life he fled from thence) he requested *Raguel* that he would giue him leaue to depart into Ægypt, for the profit of those of his nation; and taking with him *Sephora* (who was *Raguels* daughter and his married wife) and *Gerson* and *Eleazar* his children, which he had by her, he departed to goe

Exod. 3. God appeareth to Moses in the bush. God conunceth Moses & the Israelites by miracles, to the end they might put trust in his promises.

Moses rod is turned into a serpent.

Moses hand is made white.

Moses powreth water on the earth, and it turneth to blood.

Moses is sent into Egypt, to deliuer the Israelites.

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 13 al. 10.

G H I K L M

A goe into Egypt. Now this name of *Gerſon* in the Hebrew tongue ſignifieth, Forraine: and *Eleazar* ſignifieth, fauoured by God, in memory that *Moſes* had eſcaped from amongſt the Egyptians, by the aſſiſtance of the God of his fathers. And as he approched neere the mountaines, *Aaron* his brother by the commandement of God came foorth to meete him, to whom hee declared all that which had happened vnto him in the mountaine, and that which God had giuen him in charge. And as they paſſed onward of their way, the men of greateſt eſtimation amongſt the Hebrewes (hauing intelligence of his comming) came out to meete him, to whom *Moſes* preſented the abouenamed tokens, by reaſon that hee could not perſwade them by words: and they being aſtoniſhed at that which they had ſeene him doe, beyond their expectation; waxed confident, and conceiued a good hope of all things, ſeeing that God had a care of their ſafetie. When he perceiued that the Hebrewes were readie to obey him, and that they proteſted to follow him
B in all that which he ſhould command them, through the earneſt deſire they had to be at liberty: he preſented himſelfe before the king, who had newly vndertaken the gouernment, and ſhewed him the great benefits he had done vnto the Ægyptians, at ſuch time as they were deſpiſed by the Ethiopians, who had ſpoiled all their countrey; and how hee had ſpared no trauell, but ſuſtained all the charge of the warre, as if it had beene waged for his owne proper nation. On the other ſide, hee opened vnto him the dangers which he had iniuſtly ſuffered for his recompence: he afterwards diſcourſed vnto him that which had befallen him neere vnto the fountaine of Sinai, and the talke which God had in that place with him, and the ſignes in particular which had been ſhewed vnto him, in confirmation of thoſe things whereunto hee was enioyned; exhorting the
C King not to miſtruſt or impeach the ordinance of God. The king hearing this, began to mocke him: but *Moſes* made him ſee in effect the ſignes, which were ſhewed vnto him neer to the mountaine of Sinai. But the King waxed wroth, and grieuouſly reuiled him, accuſing him for that in times paſt he fled away for feare to bee ſlaine in Ægypt, and at this preſent returned thither vnder a ſubtill pretext, cloaking his craft with magicke, and inchantment, the more to affright him. And at the ſame inſtant hee called into his preſence the Prieſts of Ægypt, to let them ſee thoſe ſignes, and to make it manifeſt that the Ægyptians were exerciſed in thoſe Sciences: and that he only was not maſter in thoſe things, the which he boaſted to performe by Gods power, but that they were but deceits & ſhadowes of meruailes to deceiue the multitude: whereupon the Prieſts caſt downe their rods, and they became ſerpents. *Moſes* being nothing mooued herewith, ſayd:
D O King, I deſpiſe not the wiſedome of the Ægyptians, but I proteſt that that which I haue done, doth ſo farre ſurpaſſe all their magicke and art, as there is difference between diuine and humane things: I will therefore ſhew you, that that which I doe, is not by enchantment, nor vnder colour of apparent verity, but by the prouidence and power of God. This ſaide, hee caſt his rod vpon the ground, commanding it to change it ſelfe into a ſerpent: whereunto it obeyed, and wandering here and there, it deuoured all the rods of the Ægyptians which ſeemed to bee ſerpents, vntill they were all of them conſumed; and that done, *Moſes* tooke his ſtaffe into his hand againe, and it reaſſumed his priſtine forme. But the king beeing neuer the more aſtoniſhed, (but the rather incenſed at that which was done) ſaid, that this wiſdome and ſubtilty of *Moſes* ſhould profit him nothing, which hee vſed in diſgrace of the Ægyptians. Hee commanded therefore the
E ouerſeer of the works, who had the gouernment of the Hebrewes, that hee ſhould remitte nothing of their labour, but that hee ſhould oppreſſe them with more tedious and grieuous taskes, then they were wont to be put vnto: whereupon (where hee was wont to allowe them ſtrawe to make their tile with) he forbare after that time to giue them that allowance: and taxing them in the day time to follow their worke, he appointed them by night to find and bring in their ſtrawe, doubling thereby the waight of their former labour. Notwithſtanding all this, *Moſes* would neither deſiſt from his purpoſe, in regard of the kings threatning, nor the continuall cry of his countrimen, neither was in any ſort appauled thereat; but with a confident and vnappauled minde (in regard of both) he wholly intended this, to reſtore his countriemen to their deſired libertie. Hee therefore once againe accoſted the King, perſwading him to diſmiſſe the Hebrewes, to the ende
F they might repaire vnto the mount Sinai, and ſacrifice vnto God in that place: for no leſſe (ſaith he) hath hee commanded, neither can any reſiſt his will. For which cauſe hee aduiſed the King to indeauour himſelfe (leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme to contemne his fauours) to grant the people free paſſage; for feare leaſt if hee ſhould ſecretly forbid them the ſame, he might accuſe and condemne himſelfe to ſuffer that which they in reaſon ought to endure, who reſiſt the will & works of God: for to thoſe that ſtir vp the wrath of God againſt themſelues, all kind of miſhaps do flock and flow on euery ſide: The earth befriendeth them not: neither ſmileth the ayre vpon them, their

The yeare of the world, 2454. before Chriſts birth, 1510.

Moſes departeth from Madian to go into Ægypt.

Moſes two ſons Gerſon & Eleazar.

Moſes entertained by the Hebrews ſheweth them his miracles.

Exod. 5. 7. Moſes perſwadeth the king of Ægypt to diſmiſſe the Iſraelites.

Moſes ſheweth Pharao his miracles.

Moſes rod deoureth the rods of the Ægyptians.

Pharao enioineth the Hebrewes to more grieuous taskes.

Exod 6. Moſes once more perſwadeth the king to diſmiſſe the Hebrewes.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before the Nativity of Christ, 1510.

their children are not begotten according to nature; but all things oppose themselues as ene- G
mies and contraries against them. Moreouer he added, that the Ægyptians should feele the plague, after that the people of the Hebrews should (in despight of their resistance) depart out of their countrey: but in that the King despised these words of *Moses*, and would not be conuerted, most grieuous plagues fell vpon the land of Ægypt. (The which I will particularly set down, by reason that at that time the Ægyptians suffered those things, which neuer before that time happened to any other people; and for that cause likewise that I may testifie and declare, that *Moses* hath not falsified or erred in any thing that he hath done: and besides, for that it is expedient for men to learne & do those things which are agreeable to Gods will, for feare least he being prouoked and incensed against them, should punish them for their vniustice.) For first of all by

The first plague of the Ægyptians, water turned into bloud. *Exod.7.*

the commandement of God, the riuers ouerflowed with blood, neither was it possible for H
them to drinke (notwithstanding they had no other fountaine of water) neither was the water only coloured like blood, but when as likewise any one drank thereof, it ingendred and procured in him diuers dolors, and grieuous gripings. Such was the water to the Ægyptians, but to the Hebrewes it seemed good and sweete in taste, without any waies changing the nature thereof. Hereupon the King (not knowing what to doe, and seeing this strange accident, and being afraid by reason of the Ægyptians) permitted the Hebrewes to depart: but no sooner was this plague ceased, but he presently changed his minde, and would not permit them liberty to depart: for which cause God (seeing his ingratitude, and that he would not be warned, notwithstanding he had deliuered him from the former calamitie) he inflicted an other plague vpon

Exod.9. An other plague of frogs.

the Ægyptians. He therefore sent an infinite number of frogs vpon them, that couered and in- I
fected the whole countrey, and the riuers were so packed and stored with them in such manner, that they that drew water to drinke, found it altogether infected with the putrefaction of them, dying & rotting in the waters: so that the whole country was full of filthy mud, by reason of the frogs that defaced and died on the same. They corrupted also their meats, mingling themselues in their houses amidst their meat and drink, and creeping amidst their chambers; from whence an odious stench exhaled by reason of the multitude of frogs that lay dead. Now when the Ægyptians saw themselues so sore pressed with these euils, the King commanded *Moses* that he should take the Hebrews, and that he should depart: and as soone as he had spoken this, the multitude of frogs vanished and appeared no more, neither on the earth nor in the water, but that they retained their accustomed nature. No sooner was the earth deliuered from this curse, but *Pharao* for- K
got the cause thereof, and retained the Hebrews anew: and (as if he had a desire to experiment the maner of diuers miseries) he denied them that issue which before time he had granted them, rather inforced thereunto by his feare, then forward good liking. For this cause God once againe

The third plague, lice.

rewarded his fraud, by sending him another plague: for a multitude of lice swarmed from the bodies of the Ægyptians, whence the wretched men perished wretchedly; neither could they exterminate that race, either by bathings or inunctions. The king troubled with this calamitie, and fearing the ruine of his people, and bethinking him of the shamefull end thereof, he was constrained to remit the better part of his malignity. For as touching the Hebrewes he permitted them to depart, but (after the plague was appeased) he required at their hands that they would leaue their wiues and children behind them for pledges till their returne: and by this meanes he L
prouoked Gods wrath more heauily against him, in that he supposed to delude his prouidence: as if it had not beene God, who (in the Hebrews behalfe) had punished them, but *Moses* that had

The fourth plague, venemous beasts.

plagued the Ægyptians For God filled their countrey with many and diuers sorts of beasts, (the like whereof before that time had not beene seene in that countrey) which killed them vp, so that the earth became desolate and vnmanured, and if any one amongst them escaped from death, they were afterwards destroyed by sicknesse. But notwithstanding all these, the King still continued obstinate in his wickednesse, and disobedient vnto God, permitting onely that the women and men should depart, and that their children should be left behind them: but

The fift plague, the Plague.

God desisted not to punish his wickednesse by diuers and most grieuous plagues, farre more te- M
dious then the former, yea such as were dispersed ouer all the people.

The sixt plague, botches.

For their bodies were grieuously tormented with vlcers, and corrupted inwardly; and after

The seuenth plague, haile.

this sort the greater part of the Ægyptians perished: but when as the King was neither moderated, nor mollified by this plague, God rained downe haile vpon them (which neuer before that time was engendred in the ayre of Ægypt; & further so great, or rather greater then that, which

The eight plague, Grashoppers.

falleth to the Northward, neere to the Pole Artique in the midst of the spring) & spoiled all their fruit. After which an army of grashoppers deuoured all those buds and fruits which were vn-

offenced

A offenced by the hayle; ſo that all the hope which the Ægyptians had of their harueſt or fruite, was vtterly ouerthrowne. Theſe aforeſaid afflictions had beene ſufficient to perſwade a man of the meaneſt wit (except he had been a reprobate) to grow wiſe, and make vſe of that which was moſt profitable for him. But *Pharao* knowing the cauſes of the ſame, enforced himſelfe to reſiſt God, not onely thorow imprudence, but for malice; ſo that voluntarily hee betrayed his commonweale. Hee therefore commanded *Moſes*, that hee ſhould leade away the Hebrewes with their wiues; but that they ſhould leaue their ſubſtance behind them for a prey, in that they complained, that after all theſe calamities they had nothing left them. To whom *Moſes* anſwered, that hee demanded an vnlawfull matter, by reaſon that they were to offer ſacrifice vnto God of their prey or bootie. Now while the time was ſpent in theſe conſultations, darkeneſſe altogether deuoyd of light ouerſpred the land of Ægypt, where through they died miſerably in cloſing their eyes, by reaſon of the thickneſſe thereof, ſo that they were afraid leaſt the fogge ſhould choake them: which beeing diſperſed, after three dayes, and ſo many nights, *Moſes* ſeeing that *Pharao* would not repent, nor let the people of Iſrael depart, hee came vnto him, and ſpake after this manner. As long as you ſhall reſiſt the ordinance of God (who commaundeth you to ſuffer the Hebrewes to depart) there is no meanes, whereby you may be exempted from theſe miſchiefes in doing that which you doe. The King enraged at theſe words, threatned him to cut off his head, if once more hee durſt appeare in his preſence, to motion vnto him any ſuch matter. *Moſes* anſwered him, that hee would no more ſpeake vnto him as touching this matter; but that both himſelfe, and the chiefeſt among the Ægyptians would exhort the Hebrewes to depart: which ſaide, hee forſooke his preſence. But God intending to expreſſe that he meant yet once more to plague the Ægyptians, and to conſtraine them to deliuer the Hebrewes: he commanded *Moſes* to declare vnto the people, that they ſhould haue their ſacrifice in a readineſſe, and hauing prepared it the thirteenth day of the moneth Zanthicus, to celebrate the ſame the 14. of the ſaid moneth (by the Ægyptians called Pharmuth, and by the Hebrewes Niſan, and Zanthicus by the Macedonians) and that hee ſhould leade foorth all the Hebrewes, bearing with them all their goods. Whereupon hee who had the Hebrewes already in a readineſſe to depart, and had diſtributed them by families, kept them in one place, and in the ſame order: but when the fourteenth day was come, all of them (addreſſed to depart) made ſacrifice, and with the blood of the lambe purged their houſes, beſprinkling them with branches of Iſope. And after they had ſupped, they burned the fleſh that remained, as beeing on the point to addreſſe themſelues to depart. Whereupon euen at this day wee retaine the ſaid cuſtome to ſacrifice in like ſort; and do call this ſolemnitie *Paſcha*, which is as much to ſay, as the paſſage, by reaſon that on that day God leauing and ouerpaſſing the Hebrewes without harme, ſtrooke the Ægyptians with ſicknes: for that plague in the night time cut off all the firſt begotten in Ægypt, ſo that by multitudes they that dwelt round about the palace, aſſembled them in the preſence of the King, and beſought him to let the Hebrewes goe: for which cauſe *Pharao* calling for *Moſes*, gaue order that they ſhould depart the countrey, ſuppoſing that aſſoone as they were gone, Ægypt ſhould no more be afflicted with ſuch like plagues. Moreouer, they honoured the Hebrewes with preſents, partly to the end they ſhould depart with the more expedition, partly for the neighbourhood and acquaintance ſake which they had one with another. And as they departed the Ægyptians wept, and repented them of the euill vſage they had ſhewed vnto them: but they tooke their way towards Latopolis at that time deſert, and in which place afterwards Babylon was builded, at ſuch time as *Cambyſes* deſtroyed Ægypt. The third day they came vnto Beelzephon neere vnto the red ſea, and for that they wanted victuals by reaſon of the deſart, they tempered their meale with water, and hardned it with a little heat, and made cakes, with which they ſuſtained themſelues for the ſpace of thirty dayes: for they had not brought any more victuall out of Ægypt, but as much as would ſerue them for that time, and that which they had they diſpenſed very ſparingly, rather feeding for neceſſitie, then eating with ſafetie. For which cauſe in memory of that want, wee celebrate a feaſt for the ſpace of eight daies, which wee call the feaſt of Azymes, that is to ſay, of vnleauened bread. But it is not eaſie to number the multitude of them that diſlodged, if we conſider the women and children; but of thoſe that were of full age, and fit to beare armes, they were in number ſixe hundred thouſand.

The yeare of the world, 2454. before Chriſts birth, 1510.

The ninth plague darkneſſe.

Pharao drieueth away Moſes. *Exod. 10. 11. 12.*

Zanthicus amongſt the Macedons is Aprill, as Suidas teſtifieth.

The Hebrews paſſeouer ſignifieth a paſſage.

The tenth plague the firſt begotten amongſt the Egyptians both man and beaſts die.

The Iſraelites depart out of Egypt.

The feaſt of the Azymes.

The number of the childrē of Iſrael.

CHAP. VI.

The Hebrewes depart out of Egypt vnder the conduct of Moſes.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1510.

The time of their departure out of Egypt. *Exod.* 12. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 14. al. 11.

THEY therefore forſooke Ægypt the fourteenth day of the moneth Zanthicus, foure hundreth and thirty yeeres after *Abraham* our father came into Chanaan, and in the two hundreth and fifteenth yeare after *Iacob* was tranſported into Ægypt, the eighteenth yeare of *Moſes* age, who had *Aaron* to his brother three yeeres elder then himſelfe. They carried alſo with them the bones of *Ioſeph*, according as hee had commanded his ſonnes. But the Ægyptians repented themſelues, becauſe they had ſuffered the Hebrewes to depart: the King alſo was very ſore mooued, ſuppoſing that which was fallen vpon them had happened by *Moſes* meanes, and they all concluded to purſue and follow after them. They therefore armed themſelues, and furniſhed them with all their abiliments of warre, intending to purſue them vnder intent to bring them backe, if they might ouertake them: for they ſaid that God would no more bee diſpleaſed againſt them, for that already they had giuen them leaue to depart. They hoped likewiſe very eaſily to bring them vnder ſubiection; becauſe they were all of them diſarmed, and wearied with trauaile. They therefore inquired of euery one which way they helde, and haſted themſelues to follow them, although they knew the Region was very hard to trauell in; not onely for thoſe that were to march in troup, but alſo for thoſe that were to iourney one by one. And therefore did *Moſes* conduct them this way, to the end that if the Ægyptians ſhould repent them of their diſmiſſion, and ſhould haſte them to purſue them, they might receiue the reward of their wickedneſſe, and the breach of their promiſe: Hee choſe this way likewiſe, leaſt the Paleſtines ſhould vnderſtand of their departure, by reaſon they were diſpleaſed againſt the Hebrewes, becauſe of an ancient grudge which they bare them. Now doth Paleſtine confine and border vpon Ægypt, and therefore led hee them not by the way that directly leadeth thither: but hee intended to bring them into Chanaan, by conducting them farre about, and thorow many calamities, to the end that afterwards he might leade them to the mountaine of Sinai, where they might offer ſacrifice, according to Gods commaundement. As ſoone as the Ægyptians ouertooke the Iſraelites, they prepared themſelues to fight, truſting themſelues to the number which they had, and ſhut themſelues into a place of ſecuritie. For with them there ſerued ſixe hundreth Chariots, with fiftie thouſand horſemen, and two hundreth thouſand armed footemen. They had alſo ſtopped the paſſages, where through they thought the Hebrewes might eſcape, encloſing them betwixt vnacceſſible rockes, and the ſea; on which place there abutteth a mountaine, vnfrequented by reaſon of the dangerouſneſſe of the way, and by this meanes they excluded them from all hope of eſcape or flight. For on the one ſide they were ſhut in by the mountaine that extended it ſelfe euen vnto the ſea, and on the other ſide by their campe pitched and embattelled before their faces, to cut them off from the champaine, if ſo be they intended to flie that way. Seeing therefore that they were in no ſecuritie, but were hemmed in by the importunitie of the place, and by reaſon of their want could not endure the ſiege, and for that they could not finde any iſſue to flie from their enemies; neither although they greatly deſired to fight, had they meanes to defend themſelues, becauſe they were diſarmed: finally, when as they perceiued that there was no hope of ſafetie left them, but onely by their abiect ſubmiſſion: they began to accuſe *Moſes*, forgetting thoſe prodigies, whereby God had fore-promiſed them their libertie; and ſo farre forgot they themſelues, that after hauing ſtoned the Prophet, and thorow incredulitie contemned Gods promiſes, they were reſolued to yeeld themſelues ſubiect to their former thraldome. For they were exaſperated by the teares of their wiues and children, who expected nothing but death, ſeeing themſelues begirt with rockes, ſeas, and ſouldiers, and left deſtitute of all hope of flight. But although the multitude were exaſperated againſt *Moſes*, yet ceaſed he not to take care of them, and to thinke on God; laying before their eyes that which he had ſaid in times paſt, as touching their deliuerance, and aſſuring them that God would not ſuffer them to be ſubiected or ouerthrowne by their enemies; and ſtanding vp in the midſt of them he ſaid: If your affaires had hitherto beene managed by men onely, it were not amiſſe in you to diſtruſt them, leaſt hereafter they ſhould not bring them to their determined and your deſired iſſue. But in that at this time you diſtruſt the prouidence of God, this ſheweth you to be without ſenſe or vnderſtanding, conſidering it is he that hath made you ſee all thoſe things which hee hath promiſed you by me, tending to your ſaluation and deliuerance; yea euen at that time when you your ſelues expected it not: you rather ought to hope that God will

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 14. al. 11.

The Egyptians purſue the Hebrewes.

Why Moſes conducted them thorow Paleſtine.

The Iſraelites are encompaſſed by the Egyptian multitudes, and depart to the red ſea. *Exod.* 14.

The perplexitie of the Iſraelites being encloſed by the Egyptians

Moſes exhorteth the people to put their truſt in God.

A will helpe and assist you in these difficulties, who hath brought to passe, that you are now in this streight, to the end that when he shall haue deliuered you from these extremities, from which neither you your selues, nor your enemies suppose that yee may escape, he may shew his force and prouidence in your behalfe: For God is not accustomed to yeeld his fauourable assistance when the dangers are onely easie and supportable, but in those wherein all humane hope is voide and exhausted. Therefore repose your selues and stay your fortunes vpon such a helper, who can make great things of small, and maketh the strongest feeble. Feare not the force and power of the Ægyptians; neither, for that you haue the sea and mountaines before you, which permit you not to flie from them, despaire of your liues: for God (if he please) can turne the mountaines into plaines, and change the sea into dry land.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativity. 1510.

When God is most ready to helpe vs.

B

Chap. VII.

The Hebrewes are pursued by the Aegyptians, the sea diuideth it selfe, and giueth passage to the Hebrewes.

THIS said, he conducted the Hebrewes towards the sea in the sight of the Ægyptians. For they were within sight of them, being very much wearied with pursuit and trauell, and made their account that it should be best for them to remit the combate vntill the next day.

But when *Moses* was arriued vpon the banke of the Sea, he tooke his rodde and called vpon
C God, and implored his ayde and succours in these words. O Lord, thou too well knowest that it is impossible for vs by force or mans policie to escape these extremities: but thou art hee only that canst saue this companie, who haue forsaken Ægypt, following thy commandement. And since of our selues we haue not any hope or meanes, we onely recommend our selues vnto thy prouidence, assuring our selues, that by that meanes onely wee may bee deliuered from the pursuite and hatred of the Ægyptians: Send vs therefore speedily thine assistance, to the end that thy power may be knowen in our weakenesse. Relieue, encourage, and hearten thy people, assuring them of their safetie, who through their distrust haue sinned against thee: we are inuironed with difficulties, which notwithstanding thou canst make easie. For, the sea is thine, and this mountaine that encloseth vs; the which shall open, and the Sea also diuide it selfe into
D firme land, if thou commandest them. We may likewise flie through the ayre, if it please thy power to deliuer vs in that manner. Hauing made his request vnto God after this manner, he strooke the red sea with his rod; which sodainly diuiding it selfe at that stroke, and retyring backwards, left a drie passage through the midst thereof, where through the Hebrews might escape. *Moses* seeing how God had made himselfe knowne, and how the sea had forsaken the land, and left his natiue channell; he first of all marched through the same, and commanded the Hebrewes to follow him, marching through that way which God had in his diuine power prouided for them, willing them to reioyce at the danger which attended their enemies, and to giue God thankes for the vnexpected succours he had sent them: who were not negligent, but marched boldly forward. At the first the Ægyptians supposed them to be mad, and that they
E did headlong cast themselues into manifest perdition: but when they perceiued that they were forwardly entred without danger, and that they encountred no danger or let, they dislodged, and followed them, as if the sea ought to haue giuen them issue also; and hauing set their horse in the vauntgard, they began to descend, and enter the way of the sea. The Hebrewes perceiuing that they spent the time in arming themselues, hasted them to flie to the opposite shore, where they arriued without any disturbance; which made their enemies more bold, supposing that no euill should happen vnto them. They supposed not that this path was made expressely for the Hebrewes; but entered the same, as if it had beene a common beaten way, forgetting that it was made to saue the Hebrewes from danger, and not themselues, who sought to ruinate them. But as soone as all the Ægyptian armie was entred thereinto; the sea returned to his old
F course, and with winds and waues ouerwhelmed the Ægyptians. The showers from heauen fell vpon them, vehement thunders rattled from the ayre, intermixed with flashings, and the lightenings tempested vpon them. In briefe, there was nothing that through the wrath of God might be inflicted vpon men, which at that time hapned not vnto them. For, besides all that which hath beene spoken, an obscure and darke night surprised them, in such sort as they were all of them drowned, and there remained not one of them to beare backe the tyding of their misfortune: That the Hebrewes could not containe themselues, such ioy they had conceiued through

Moses prayer vnto God.

The red sea diuideth it selfe.

The Hebrews passe through the red sea, the Ægyptians are drowned therein.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativity. 1510.

this their vnexpected deliuerance, and the totall ruine of their enemies: so that they assuredly G
perswaded themselues that they were deliuered; by reason that they who had made them slaues vnto them perforce, were exterminated; and for that they had God so visibly assistant vnto them. When they had escaped this danger, and perceiuing likewise that their enemies were in this sort punished, yea and after such a manner as the like punishment hath neuer beene heard of amongst men; they all of them during the whole night, sung hymns and songs of reioyce. *Moses* likewise composed an Ode in Hexameter verse, containing the praises of God, and a thankesgiuing for the fauour he had done vnto them. All these things that I particularly declared, according as I haue found them written in holy Scriptures. Neither ought any man to maruaile at this so wonderfull a discourse, that thorow the sea there should a passage be found, to saue so many persons in times past, and they rude and simple, whether it were done by the will of God, or that it chanced of it selfe; since not long time agoe, God so thinking it good, the sea of Pamphilia H
diuided it selfe to giue way to *Alexander* king of Macedons souldiours, hauing no other passage to destroy the Empire of the Persians. The next day the Ægyptians armes transported by the force of the streame, were cast a shore into the army of the Hebrewes: which when *Moses* perceiued that it was done by the prouidence of God, to the intent they might not be disarmed; he gathered them together, and furnished the Hebrewes therewith, who afterwards ledde them to the mountaine of Sinai to sacrifice vnto God, and he offered him thankesgiuing for their deliuerance in the behalfe of the people; according as he himselfe had before time commanded him.

Exod. 15. The Israelites with Moses sing songs for their deliuerance.

The sea of Pamphilia diuided it selfe for Alexanders souldiers to passe there thorow.

The winde and tide driue the Ægyptian armes into the Hebrews campe.

I

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

K

The Contents of the Chapters of the third Booke.

1. *How* Moses *conducted the people out of Aegypt to the mountaine of Sinai.*
2. *Of the slaughter of the Amalechites and their confederates, and of the prey which the Israelites attained thereby.*
3. Raguels *counsell vnto his sonne in law* Moses.
4. Moses *ascending the mountaine of Sinai, bringeth downe the Tables of the ten commandements, which he had receiued at Gods hands, to the people.*
5. *Of the Tabernacle made by* Moses *in the desart, resembling a portable Temple.*
6. *Of the Arke wherein* Moses *inclosed the Tables of the Law.* L
7. *Of the golden Table and Candlesticke, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.*
8. *Of the apparell both of the high Priests and the inferiors.*
9. *Of* Aarons *Priesthood, and of that which was ordained as touching the feasts and Sacrifices.*
10. *The Lawes of Sacrifices, and Purifications.*
11. *The Lawes and customes of warre.*
12. *Sedition against* Moses, *by reason of the want of victuals, and the punishment of the Seditious.*
13. *Of the spies who hauing seene and searched the countrey of Chanaan, and the returning backe againe to the Israelites, amated them with feare.* M

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How MOSES *conducted the people out of Aegypt to the mountaine of Sinai.*

The yeare of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuitie, 1510.

THis new and vnexpected deliuerance of the Hebrewes from their danger, was not a little obscured by the wearinesse and tediousnes of their iourney, which they indured in their trauell towards the mountaine of Sinai: by reason that the countrey was desert and inhabitable, destitute of victualls, and wholly depriued of waters; and not onely barren of that which serued for the sustenance of men, but also euery wayes destitute of pasturage and prouision for cattell: for it was not only dry and vtterly destitute of water, but also depriued of all meanes to nourish and increase fruite. Now they were inforced to prosecute their way thorow this countrey, by reason they could not otherwise chuse; so that they were constrained to beare with them the water which they had drawen before such time as they entered the desart, according as their Captaine and conductor had commanded them: which being spent, they digged pits, out of which they drew water with great difficultie, by reason of the sterilitie of the countrey: and further, the water which they found in those places was bitter, and no waies fit to drinke, and that which was worse, very little in quantitie. Trauelling onwards of their iourney after this manner, they arriued about the euening in a certaine place, which by reason the waters thereabout were brackish, they called Mara, that is to say, bitternesse: there wearied with their trauell and their prouision failing them, they began to be trauelled with necessitie, so that they resolued to stay in that place; and the rather in that they found a certaine pit there, which although it were insufficient to satisfie so great an army, yet for that they found it in that countrey, it yeelded them no little consolation. For they were giuen to vnderstand, that if they trauelled onwards they should finde no water; and as touching the water of that pit, it was so bitter and vnfit for their drinking, that it neither was agreeable with mens taste, nor supportable by their very cattell likewise. Whereupon *Moses* seeing them so discomforted, neither knowing in what sort to satisfie them, in that he had not to deale with an opposite army or enemie to the end to enforce, and to repell them with valor; and for that he manifestly perceiued that not onely a troupe of valiant men, but also a multitude of women and children were like to perish: he was very sore perplexed not knowing what to doe, and on himselfe he heaped the calamitie of them all; as if himselfe onely were to beare the heauy burthen of their misery. For all of them had their recourse vnto him, and to no man else; the women besought for their children, the husbands intreated for their wiues, beseeching him to take compassion of their desolations, and to furnish them with some meanes to escape their miserie. He addressed himselfe therefore in most humble manner to beseech almightie God, that it might please him to conuert the euill qualitie of the water, and to make it potable: which grace and fauour he no sooner obtained, but he tooke the end of his staffe, and cast it at his feete, and afterwards brake it in the midst, and cleft it long waies, and cast it into the pit; giuing the Hebrewes to vnderstand, that God had heard their praiers, and that he had promised them to giue them that water they desired, if so be they would obey him, and with alacrity & diligence performe that which should be commanded them. And when they were inquisitiue of that which they ought to do; to the intent the water might be changed, he enioyned euery one of them, that was of best strength and abilitie amongst them, to draw water; giuing them to vnderstand, that so soone as they had drawne out great store of water from the pit, the rest that should remaine, would be very good and conuenient to be drunke: wherein they trauelled in such sort, that the water agitated and purified by often drawing, became potable, and refected the wearie multitude. Hereupon dislodging from that place they came to Helim, a countrey that afarre off seemed very pleasant, by reason that it was planted with Palme trees; but the neerer they approched it, the more tedious they found it (for there were no more then seauentie Palme trees in that place, and they not very tall or well growne, by reason of the drinesse and barrennesse of that countrey: for they were not watered by the fountaines, whereof there were twelue in that place, neither did any one of them yeeld any moysture, to giue them sustenance) so that indeuouring themselues to dig vp the sand they could light on no veines of water, and if perhaps any litle deale appeared, it was so troubled by their digging as it became vnfit to be tasted: neither did the trees beare any store of fruit, by reason of the want of water. For which cause the whole multitude began to murmure against

The Israelites in the desart are distressed for want of water.

Mara signifieth bitternes. *Exod.* 15.

Moses beseecheth God to change the bitter waters into sweet.

The Israelites came to Elim where they began to murmure against Moses for want of sustenance.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativitie, 1510.

Exod. 16.

their guide, ascribing all the cause of their calamities and miseries vnto him. For hauing marched for the space of thirtie daies, they had consumed all that which they brought with them, and conceiuing in their imagination that there was no remedy, they were wholly surprised with despaire. Bethinking them therefore onely of that euill which was before their eyes, and forgetting the maruels which God by the ministerie and prudence of *Moses* hast made them both see and partake, they conceiued hatred against him, and were readie to stone him to death, as if he had beene the author of that calamitie which oppressed them. But he perceiuing the multitude so inraged and incensed against him, strengthened himselfe in God: and warranted by the testimonie of a good conscience, and the vprightnesse of his actions, he came out into the middest of them; who reuiled him, and had gatherd stones to cast at him. And for that he was adorned with a singular grace and alluring countenance, and endued with pleasing eloquence, and fit to pacifie the popularitie, he began to appease their wrath; exhorting them not onely to forget their present difficulties, but also to remember their forepassed blessings; not permitting that the trauell which they endured at that time, should driue out of their remembrance the graces and great good turnes, which they had receiued at Gods hands. He willed them likewise diligently to expect their deliuerance from that extreamitie, by the prouidence of God, who (as it were likely) made triall of their vertue, to see what perseuerance they had; or whether they kept in their remembrance those things which had hapned vnto them; or whether forgetting their forepassed pleasures, they would suffer themselues to bee swallowed with their present miserie: he willed them therefore to take heede, least through their impatience and ingratitude, they should be found vnworthy of Gods fauour; who both neglected his will, by whose direction they were brought out of Ægypt, and sore threatned and hated him, which was Gods minister, especially since hither they might no waies complaine of him in any thing, which he had vndertaken to execute by the commandement of God. Then reckoned he vp particularly vnto them, how the Ægyptians were ouerthrowne and afflicted, whilest contrarie to Gods will they endeuoured to detaine them; how the same riuer which to them was bloodie and vnprofitable to drinke of, to themselues became both sweete and potable: likewise how the sea retired it selfe, and furthered both their night and passage, wherein they saw themselues secure and free from danger: and contrariwise, their enemies destroyed, ouerthrowne and drowned; and how euen vntill that day being disarmed, they were by Gods prouidence both furnished and fortified aboundantly. Againe, how often God had deliuered them from apparent death and danger, besides all mens opinion, who being all and alwaies omnipotent, gaue them at that time, no not the least suspicion of his assistance. For which cause they were to suffer all things patiently, and to imagine with themselues that the succour, although it were deferred, was neuer too late, which was receiued before such time as the danger had preuailed: and so to thinke that God contemned not their perils, but that he made triall of their fortitude and free loue, to see whether they were able and willing to abide the want of meate and drinke; or rather whether after the manner of brute beasts, they had leifer be trained in seruile trauell, to the end they might be glutted like them, and made the better able to endure their labour. To conclude, that he nothing feared his life (because that being vniustly slaine, no euill could happen vnto him) but that he was fearefull of their safetie, least lifting vp their hands to stone him, they should be thought to oppose themselues against Gods ordinance. Thus pacified he them, and mollified the furie they had conceiued to endanger his life; and so much preuailed hee, that they repented them of that enterprise, whereby they sought to indanger him. And for that hee knew that they had some reason to be thus mooued, hee addressed himselfe to prayer and supplication: and ascending a certaine rocke, hee required Gods helpe to releeue their infirmities, wants, and afflictions, in whose hands only the saluation of the people consisted, beseeching him in mercie to forgiue the people being exasperated with extreme miseries, and by reason thereof distracted and withdrawne from their dutie: whereupon God promised him to haue care of the people, assuring him to send them a speedie and present deliuerance. Which when *Moses* vnderstood, he came downe vnto the multitude: who perceiuing him altogether refreshed with ioy, by reason of those promises which he had receiued at Gods hands, exchanged their dolesome lamentations, into a habit of delight. He therefore standing vp in the midst of them, told them that he brought vnto them a most speedie remedie for their present necessitie: and not long after, a number of Quailes (which about the gulfe of Arabia multiply and increase more then any other sorts of birds) flew and crossed the sea; and being wearied in their flight, and accustomably accosting and flying neere

Moses exhorteth the people to remember those benefits they had receiued at Gods hands.

Moses reckoneth vp vnto the people all the benefits which God had done vnto them.

Moses implores Gods helpe.

G H I K L M

to

A to the ground, came and fell amidſt the campe of the Hebrewes: who caught them as a prouiſion prepared for them by God, and ordained to extinguiſh their famine. Whereupon *Moſes* once more addreſſed himſelfe to call vpon God, yeelding him thankes for the preſent and the future good hee had promiſed him. Who beeing after this manner fed and refreſhed, were preſently ſupplied with a new kinde of foode: for at ſuch time as *Moſes* ſtretched out his hands and prayed vnto God, a dewe deſcended from heauen that thickned betwixt his handes, which for that hee ſuppoſed it, to be an other kind of ſuſtenance ſent them by God, hee taſted the ſame; and taking pleaſure therein; for that the people knew not what it was, but thought it to be ſnowe which fell in that place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere, hee taught them that it was no dew falling from heauen as they ſuppoſed, but that God had ſent them that grace for the conſeruation and nouriture of their bodies; and hauing eaten thereof, he gaue them of it,
B to the end he might ſtrengthen their beliefe: who taſting the ſame in like manner as their chieftaine had done, were greatly refreſhed with the ſuſtenance. For in ſweetnes and pleaſure it equalled the honie, in odour Bdellium, and in forme and greatneſſe the graine of a Coriander ſeede: of which euery one gathered, and by commandement it was enioyned that euery one of them ſhould particularly gather euery day the meaſure of an Aſſaron, which is the tenth part of an Epha, to the end that no one ſhould be ſcanted of this food: which was done to that end, leaſt the weaker ſhould want, whileſt the ſtronger thorow auarice ſhould gather more then ſufficed them. And if any one contrary to the preſcript command, had gathered more then was permitted him, although hee toyled and trauelled more then any of them, yet was his portion no
C waies increaſed by that meanes. For whatſoeuer (beſide the appointed meaſure of the Aſſaron) remained till the next morning was of no value, thorow bitterneſſe, and was putrefied thorow wormes: ſo diuine and admirable was this kind of foode, and of that nature, that who ſo had ſufficient thereof, needed no other ſort of ſuſtenance. Moreouer euen in theſe our daies, al that countrey is beſtrewed and bedewed with that kind of aliment, which God in fauour of *Moſes* ſent for the peoples ſuſtenance. The Hebrewes call it Manna, for in our tongue Man is an interrogation; ſignifying what is that? Thus liued they then ioifully, being ſuſtained by this kind of meat ſent the from heauen, and vſed the ſame for the ſpace of forty yeeres; during that time which they liued in the deſart. But afterwards when they were diſlodged from that place, and encamped neere to Raphidim, they were extreamely trauailed with thirſt; where, vpon their firſt arriuall they found
D ſome few ſprings, but afterwards they found the land wholly deſtitute of water. They therefore once more were incenſed againſt *Moſes*: but the withdrawing himſelfe apart from the furie of the people, conuerted himſelfe vnto God in prayer, beſeeching him that as he had giuen them foode in their neceſſitie, he would now alſo giue them drinke at that preſent, wherein they were welnie choaked with thirſt, praying him to prouide them of drink alſo, or otherwiſe that their meate was vnprofitable to them: whereon God preſently granted his prayer, promiſing *Moſes* that hee would giue him a fountaine and aboundance of water from that place from whence he leaſt expected it. Hereon he commanded him; that ſtriking vpon the rock with his rod, which was thereby hard at hand, hee ſhould from thence ſeeke that which they demanded and wanted; aſſuring him that euery one without trauell or labour ſhould haue ſufficient therefro: which counſaile
E when *Moſes* had receiued from Gods hands, hee returned vnto the people who expected him, and had their eies fixed vpon him: for at that time they behelde him deſcending from the rocke where hee had made his prayer. No ſooner was hee arriued, but he told them that God would in like ſort deliuer them from that neceſſitie, and would gratiouſly grant them an vnexpected reliefe; telling them that a ſloud ſhould ſodainly breake from the rocke: but they beeing amazed at that which they heard, and doubting leaſt tired with thirſt and trauelled by iourneyes, they ſhould be inforced to hewe and cleaue the rocke: *Moſes* ſtroke the ſame in ſuch ſort with his rod, that he diuided it in ſunder, and deliuered out moſt cleere and pure water in great aboundance. The people were very ſore aſtoniſhed at this ſo ſtrange accidēt: ſo that beholding the water, their thirſt was quenched. They afterward drunke of the water, and found it very ſweet and pleaſant,
F reſembling in the goodnes of it, the diuine bountie and power of the giuer thereof. For this cauſe they highly eſteemed *Moſes*, ſeeing that God had honoured him in this ſort, and they acknowledged Gods prouidence and their thankſgiuing by their ſacrifices, humbly thanking him for the care he had ouer them. The ſacred ſcriptures likewiſe, which are kept and conſecrated in the Temple, teſtifie that God had foretolde *Moſes* alſo that water ſhould in this ſort iſſue from the rocke.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1510.

God ſendeth quailes into the Hebrews armie.

God feedeth the Iſraelites with Manna.

A commandement how much Manna ſhould be gathered.

Manna what it ſignifieth *Exod. 17.*

The Iſraelites fed 40. yeares ſpace on Manna.

The Iſraelites arriue at Raphidim, and are trauailed with thirſt.

Moſes ſtriketh the rocke with his rod, and there iſſueth water.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before the Nativity of Christ, 1510.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalechites and their associates were ouercome, and how great a prey the Israelites obtained thereby.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2.

BVt when the renowne of the Hebrewes waxed great, and was spred in the eares of all men (so as the brute thereof was heard in euery part) it came to passe that the inhabitants of that countrey were in very great feare: whereupon (sending embassages the one vnto the other) they mutually incited themselues to expell and vtterly ruinate the whole nation.

Exod. 17. The Amalechites warre against the Israelites.

Amongst the rest those of the countrey of Gobol, and the Citie Petra (who are called Amalechites, a nation very warlike, and more actiue then the rest) were the chiefe agents in this expedition: whose Kings both encouraged one another, and whetted their neighbour nations to the Israelites destruction; telling them that a forraine army, flying from the thraldome of the Ægyptians, had inuaded their countrey, whose increases were not a little to be suspected: counselling them (before they had gathered head, and recouered more meanes, and a countrey to dwell in, and withall waxed more confident by reason of their forbearance) to charge them first; rather then to expect their increases, and so to oppresse them: esteeming it a better point of wisedome to represse their insolencie and frowardnes in the desart, then to expect whilst they were possessed of strong Cities, & rich meanes. For this (said they) is the part of wise men to resist the vprisings and power of their aduersaries; and not to expect, whilest by daily exploites they more & more increase, & rather to prouide to preuent, then deliuer themselues from perill. After these embassages, it was decreed by generall counsell, that they should endeuour to confront and assault the Hebrewes. These determinations and dessignes of theirs amated and troubled *Moses* very much, for that hee expected no hostilitie. When therefore hee perceiued that the people were affrighted, and amazed to see themselues (beeing wholly vnprouided) to bee charged by so strong and well furnished an armie; hee recomforted them; and willed them to bethinke themselues of God promises, who by his power had set them at libertie; assuring them that they should ouercome al those that made party and head against them to destroy them: wishing them to thinke, that though they were inferiour vnto their enemies in weapons, wealth, money, and munition, and such like; yet since they had God to friend, and ready to fight for them against their enemies, that they ought to conceiue such courage, as if they were furnished with far more then humane supplies. Alledging further, that they were not ignorant how great an assister God was, hauing had so often triall of his goodnesse in their greatest dangers, whom both hee knew to be an enemie to their enemies, and fauourable to their proceedings: which fauour of his he most manifestly expressed, by his miraculous deliuerance of them from hunger and thirst, by yeelding them free escape when they were shut in by sea and mountaines; and that which should most animate them to the fight and victorie at that time was, that after this plunge they should want nothing that appertained to a more commodious and peaceable life. *Moses* thus hauing encouraged the people by his words, hee called vnto him the chiefest of the tribes, and euerie one of them that had the charge of them, both in priuate and publike assembly; commanding the younger to obey the elder, and the elders to bee obedient to their Generall. But they contemning their danger, and desirous of fight, hoped that this conflict would prooue the final end of their calamitie: for which cause they instantly besought *Moses* to lead thē forth against the enemie, praying him not to dull the alacritie of the souldiers, by any vntimely delay. Whereupon (chusing out among the whole multitude, such as were most fitte for warre) hee chose *Iesus* the sonne of *Naueus* the Ephraimite to leade them, a man valiant in armes, and prouident in counsaile, and exceeding in pietie, and not degenerating in that respect from *Moses* his master. He also in such sort disposed certen bands that he might not in any sort be cut off from water; he left also so many as might guard the multitude, and keepe the campe and weaker company. Thus stood they all the night long in a readines to take armes; such as they had fitted for them, expecting their captaines, who should lead them out to fight as soone as *Moses* should command them. On the other side *Moses* slept not, but instructed *Iosuah* how hee should conduct the army. And as soone as the day appeared, he encouraged *Iosuah* to shew himselfe such a one in that battell, as both the place wherewith he was honoured, and the cause for which they fought, required; wishing him by his prowesse and good deserts to giue life and courage to his souldiers that followed him. He likewise exhorted the chiefest of the Hebrewes in particular, and in generall heartned and emboldned all other that entred the battell.

Moses encourageth the people to expect nothing but victorie.

Iosuah made captaine ouer the Israelites.

And

A And as touching himselfe (after hee had thus disposed the armie, by words and effect) hee retired himselfe vnto a mountaine, committing the army to Gods protection, and *Iosuahs*, conduct. Then encountred the armies on both sides; and euery one fought most valiantly, neither wanted there encouragements on either sides. And as long as *Moses* lifted vp his hands, the Hebrewes had the better against the Amalechites. But for that hee was vnable continually to support the same, (and because hee throughly perceiued and obserued, that as often as hee helde downe his hands, so long the enemies droue the Israelites to retreate) hee willed his brother *Aaron* and *Vron* (his sister *Maries* husband) to stand on each side of him, and sustaine his handes and succour him, for feare his forces should faile him. Which when they had performed, the Hebrewes by maine force ouercame the Amalechites, so that all of them had beene slaine, B if so bee the chace had continued, and had not beene cut off by the approach of the night. At this time our predecessours obtained a most happie and necessary victory. For they had the vpper hand ouer them that were embattelled against them; and astonished and amated the nations round about; and got great strength and riches by their trauell: for beeing seased of the enemies campe, they generally gat great riches, and particularly were all of them relieued; whereas before that time they had not necessarie meanes to maintaine themselues. And this victorie of theirs was the cause of their very great good fortune, not onely for the present, but also for the time to come. For not onely had they their enemies bodies vnder their subiection, but also their spirits; so as they were feared by all the nations round about. And they multiplied both in strength and riches: for there was a great quantitie of golde and siluer taken in the C campe. Diuers vessels likewise and tables of brasse were found therein: likewise great quantitie of tissue worke and excellent furniture for armes. Moreouer, they had all their baggage, tents, harnesse, and horses, and generally the whole prouision of an arranged battell became their prey. Then after also they became more vertuous, and industrious then before; supposing that the ende of all actions was obtained by industry. Thus ended this battell. The next day *Moses* caused the enemies that were slaine to be rifled, and gathered the scattered armes of those that fled. He honoured them also that had brauely demeaned themselues in the battell, & praised the captaine *Iosuah* in publique, whose honour was confirmed by the applause of the whole armie. There was not one Hebrew that perished that day: and so many of the enemies were there put to the sword, as their number cannot bee expressed. Hee offered likewise a sacrifice of thanksgi- D uing vnto God, and erected an altar vnto him, and dedicated it to God the Victor. Hee prophesied moreouer, that all the Amalechites should be vtterly extinguished, so that none of them should be left aliue, in that they had assaulted the Hebrews, and that in the desart, and at such time as they were in affliction. Hee feasted the Generall in like sort. This issue had this battell, which was the first that was leuied against them, or durst assault them, since their departure out of Ægypt. But as soone as *Moses* had celebrated a feast in memorie of the victorie, to the ende hee might giue the Hebrewes some repose after the battell abouenamed, he caused them to march in array; for now at that time they had many armed souldiers. Thus passing onwards by little and little, they arriued the third month after their departure out of Ægypt neere to the mountaine of Sinai, where (as before time it hath beene declared) *Moses* saw the vision in the bush, and other E such like wonders.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativitie. 1510.

The Israelites recouer a great prey in the campe of the Amalechites.

The distribution of the spoiles and prey.

The prediction of the vtter ruine of the Amalechites.

The Israelites come to the mountaine of Sinai.

CHAP. III.

What counsell RAGVEL *gaue to his sonne in law.*

VVHen *Raguel Moses* father in lawe vnderstood of this his good successe, hee came with great ioy vnto *Moses*, vnder purpose to salute him, his daughter *Zephora*, and her children; who (greatly reioycing at his arriuall) prepared a sacrifice, & feasted the people neere vnto the bush that could not be consumed by fire; and in the banquet time the people was F distinguished, according to the order and place of euery family. But *Aaron* with the assistants tooke *Raguel*, and they sung praises vnto God, ascribing to him both the meanes and manner of their libertie. They also spake much in honour of their Generall; by whose vertue all things had had so fortunate an issue, *Raguel* on his side highly praised the people, and dignified *Moses* their Gouernour, by whose prudence so many good and valiant men were guided. But on the next day, *Raguel* seeing *Moses* oppressed with the multitude of businesse (by reason that hee decided all their debates that appealed vnto him, who were thus perswaded of him, that at

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 3. *Exod.* 10. Raguel commeth to Moses to the desart of Sinai.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4. Raguel, otherwise called

that

Iethro, Moſes father in law counſelleth him to choose Iudges amongſt the Iſraelites.

The yeare of the world, 2454. before Chriſts birth, 1510.

that time they were onely rightly cenſured, when *Moſes* gaue the ſentence; and they that were condemned by him, endured the verdict patiently, knowing that their cauſe was by him decided rather by the rule of iuſtice, then the inſtinct of amerce) hee for that time kept ſilence (in that he was loath to hinder them, who any wayes pretended to receiue any fruite of the vertue of his ſonne in lawe.) But when he found him at his conuenient leiſure, he withdrew him apart, and told him betwixt them twaine, that which hee ought to doe; counſelling him that hee ſhould diſcharge himſelfe of that paine, concerning affaires of ſo little conſequence, and reſerue onely to himſelfe thoſe affaires which were of the greateſt importance, and concerned the publike eſtate of them all. For that there were diuers perſons amongſt the Hebrewes to bee found, who would be capable and ſufficient to heare and determine the pleas; but touching the care of ſo many thouſand ſoules, no man could vndertake it, except hee were another *Moſes*.

» Knowing therefore (ſaid he) thy vertue, and how worthily thou haſt behaued thy ſelfe towards
» the people, being the Miniſter of God; as concerning their ſafetie: ſuffer them to comprimit
» amongſt themſelues thoſe actions and quarrels that fall amongſt them; and reſerue this inte-
» reſt to thy ſelfe, that thou maiſt wholly intend the ſeruice of God, whereby thou maiſt more
» eaſily exempt the people from their preſent neceſſities. If therefore thou giueſt credite to my
» counſailes in humane affaires, thou ſhalt make diligent ſearch and muſters of thy whole armie,
» and thou ſhalt eſtabliſh Chieftaines that ſhall gouerne ouer ten thouſands, and thouſands, and
» fiue hundreths, and ouer fifties, and ſhalt ordaine Gouernours ouer them, who diuiding them
» by thirties, twenties, and tennes, may conduct and gouerne them: and let ſome bee appointed a-
» mongſt them, who may receiue their titles, according to the number and names of thoſe he com-
» mandeth. Who being approoued by the whole companie, to bee of good fame and vpright con-
» ſcience, may cenſure and compound all their differences; and if any controuerſie ſhall fall out a-
» mongſt any of them in authoritie, they ſhall referre the deciding of that difficultie to thine owne
» perſon. By this meanes neither ſhall any one of the Hebrewes be defrauded of his right, and thou
» thy ſelfe ſeruing God without moleſtation, maiſt procure God to be more fauourable vnto thine
» armie.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. Moſes alloweth his father in laws aduice

This counſell of *Raguel* highly contented *Moſes*, ſo that hee fulfilled all that whereunto hee had ſuggeſted him, not concealing the inuention of this policie, neither attributing it to himſelfe, but declaring publikely vnto all men, that his father in law was the inuenter thereof. Hee hath likewiſe written in his bookes, thot *Raguel* was the author of this gouernement; accounting it no leſſe honour to attribute praiſe to thoſe that deſerue it, then ſhame to vſurpe vpon another mans deſert; ſo that hereby you may coniecture his vertue: of which hereafter in many places we haue more to ſay. *Moſes* afterwards aſſembling all the people, tolde them that hee would aſcend the mountaine of Sinai to talke with God, to the end that hee might afterwards returne vnto them, and impart vnto them whatſoeuer profitable thing hee had receiued from him in their behalfe. He likewiſe commanded them to pitch their tents about the mountaine, and to haue it in reuerence, by reaſon of the Proximitie of God.

CHAP. IIII.

Moſes aſcendeth the mountaine, and receiueth the Tables of the ten Commandements at Gods hands, and gaue them to the people.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 6. Moſes aſcendeth the mountaine of Sinai.

THis ſaid, hee aſcended the mountaine Sinai (which is the higheſt beyond compariſon of all that countrey, and which, by reaſon of his ſtrange height, and for his ſteepe and inacceſſible ragged rockes, is not onely vnfrequented by men, but alſo may not bee beheld, by reaſon it trauelleth the eye.) Further, for that it is reported, that God conuerſeth and dwelleth on the ſame, it is held ſacred by the inhabitants, and dreadfull and vnacceſſible to all that beholde it. But the Hebrewes, according to the commandement of the Prophet, remooving their tents, pitched them at the foote of the hill, ſuſpending their iudgements, and expecting the execution of the promiſes of thoſe goods which *Moſes* had forepropheſied vnto them, at ſuch time as he returned frō God. And in the meane ſpace, while they expected their guide, they kept holy day, and feaſted, and purified themſelues for the ſpace of three dayes in all ſorts of purification and abſtinence from the companie of their wiues, following that which *Moſes* had commanded them. They beſought God alſo that he would be fauourable and aſſiſt *Moſes*, and by his meanes to bleſſe them with ſome fauor, that might make their life good & happy. They banquetted alſo in great pompe, and their wiues & children were richly attired: Now after they had

feaſted

A feasted fortie dayes space, on the third day before Sunne-rising, a cloud couered all the Hebrewes campe (a thing before time vnseene by them) and inuironed al the place where they pitched their pauillions. And although all the rest of the countrey had a cleare and vntroubled skie; yet thereabout violent winds were raised, and hideously roared, and a tempestuous raine succeeded them; and thunderclaps dreadfull to heare, and lightnings horrible to beholde, signified that God was there present, and that *Moses* (with good successe, and for their profit) had conferred with him. Let those that reade this iudge thereof, as it shall please them: but as touching my selfe, it is not any waies lawfull for me to depart in any sort from that which is written in holy scriptures. That which the Hebrewes both heard and saw, in that it was strange and vnaccustomed vnto them, troubled them greatly. Furthermore, the report that was published as touching that mountaine,

B that God repaired and dwelt on the same, maruailously amated their spirits: they therefore sad and pensiue, contained themselues within their tents, thinking that *Moses* was destroyed thorow the wrath of God, and expecting no lesse misery themselues. But whilest they were thus troubled in thought, *Moses* presented himselfe vnto them (with a countenance full fraught with a pleasing maiestie, and lookes so contented, as they testified the inward consolation of his mind) whom they no sooner beheld, but suddenly all their feare vanished, and in place thereof a hope of some great good happe succeeded, and withall, the aire vpon his arriuall recouered his former cleerenesse and serenitie. Hereupon hee summoned the people to a solemne and generall assemblie; to the end hee might report, and they heare, what commandements God had giuen them by him: no sooner were they assembled, but he (from an vpper place, to the end that all the peo-

C ple might both see and heare him) stood vp and spake after this manner. Know (saith he) you Hebrewes, that Almighty God, as he hath neuer neglected my prayers hitherto; so at this time also hath he entertained me (being your truchman and messenger) very graciously; and behold himselfe here in presence in your company, and propitious to your supplications, ready to prouide you of meate to sustaine your bodies, and order and dispose your policie to make it lasting and happie: now although that you see mee, and that a humane tongue speaketh vnto you, yet despise not my words, no more then you doe his workes already executed and testified vpon our nation. For if you consider the worth and wonder thereof, you shall conceiue his greatnesse that hath brought them to passe, and hath neuer denied to talke with me, and heare mee when I spake for your profit. For it is not *Moses* the sonne of *Amram* and of *Iocabel*, but hee it is that con-

D strained Nilus to flow with blood, and that thorow diuerse plagues hath tamed the pride of the Ægyptians: it is he that hath giuen you passage thorow the midst of the sea: it is he that hath furnished you with meat prepared from heauen, at such time as you were in extreamitie: it is he that made water spring out of the rocke to coole your thirsts, at such time as you were in necessitie: it is he by whom *Adam* had the possession and fruition, both of the fruit of the earth, and the fishes of the sea: By him *Noe* escaped from the Deluge: by him our ancient father *Abraham* of a wandring pilgrime, became an inhabiter of the land of Chanaan: by him *Isaac* was borne at such time as his father and mother were old: by him *Iacob* hath beene ennobled by the vertue of his twelue sonnes: by him *Ioseph* became Lord ouer all the forces of the Ægyptians: He it is that graciously imparteth these words vnto you by me his messenger; let there-

E fore these holsome lawes of his be holy and inuiolable amongst you, and more deere vnto you then either your wiues or children: for in obseruing the same, you shall lead a happie life, enioy a fruitfull countrey, a calme sea, and a progenie made happie according to the lawes of nature: finally, you shall become alwaies dreadfull vnto your enemies. For I haue talked face to face with God, and haue heard his immortall voice; so dearely beloued are you vnto him, and so carefull is he of the prosperitie of your nation. This said, he conducted the people (both men, women and children) to the end they might heare God talke vnto them, and teach them what to do (for feare the law should haue beene in lesser regard, if it had beene presented to their vnderstandings by a humane tongue) they all of them therefore heard his voyce descending from the mountaine, so that euery one vnderstood the same. But these precepts which *Moses* left re-

F gistred in two Tables, it is not lawfull for me to expresse in so many words, and therefore I will onely expresse the sentences. For he teacheth vs:

First of all that there is one God, who is onely to be worshipped.
Secondly, that no Image of any creature is to be adored.
Thirdly, that no man ought to sweare rashly.
Fourthly, that the seauenth day is not to be prophaned by any worke,
Fifthly, that father and mother should be honoured.

Sixtly,

The yeare of the world, 2454 before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1510.

Horrible lightnings about the mountaine of Sinai.

Moses oration to the Israelites.

The people of Israel heare God speaking vnto them from the mountaine of Sinai.

The ten commandements, Exod. 20. Deuter. 5.

Sixtly, that we ſhould abſtaine from murther. G
Seuenthly, that adulterie is not to be committed.
Eightly, that no man ought to ſteale.
Ninthly, that falſe witneſſe muſt not be borne.
Tenthly, that no man ought to couet his neighbours goods.

The yeare of the world, 2454 before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1510.

Exod. 21. When the multitude with great ioy had heard God himſelfe ſpeake vnto them (according as *Moſes* had foretold them) he diſmiſſed them, and each one departed to his tent. But ſome few daies after they preſented themſelues before his pauilion, beſeeching him that he ſhould bring them thoſe lawes, which he had receiued at Gods hands: He to the intent to gratifie them, opened the lawes, and preſcribed vnto each of them what they ought to doe at the ſame time (as in due place it ſhall be expreſſed. But the greater part of the lawes I deferre till an other time, meaning in priuate to comment thereupon. About the very ſame time, *Moſes* once more aſcended H
Exod. 24. Moſes remained on the mountaine fortie daies, and fortie nights. the mountaine of Sinai (hauing premoniſhed the people thereof) and aſcended the ſame in their ſights: but when the time ſeemed tedious vnto them (for he was ſequeſtred from them for the ſpace of forty daies) they were in great feare, leaſt ſome inconuenience had hapned vnto him; neither were they ſo much agrieued at that which had chanced vnto them, as for that they were perſwaded of the death of *Moſes*. For there fell a contention amongſt them, the one affirming that he was dead and deuoured by wild beaſts (which was their opinion, who conceiued a hatred againſt him) the other ſaid that he was rauiſhed vp vnto God: but they of the wiſer ſort among them, who tooke no pleaſure to heare any one of theſe their ſuſpicions, contained themſelues; being equally affected in reſpect of both the opinions; for that the one ſeemed not to be eſtranged I
from humane chance, and the other had ſome correſpondence with the vertues of the man: ſo that they endured his fortune with an equall mind, and lamented their owne miſhap, in that they were depriued of ſuch a gouernour and patron as he was, and whoſe like they thought it a matter impoſſible to find: neither did their care ſuffer them to hope: neither depriued of hope could they chooſe but complaine: neither durſt they remoue their tents, in that they were commanded to expect his returne. At length (when fortie daies and fortie nights were paſt) hee returned vnto them; hauing (during that time) taſted no mortall ſuſtenance: and by his arriuall
Moſes faſted fortie daies and nights. the whole hoſt was repleniſhed with great ioy; whom he certified that Gods prouidence was alwaies aſſiſting them, and that during the terme of thoſe daies, he had learned the meanes how they ſhould liue ciuilly, orderly, and bleſſedly; telling them that God commanded them to K
make him a Tabernacle, whereinto hee would deſcend as often as it pleaſed him, which alſo in their trauell they might carry about with them; ſo that they ſhould haue no more need to aſcend vnto Sinai, but that hee himſelfe might come and lodge with them, and be aſſiſtant to their prayers. Hee told them likewiſe the meaſure and order of the ſaid Tabernacle, and that there wanted
Moſes two Tables. *Exod.* 35. nothing but that they preſently addreſſed themſelues to the building thereof. This ſaid, hee ſhewed them the two Tables, containing the tenne commandements written therein, in each of them fiue: now were theſe written by the hand of God. They all of them (reioycing at that which they had heard and ſeene) ceaſed not to imploy themſelues to their vttermoſt: ſo that they brought in ſiluer, gold, braſſe, and ſtore of wood fit for building; and which would not be worm-eaten, the haires of goates, and the skinnes of ſheepe, the one died azure, and the other white; L
The Iſraelites with great ioy addreſſe themſelues to the building of the Tabernacle. wools of the ſame colour, fine linnen, ſtones enchaſed in gold, wherewith men were accuſtomed to decke themſelues, with great quantitie of perfumes. Such was the matter of the Tabernacle, which was made like to a portable and mooueing Temple: this ſtuffe beeing thus gathered together, and collected with ſo great affection (according to each mans vtmoſt abilitie, hee appointed worke-maſters according to the commandement of God, but ſuch as the like might not haue bin choſen, although the matter had beene committed to the peoples ſuffrages: their names are now
Exod. 36. Beſeleel and Eliab are work-maſters of the Tabernacle. likewiſe extant in the volumes of the ſacred Scriptures. *Beſeleel* of the tribe of *Iuda*, the ſonne of *Vron* of the tribe of *Iuda*, and *Mary Moſes* ſiſter: and *Eliab* the ſonne of *Iſamach*, of the tribe of *Dan*. The people ſhewed themſelues ſo forward in the finiſhing of this worke, that *Moſes* was
The people are reſtrained by edict, from bringing any more offrings toward the building of the Tabernacle. compelled to reſtraine them, cauſing it to bee proclaimed, that they had ſufficiently gathered for M
the worke alreadie: for the worke-maſters certified him no leſſe. They therefore addreſſed themſelues to finiſh the Tabernacle, beeing particularly inſtructed by *Moſes* of the meaſure and greatneſſe thereof, and how many veſſels they ought to haue, according to the module which God had propoſed to *Moſes*. The women alſo ſtroue with emulation to exceed each other in the making of the veſtures of the Prieſts, and other things which were conuenient for that worke, to the end to honour the ſeruice of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tabernacle made by MOSES *in the desart, resembling a portable Temple.*

The yeare of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativitie, 1509.

NOVV when all things were prepared for this worke, as gold, brasse, and wouen worke, *Moses* commanded them to feast, and sacrifice each one according to his abilitie, and set forward the building of the Tabernacle. First of all therefore he measured the outward court, which in breadth contained fiftie, and in length one hundred cubites, in such manner as followeth. Hee raised pales of fiue cubites high, and twentie in length from the one side to the other, and tenne in breadth; in the hind-side to euery one of these pales or postes there were fastned rings, the chapters whereof were siluer, and the bases thereof golde, and the lower parts of these resembled the points of a speare made of brasse, and fixed in the earth. Thorow the rings there passed certaine cords of fiue cubits length, which on the one side fastned in the ground with brasen nayles of a cubits length, did fasten each of the pales, and defended the Tabernacle against the force of winds. Then was there a most fine silken Curtaine drawne about the same, which hanging from the chapters of the bases, and inclosing all that place, seemed to differ in nothing from a wall. And after this manner were the three sides of the inclosure arounded. But the fourth side, being of fiftie cubites, was the front of the whole frame; the doore wherof was twenty cubits wide, hauing on both sides double barres in stead of posts; and these also were of siluer, except the bases which were of brasse; and on both sides there stood three barres well fastned, which were also hung round about with a Curtaine of wouen silke: but at the gate there hung a vaile of twentie cubits long, and fiue deepe, wouen of purple, violet and fine silke, embrodered with diuers flowers, without any figures of sensible creatures: within the gates there was a brasen Ewer, with a foote of the same mettall, wherein the Priests might wash their hands and feet. And after this manner was the enclosure of the Court; In the midst hereof he placed the Tabernacle, turning it toward the East, that the rising sunne might shine vpon it: the length thereof was thirty cubits, and the breadth twelue; the one of the walles thereof was towards the South, an other towards the North, but the hinder part was towards the West; and it was as high as long; and on each side there were twentie wooden plankes foure square, and ioyned together, foure fingers thicke, and a cubit and a halfe broad, lined both within and without with plates of gold; and euery boord had two hinges, which were put thorow the two bases that were of siluer, & in their sockets receiued the hinges of the boords: the plankes of the west wall were sixe in number, and gilded both within and without, all of them so closed together as it seemed to bee but one wall. But on both sides there were certaine boords neerely ioyned together, which in breadth contained the measure of one cubit and a halfe; and in thicknesse, the third part of a hand breadth; and so made vp thirty cubits: but sixe boords made vp the nine cubits of the hinder wall, to which were ioyned other two boords cut halfe a cubit broad, which they placed in the corners in stead of whole ones: euery boord had rings of gold fastned to the outward front thereof, riueted in order, and answering one another on euery side. Thorow these rings were put certaine barres which were couered with gold, euery one fiue cubits long, which ioyned the boords together: and the ende of euery barre was put into the beginning of the other, after the manner of a boxe. And one the backeside of the walles of the Tabernacle, there was one ranke of barres placed long-wise, passing thorow all the plankes, in which by hookes or haspes, the sides of either were held together, and riueted and fastned one within the other; by which meanes the Tabernacle was secured from the force of winds, and kept steddy and immoueable. Within, the length thereof was diuided into three parts: next to one part thereof containing ten cubites, on the inside were placed foure pillars made of the same worke and matter, planted on like bases, and distant one from the other by equall spaces ouerthwart, beyond these was the secret place. The rest of the Tabernacle was for all the Priests; and this tripartite diuision of the Tabernacle resembled the nature of the world, for the third part (which was contained within the foure pillars, to which the Priests had no accesse) did in a manner represent heauen the seate of God: but the space of twentie cubites (which was onely permitted to the Priest, and was vnaccessible to others) resembled the sea and land. In the front where the entrance was, they placed fiue pillars vpon brasen bases; after these the Curtaines were spread about the Tabernacle, wouen of silke, and embrodered with purple, violet, and scarlet colours; the first of these was spread ten cubits euery way, and was drawn about the pillars, which separated the Adyt from the other space; and seuered it from the sight of men; and all this Temple was called holy. As for the Adyt that

Exod. 36. Hadio & Rufinus chap. 7.

Moses erecteth a Tabernacle in the desart.

The first court of the Temple.

The Tabernacle.

The yeare of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativitie, 1509.

was situate beyond the foure pillars, it was called the *Sanctum sanctorum*, or holy of holiest: and this curtaine or vaile was pictured with all sorts of flowers which the earth bringeth forth, and diuersified with all that which might giue it ornament; but that there were no figures of liuing creatures to be found therein. The second vaile equalled the first in greatnesse, workemanship, and colour: and encompassed the fiue pillars of the entry, which reaching from the top to the middest of them, and fastened to each of them by a certaine ring, gaue accesse to the Priests that entred the same: To this almost was there annexed on the outside another vaile of like bignesse and wouen of linnen, drawne vpon cordes from the one side to the other, by meanes of certaine rings; which was sometimes spread, and other times (especially on the holy daies) vnspread, lest it should hinder the peoples sight: on the other daies (especially such as were cloudy) it was spread, and serued for a couerture to defend the painted vaile from the weather. Sithence, that custome hath continued after the building of the Temple, that another such like vaile (as this) should bee spread in the entrance. Besides this, there were ten other vailes, foure cubites broad, and twenty eight cubites long, with certaine golden hookes, enchased the one within the other, to the ende to conioyne them, so that they seemed to bee one; which beeing spread did couer the Tabernacle in the vpper part, and the walles on the sides and behind; not extending to the earth within the compasse of a foot. Moreouer, there were eleuen other hangings of equall breadth, but longer; namely, euery one of them of thirty cubits, wouen with as great arte of haires, as the other out of wooll: which couering all the rest extending to the earth, resembled the forme of a bed-chamber, one of them couered and extended from the front, which being the eleuenth, was annexed to this vse: these also were couered with certaine skinnes sewed together, which protected the same against the storme and iniurie of raine: for which cause, to them that beheld it from farre, it seemed a thing most worthy of admiration. For the colours of the Tabernacle did in no other sort shine, then as if a man should haue beheld the heauens. But the vailes of haire and skinnes hung after such a manner, as that did about the entrance of the Tabernacle, set to resist the force and outrage of stormes and tempests.

The Sanctuarie.

The signification of the diuision of the Tabernacle.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Arke, wherein Moses placed the Tables of the Law.

Exod. 37. Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 8.

AFTER that the Tabernacle was after this manner builded, they erected also an Arke, which was dedicated vnto God, of a certaine wood that was naturally strong, and such as was permanent and resisted corruption. This in our natiue tongue is called *Heoron*, framed after this manner. The length thereof was of fiue handfuls, and the breadth and height of three handfuls; and both within and without it was couered with golden plates, and it had a couer fitted with golden hinges, egall on euery side. And to euery side in length there were fastened two rings of gold, driuen and riueted thorow the whole wood, and thorow them certaine barres of gold were thrust, that whensoeuer there were any neede, it might be carried any wayes: for neuer was it borne on beasts backs, but the Priests bare it on their shoulders. On the couer thereof there were two semblances planted, which the Hebrewes call Cherubins (which are winged creatures, of a strange forme, the like whereof were neuer seene by any man) which *Moses* saw figured on Gods seate. In this Arke he placed the Tables containing the tenne commandements: in euery one fiue, and in euery page two and a halfe: and this Arke hid hee within the Sanctuarie.

Cherubin.

The Tables of the Law are placed in the Arke.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Table and Candlesticke of gold, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

IN the Tabernacle hee placed a Table not vnlike to that at Delphos, two cubites in length, and one in breadth, and of the height of three handfuls: the feete thereof, from the midst downewards, were like those feete which the Doriens set vnto their beds; but that which ascended from the other halfe vpwards, was square: The bodie of this Table was arounded with a border standing out foure fingers length, and in euery of the feete there were rings fastened about the top of the foote, to which were annexed on both sides two things after the manner of handles, gilded, and framed of most firme wood, which were not thrust thorow the circle on both sides like barres, but with a button tooke hold of the vpper border of the Table, and beneath comprehended the ring of the foot, being a means to transfer it whithersoeuer need requi-

The Table.

A required. This was wont to bee placed in the Temple towards the North wall,not farre from the Sanctuarie : and on it were placed twelue vnleauened loaues, ſet ſixe by ſixe the one ouer againſt the other,and made of two *Aſſars* of the pureſt wheate, which meaſure of the Hebrewes contained ſeauen Cotylas of the Achenians;and aboue theſe loaues two golden pots filled with frankincenſe;but after ſeuen dayes other loaues were ſet in their place on that feſtiuall day,which wee call the Sabbath. The cauſe of which ceremonie ſhall hereafter bee declared by vs. Hard by this Table neere the South wall, was placed a Candleſticke of molten golde (but not ſolide) of one hundred pound weight (this weight the Hebrewes call *Cinchares*, the Grecians name it a Talent in their tongue) and it was wrought with boawles, lillies, pomgranats, and little cuppes; then ariſing vpwards from one baſe,it was diuided into ſeauen branches,according to the number of the Sunne and the reſt of the Planets : it ſtretched out likewiſe into ſeauen heads, hauing orderly correſpondence the one with the other, on which were planted ſeauen candles,according to the number of the ſeauen Planets, which branched out towards the Eaſt and South,in that the Candleſticke was ſet ſidelong. Betweene this and the Table(as I ſaide) was a little Altar erected for incenſe, made of laſting wood likewiſe, and couered on euery ſide with a ſolide plate,beeing a cubit broad from euery corner, and twiſe as high, on which there ſtood a little hearth enuironed with a golden crowne on euery ſide, in which were rings with their barres and ſtaues, whereby it might be borne by the Prieſts in the way. There was another Altar of wood alſo before the doore of the Tabernacle, couered with plates of braſſe, fiue cubits ſquare,and three high,decked with golde in like ſort, and plated with braſſe,the hearth whereof was made after the manner of a grate : for the earth receiued whatſoeuer fire fell from aboue by reaſon there was no baſe therevnder, but neere vnto the Altar there were tunnels and pots, and cenſers,and cups,with other inſtruments made for the diuine ſeruice,al which were of pure gold.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Nativity. 1509.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.10

The golden candleſticke.

B

C

The Altar of incenſe.

Exod. 38.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the veſtment of the Prieſt,and of the high Prieſt.

SVCH was the Tabernacle with all that belonged thereunto. Now remaineth for mee to diſcourſe as well of the veſtments of the other Prieſts,which they call *Chaneas*,as of the Prieſt, whom they name *Sar-Hazabachin*, ſignifying thereby the high Prieſt. And firſt of all as touching the ordinary Prieſts. When as the Sacrificer (purified according to the purification which is ordained by the Law)addreſſeth himſelfe to ſacrifice : he firſt of all inueſteth himſelf with *Manachaſſes*(which is as much to ſay,a truſſe or reſtrainer,which is a kind of breech or ſlop, couering the priuities, made of wouen ſilke) where through hee thruſts his feete, as in a paire of vpper breeches, and faſtens the ſame about his loynes: On this hee caſts a linned ſhirt or ſurplice, made of double linnen (which wee call *Chetomene*)and that word ſignifieth a linnen garment or ſurplice : for we call linnen *Cheton* (that kinde of garment is a coate comming downe to the ankles,bound to the bodie; hauing narrow ſleeues about the armes)which is tied vpon the breaſt a little beneath the armeholes,with a girdle foure fingers broad,inwardly void,ſo wrought as it ſeemed to be like a ſerpents skinne.) It is likewiſe pictured with red, purple,Hyacinthine and ſilken flowers,but the ground is only ſilke;which being twiſe doubled about his breaſt,extendeth downe to his ankles at ſuch time as he deſiſteth from ſacrifice,(and this ſeemed they to weare in way of ornament)but when as hee is to miniſter in ſacrifice,then(leaſt blowne vp by the wind, it ſhould hinder his worke)he caſts it on his left ſhoulder. This girdle *Moſes* calleth *Abaneth*,and we by a word borrowed from the Babylonians,name it *Emian*(for ſo call they it.) This coat was in no manner pleited,and in the necke hath a broad opening,faſtened about the two ſhoulders with claſpes,from the edge of the coller to the breaſt and the middeſt of the backe: This call they *Maſſabaſſanes*. But on his head he weareth a hat(not made with a high crowne, neither comprehending the whole head,but ſomewhat more then the halfe:)this is called*Maſnaemphthes*; which is decked and dight after ſuch a rate,that it ſeemed a Chapplet made of thicke Riban, or of wouen linnen often times doubled and ſowed, which in the vpper part is couered with another linnen, deſcending to the front, hiding thoſe ſeames of the Riban which were vnſeemely to bee beheld; this is curiouſly fitted, leaſt during the time of ſacrifice it ſhould ſlip off. Such in generall were the ornaments of the Prieſts.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.11 *Exod.* 29.

The Prieſts veſtures.

D

Manachaſſes.

Chetomene.

E

Abaneth.

Maſſabaſſanes

Maſnaemphthes.

F

The high prieſt alſo vſeth the very ſame (omitting none of thoſe things which wee haue reckoned vp)but beſide the reſt he put on a Hyacinthine coloured coate, extending in length to his hammes (which our countrey call Methir) this girdeth hee vnto him with a girdle of diuers

The high prieſts ornaments

Methir.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativitie. 1509.

colours (not vnlike the former) but that it is ſtudded with golde: but the skirt of the veſture is bordered with fringes, ſowed together, to which are tied certaine counterfait pomgranates with certaine golden bels, properly diſpoſed; ſo that betweene two Pomgranates, there is placed a bell, and betweene two bels one Pomgranate. This coate is not made of two pieces (as hauing ſeames on the ſhoulders, and on the ſides) but a long vaile wouen and left open in the coller, not athwart but long-waies, from the breaſt to the middeſt of the backe. To it is a riban or hemme faſtned, leaſt the opening ſhould bee perceiued: it is likewiſe open in that place where the hands ſhould be put out. Beſides theſe veſtures, hee hath a third called an Ephod (reſembling a Grecian frocke, that is made after this manner.) It is wouen of diuers colours, intermixed with gold; in the midſt of the breaſt there is a ſpace left open: the ſleeues are made in ſuch maner, & all the reſt in ſuch ſort compoſed, that it ſeemeth to be a coat: in this void ſpace there is a piece enchaſed of the bignes of a ſpan long, embrodered with the ſame colours, golde, and flowers, as the Ephod is. This piece is called Eſſen, that is as much to ſay, as Rationall (which wholly filleth the ſpace that was left void by them that haue wouen the Ephod.) And this piece is ioyned with the Ephod, and to euery corner thereof with buckles of gold, which are tied with a lace of Hyacinth applied to tie them together with theſe buckles. And to the end the ſpace between the buckles bee not ſlacke, they filled the ſuture with a Hyacinthine threed: but on either ſhoulder two Sardonix ſtones enchaſed in golde (in ſtead of buttons) doe tie the hood or Ephod; in theſe are ingrauen the names of *Iacobs* ſonnes in Hebrew Characters, in eyther ſtone ſixe: ſo that the elder of them were placed on the right ſhoulder. Moreouer twelue precious ſtones diſtinguiſh the Eſſen or Rationall it ſelfe, of excellent greatnes and beautie, which for their ineſtimable price could not be bought by any priuate man. They were inchaſed three and three in foure ranks in certaine crownes of golde, to the end they might not fall out: in the firſt order was a Sardonyx, a Topaze, and a Smaragd: in the ſecond, a Carbuncle, a Iaſpis, and a Saphir: in the third, a Lyncurius, an Amethyſt, and an Agate: in the fourth, a Chryſolite, an Onyx, and a Berill ſtone. In theſe were the names of *Iacobs* ſonnes engrauen, whom we eſteeme for the firſt authors of our tribes (euery ſtone being honoured with a ſeuerall name, according to the order of their birth.) But whereas theſe rings (whereof before wee haue ſpoken) are weake and cannot ſuſtaine the waight of the precious ſtones, they made other two greater in the toppe of the Rationall inclining toward the neckeward, beeing eminent aboue the texture, which might receiue the golden chaines that were made, which met at the top of the ſhoulders to be faſtened with the little chaines, the end whereof was crooked, and conueied certaine pipes, put thorow the rings, and were more prominent then the brim behinde the Ephod, to faſten the Rationall, to the end it ſhould neither ſway this waies nor that waies. To the ſame Rational alſo was there a girdle ſewed, diſtinguiſhed with the ſaid colours & gold; which comprehending the whole, and againe knit vpon the ſeame was ſuffered to hang downewards. And as touching the fringes, they were ſhut in hollow loops of gold from the one end to the other. Now his hat was ſuch as the other prieſts vſed, on which there ſtood an other ſewed thereto, and flouriſhed with Hyacinthine: this after a triple order was inuironed with a golden crowne, in which there were diuers veſſels of gold made after ſuch a ſort as may be ſeene in that herbe which we call Daccharus, and amongſt the Grecian herbaliſts, Henbane. And leaſt any man that hath heretofore ſeene the ſame, ſhould be ignorant of the nature thereof, or rather knowing the ſame, hath not ſeene the herbe it ſelfe; I haue thought good to ſet downe the deſcription thereof in this place. This herbe is of the height of three ſpans, it hath a roote like a Turnep or Nauew (and he ſhall not erre, that in regard thereof ſhall compare it therewith) it hath leaues that reſemble Smallage or Rocquet: this out of the ſtem thereof yeeldeth forth a certaine bud cleauing to the branches of it, inueſted with a coat, which it caſteth off when the fruite waxeth ripe. This bud is as big as the ioynt of a little finger, hauing a circumference like vnto a cup; which I will deſcribe more fitly, once againe that the ignorant may the better diſcouer it. In the lower part therof about the bottome it reſembleth in roundnes a halfe boawle; and according as it groweth euery part thereof is ſtreightned, vntill being againe dilated in the extremitie or brim thereof, it end in a partition, not much vnlike to a Pomgranate cut in the middeſt, to which there is annexed and groweth a round couer as if turned and framed on purpoſe, hauing theſe eminent clefts (as I ſaide) like to the middeſt of a Pomgranate, reſembling the pointed and ſharpe thornes, and pricking blades. Now it containeth a certaine fruit vnder the couer, and in the whole cup is like to the ſeed of the herbe Sideritis, his flower is not much vnlike that which ſpringeth from the Poppey. Such was this crowne about the necke and the two temples, for theſe cups came not neere the front or brow. For on the

Ephod.

Eſſen ſeu Logion.

The high Prieſts triple goldencrown.

Sideritis.

G H I K L M

the ſame there was as it were a bend of golde, on which the name of God was engrauen. Such were the ornaments of the high Prieſt. *The yeare of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1509.*

I cannot therfore but greatly wonder at the ſtrange and cauſeleſſe malice, which other nations haue conceiued againſt vs, as if wee were iniurious againſt the diuine maieſtie, which (they ſay) they ſo much honour. For, if a man marke the compoſition of the Tabernacle, and examine the habit of the high Prieſt, and conſider all the neceſſaries which wee vſe in celebrating the diuine ſeruice; they ſhall finde that our law-maker was a man of a diuine ſpirit, and that we without any deſert are iniured by other nations. For if without partialitie a man will duely examine it, hee ſhall finde that all things haue beene done to repreſent and figure the world. For the Tabernacle is of thirty cubits, diuided into three parts, whereof two are left for the ſacrificers as a place prophaned and common, ſignifying the land and ſea wherein all ſorts of creatures are conuerſant. B But the third part is ſequeſtred and reſerued for God alone; in like ſort as the heauen is vnacceſſible by men. The table on which the twelue loaues were placed, ſignifieth the yeere diuided into 12. moneths. The candleſticke made of ſeauenty peeces, ſignifieth the twelue ſignes, thorow which euery one of the ſeauen Planets paſſe: the ſeauen lampes that were therin, repreſented the ſeauen Planets. The vailes made of foure ſeuerall kinds of ſtuffes reſembled the foure Elements. For the linnen ſeemed to repreſent the earth, from whence it was drawne and deriued. The purple reſembled the ſea, becauſe the purple colour is made of the blood of a ſhel-fiſh called Murex. The Hyacinth ſignifieth the ayre: and as touching the ſcarlet, it ſignifieth the fire. The tunicle likewiſe of the high Prieſt, demonſtrateth the earth, for it is made of linnen. The Hyacinth ſheweth the Pole: the Pomegranates reſembled the lightning; as the bels the noyſe of the thunder. C The ſircot ſheweth that the whole world is compaſſed of foure Elements reſembled in his foure colours, to which gold is annexed (as I interpret it) for that light is annexed to all things. Eſſen alſo is planted in the middle thereof in ſuch ſort as the earth obtaineth the middle place of the world. Likewiſe the girdle wherewith he is girt reſembleth the ſea, which enfoldeth and begirteth all things. The two Sardonix ſtones (ſet as buttons or loopes in the high Prieſts garment) ſignifie the Sun and Moone: the number of the gems are alluded to the number of the moneths, or the twelue houſes, or the equall number of the parts of that circle, which the Græcians call the Zodiacke (hee ſhall not much erre that followeth either the one, or the other of theſe opinions.) The cap likewiſe hath an alluſion to heauen, by reaſon of his azure or Hyacinthine colour, D for otherwiſe the name of God might be placed therein. For it was beautified with a crowne of gold, to ſignifie the light wherein God highly delighteth. Let this ſuffice for the preſent, for that which we ſhall diſcourſe hereafter, will furniſh vs with ſufficient and ample matter to ſhew and ſet out the vertue of our Law-maker.

The ſignification of the fabrike of the Tabernacle, and the prieſts ornament.

CHAP. IX.

Of AARONS *Prieſthood, and the lawes which appertaine to the feaſts and ſacrifices.*

E AFTER theſe things aboue ſaide were finiſhed and left as yet vnconſecrated, God appeared vnto *Moſes*, commanding him to eſtabliſh *Aaron* his brother in the Prieſthood (who in reſpect of his vertue, deſerued that title of honour aboue all the reſt.) For which cauſe *Moſes* (aſſembling the congregation) diſcourſed vnto them his vertues, and diſcouered his good affection, and reckoned vp vnto them how many dangers he had ſuffered in their behalfe, (whereof each of them gaue ample teſtimony, declaring the forward zeale and loue they alwaies bare vnto him) whereupon hee ſpake vnto them after this manner. The worke is now brought to ſuch an end as it hath pleaſed God, and hath beene poſſible for vs: and for that you know we are to receiue him into this Tabernacle, wee ought aboue all things to haue an eſpeciall care in the election of ſuch a one, who ſhall make ſacrifice and ſupplication for vs. Touching my ſelfe, if the matter depended on my priuate choiſe, I ſhould eſteeme no man more worthy then my F ſelfe to execute this function, both for that naturally men loue themſelues, and for that I am well aſſured, how many trauels I haue ſupported for your ſafety ſake: But God himſelfe hath iudged *Aaron* worthy of this honour, and hath choſen him for his high Prieſt and Sacrificer, in that hee excelleth all other of vs in equitie and iuſtice: commanding that hee ſhould bee inueſted with the robe conſecrated to God, and that hee ſhould take charge of the altars and ſacrifices. Hee ſhall make prayers for you vnto God, who will heare them willingly, by reaſon that he hath care of your race and will receiue them proceeding from a perſonage whom hee himſelfe had elected.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 12. Exod. 28. 29. 30. 40. God elected Aaron Moſes brother for high Prieſt.

The yeere of the world, 3455. before Christs Natiuitie, 1509.

lected. These words of his were gratefull vnto the people, and they all of them approoued the G election which God had made. For *Aaron* was more capable of that honour then any other, both by reason of his race, as also in regard of the prophecying spirit and vertue of his brother: he had at that time foure sonnes, *Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar,* and *Ithamar*. But whatsoeuer remained of those things which were gathered for the building of the Tabernacle, was employed to make vailes to couer the Tabernacle, Candlesticke, Altar, and the other instruments, to the end that in their trauaile they should not bee soiled, either by raine or dust. And hauing once more assembled the people together, hee commanded them to offer euery one of them halfe a sicle; (now the sicle is a kinde of Hebrew coyne, that is as much in value as foure Athenian drammes) whereunto they obiected willingly, so that the number of them that offered was sixe times one hundreth thousand, fiue hundreth and fiftie: and they that brought this money were such H as were of a free condition, and betwixt the yeeres of twentie and fifty; and that which was receiued, was employed in the necessaries of the Temple. Then did hee purifie the Tabernacle, and the Priests, in manner and forme following. Hee tooke the waight of fiue hundreth sicles of chosen-Myrrhe, and the like quantity of Ireos, of Cinamon, and of Calamus) which is a most odoriferous drugge) the halfe of the saide waight; and hee caused all these to bee beaten and infused into a Hin of oyle of oliue, others write palme (this Hin is one of our measures containing two Choas of Athens) all which he mixed & boiled together, according to the art of perfumers, and he made thereof a most odoriferous oyntment: which hee tooke and annoynted the Priest withall, and all that which belonged to the Tabernacle, to the intent to purifie them; offering many and sundry sorts of beasts of great price to sacrifice within the temple vpon the Altar of I gold (whereof I forbeare to speake any further, for feare I should grow offensiue and tedious to the readers.) Twice a day before the Sunne rise, and Sunne set, they were to burne incense, and purifie the oyle and refresh the lampes, whereof three ought to burne euery day vpon the sacred Candlesticke in honour of God, and the rest were lighted in the euening. Amongst them that wrought and finished these things, *Beseleel* and *Eliab* were the most excellent and experteſt workemen: for whatsoeuer had beene enterprised by others, they in their arte polished and perfected; and they of themselues found many new things of their owne inuention: yet was *Beseleel* iudged the most excellent of them two.

Aarons sons, *Exod.* 36.

Sicle.

The number of the Israelites betwixt 20. and 25. yeeres of age.

The holy oyntment.

The sacrifices

Beseleel.

All the time employed in this worke, was seauen moneths, and at that time was the yeere accomplished, which began at their departure out of Ægypt. In the beginning of the second yeere, K in the moneth which the Macedonians call Xantichus, and the Hebrewes Nisan, vpon the newe Moone they dedicated the Tabernacle with all things belonging thereunto, according as I haue made mention. And God presently testified that both their gifts were gracious in his eyes, and the Hebrewes labours fruitfull and pleasant in his sight, testifying his presence in that Temple after this manner: Whereas the heauen was otherwaies cleere and faire, ouer the Tabernacle only there was a cloud, not wholly thicke like a winter storme, nor obscure; and yet not so thinne as a man could see thorow the same, from whence there descended a dewe that gaue testimonie of Gods presence vnto them that had will, and beliefe. *Moses* honoured the workmasters that made the worke, with such rewards as appertained vnto them by desert; and sacrificed according as God had commanded him in the doore or porch of the Tabernacle, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Kid L for their sinnes (but with what ceremony these things are done, I will declare when I intreat of sacrifices, as also what offerings are to bee burnt by fire, and according to the lawe are allowed to be fed vpon) and with the blood of the slaughtred beasts he besprinkled the vestment of *Aaron*, and purified both him and his children with fountaine water and the pretious ointment, to the end they might be sanctified to God. And for seuen daies space he consecrated both themselues, and their vestments and the Tabernacle, with those things which appertained thereunto, with that oyle whereof I haue before time foretold you, with the blood of Buls, and Rammes slaine euery other day after their kind. But on the eight day he proclaimed a holy day and festiuall to all the people, and decreed that euery one of them should particularly sacrifice according to his M abilitie, and they with emulation (striuing to exceede one another) obeyed him, and offered vp their sacrifices according as it was commanded them.

Exod. 45. The Tabernacle was dedicated on the first day of April, the second yeere after their departure out of Ægypt, the yeere after the creatiō of the world, 1455. before Christs birth, 1509.

The dedication of the Tabernacle and the Priests. *Leuit.* 8.

Whilest thus the sacrifices were vpon the Altar, sodainly there issued a fire from them, which kindled of it selfe, the flame whereof resembled the light or brightnesse of lightning; and consumed all that which was vpon the Altar. At that time there hapned an inconuenience to *Aaron*, which although it somewhat mooued and amated his fatherly patience, yet digested hee it with a constant and generous mind: for he was a man of much constancy, and such a one as knew that nothing

Leuit. 9. The sacrifice is consumed of it selfe. *Leuit.* 10.

A nothing could befall him without the preſcience and prouidence of God. For of thoſe foure ſons (which I told you that hee had) the two elder brethren *Nadab* and *Abihu*, bringing ſacrifices vnto the Altar (not ſuch as were appointed by *Moſes*, but of that ſort they were accuſtomed to offer before times) were burned by the violent flame that iſſued from the Altar, ſeiſing both their breaſts and faces, in ſuch a ſort, as by no meanes poſſible that might bee extinguiſhed; ſo that at leugth they died. *Moſes* commanded both their father and brothers to take their bodies, and carry them out of the hoſt, and burie them ſumptuouſly: all the people wept and were amazed very much at this their death, ſo ſtrange and vnexpected. But *Moſes* ordained that neither the father, nor his ſonnes ſhould lament; but that they ſhould rather make eſtimate of Gods honour, then of their owne misfortune: for *Aaron* was already inueſted in the ſacred robe. But as touching *Moſes*, he refuſed all honours which were offered him by the people, neither ap-
B plied he himſelfe vnto any other thing but to the ſeruice of God: neither did hee aſcend any more vp to the mountaine of Sinai, but entred into the Tabernacle to take counſaile at Gods hands in thoſe things, whereof hee had neede to be informed. Hee demeaned himſelfe like a priuate man, not onely in his apparrell, but in all other things, and liued very popularly, perſeuering in that familiar and ciuill courſe of life, and challenging no priuiledge aboue any man, but onely in thoſe things which pertayned to the adminiſtration of the commonweale.

The yeare the world, 2455. before Chriſts birth, 1509.

Nadab & Abihu Aarons ſons burned.

Beſides theſe, he reduced vnder writing both the lawes and ordinances as touching Policie, in due performance whereof if they ſhould liue, they ſhould be both agreeable to God, and
C liue without cauſe of controuerſie the one againſt the other. And all this eſtabliſhed hee, following thoſe directions, which God inſtructed him in. But now will I returne and bend my ſtile to diſcourſe vpon that which I haue omitted in the ornament of the high Prieſt: for this apparrell of theirs leaueth not any occaſion to falſe prophets, to execute their wicked impoſtures: and if there bee any ſuch, as dare intermeddle with that which appertaineth to Gods maieſtie, this habite maketh them know, that it is in Gods power to bee preſent with the ſacrificers, at ſuch time as it pleaſeth him; and to be abſent when him liſteth: which God would haue made knowne not onely to the Hebrewes, but to all thoſe ſtrangers, who by any occurrence might be eye-witneſſes of the ſame. For of thoſe ſtones which the high Prieſt bare on his ſhoulders (which were Sardonixes, whoſe nature is ſo notorious to all men, that it were vn-
D neceſſarie to reueale it (the one ſhined at ſuch time as there was any offering, & that other which was faſtened on his right ſhoulder, ſhined very cleerely at ſuch time as God was preſent at the ſacrifice, and caſt his raies afarre off, that it might be perceiued by thoſe that beheld the ſame, both contrarie to his nature and cuſtome: which truly deſerueth admiration amongſt all men, except thoſe who thorow contempt of religion, doe hunt after an opinion of wiſedome. But that which I will now ſpeake of is more to be admired at: which is, that by the twelue ſtones which the high Prieſt bare (ſewed and inchaſed in his Rationall in the midſt of his breaſt) God was wont to foreſignifie victorie to thoſe that were addreſſed to battell. For ſuch brightneſſe lightned out of them, euen before ſuch time as the army did diſlodge or enter skirmiſh, that it was notoriouſly knowne to the people, that God was preſent and readie to aſſiſt them: for which
E cauſe the Greeks making account of our manner of liuing, in that they had no power or reaſon to contradict it, haue called that Rationall which we tearme Eſſen (mooued thereunto by this expreſſe miracle which may not be contradicted.) This Rationall and the ſtone Sardonix gaue ouer to ſhine two hundreth yeeres before I began to write theſe Antiquities, by reaſon of Gods wrath which he had conceiued through the breach of his lawes (of which at another time I will more fitly intreate, and at this time continue and proſecute my intended diſcourſe and purpoſe. After the Tabernacle had beene thus conſecrated, and that which appertained to the Prieſts was ſet in order, the people was perſwaded that God dwelt with them in his Tabernacle, and began to ſacrifice and ſing hymnes of praiſes; as to him that had driuen farre from them all ſuſpicion of euill, and from whom they expected in time to come farre better and
F more proſperous things; and both in generall and in particular they offered gifts vnto God according to their tribes: for the gouernours of the tribes (aſſembling themſelues together two by two) prepared a charriot and a yoake of Oxen, ſo that there were ſixe charriots to beare the Tabernacle by the way. Furthermore euery one of them offered a viall and a cenſer, and a cofer to keepe incenſe in, which was eſteemed to be worth tenne Dariques, and this was filled with odoriferous perfumes, and the cenſer was of ſiluer, and both of them together weighed two hundreth ſicles; yet on the viall there were but 70. employed: and both the cofer

A miracle of the ſtones in the high prieſts veſtment.

The ſacrifices and gifts of the Princes of the tribes. *Num. 7.*

The yeare of the world, 2455 before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1509.

cofer and viall were filled with meale ſteeped and moulded in oyle, which they were wont to G
vſe at the Altar, at ſuch time as they offered ſacrifice. They offered likewiſe a Calfe, and a Ram, with a Lambe of one yeere old, for a burnt ſacrifice; and a Goat for a ſinne offering. All the other gouernours likewiſe brought euery one of them their ſacrifice called *Salutarie*, for euery day two Oxen and fiue Rams, with a Lambe and a Goat of a yeere old, and ſacrificed them during the terme of twelue daies euery one. But *Moſes* aſcended no more to the mountaine of Sinai, but entred into the Tabernacle, where he was inſtructed by God of that which he had to doe, and what lawes he ought to make, which are ſo good and laudable as they ought not to be attributed to humane wiſedome: They haue beene faithfully obſerued likewiſe alwaies, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be receiued from God. So that not any one of his lawes haue beene tranſgreſſed by the Hebrewes, neither in peace (at ſuch time as they liued to their content) nei- H
ther in warre, at ſuch time as they were afflicted therewith. But I will now ceaſe to ſpeake of theſe lawes, being reſolued to compoſe an other treatiſe as touching the ſame.

Moſes asketh counſell of God in the Tabernacle.

CHAP. X.

The ordinances of Sacrifices and Purifications.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 13. al. 12.

NOVV will I only reckon vp a few things as touching the purifications and ſacrifices (in that we haue begun to talk of ſacrifices.) The ſacrifices are of two ſorts: the one of them is made for a priuate perſon; the other for the people in generall: and theſe are made in two manners; for in the one, all is conſumed which is vpon the Altar, which for that cauſe I

Two kinds of ſacrifices.

are called Holocauſts, that is to ſay, Burned. The other are of thankſgiuing, and they are made with banquets of thoſe that ſacrifice. But firſt of all I will ſpeake of the firſt kind. The particular perſon that offered a burnt offering, killed an Oxe, a Lambe, and a Goate of one yeere old, (yet is it lawfull to kill oxen more elder.) But all thoſe creatures which muſt be conſumed by fire, ought to be males; and after their throats are cut, the Prieſts beſprinkle the Altar round about with the blood; then dreſſe they the beaſt, and cut it in pieces, and pouder it with ſalt, and lay it on the Altar alreadie charged with cleft wood, and flaming fire: then after they haue well cleanſed the feete and intrails, they lay them with the reſt; and the prieſts take the skinnes. Such

Holocaustoma. *Leuit.* 1.

A ſacrifice of thankſgiuing.

is the manner of a burnt offering or Holocauſt. They that offer ſacrifices of thankſgiuing, kill likewiſe ſuch ſorts of beaſts without ſpot, and more then a yeere old; both male and female: and K
after they haue cut their throats, they ſprinkle the bloud on the Altar: then take they the reines, the caule, and all the fat; with the lobe of the liuer, and the tayle of the Mutton, and lay it on the Altar; but the breaſt, and the left leg is left to the Prieſts: and as touching the reſt of the fleſh, the Prieſts banquet therewith for the ſpace of two daies; and if then there remaine any thing thereof it is burned. The ſame cuſtome and ceremonie likewiſe is obſerued in the ſacrifice for ſins: but thoſe that are not of abilitie to offer the greater offerings, offer vp two Pigeons, or two Turtles, the one of which the Prieſts haue to feaſt withall, and the other is conſumed with fire. We will intreat more expreſſely of the ſacrifices of ſuch beaſts, at ſuch time as we ſhall diſcourſe vpon ſacrifices. For he that hath ſinned vpon ignorance offereth a Lambe, and a ſhee Goat at the ſame

Leuit. 4. 5.

The ſacrifice for ſinne.

time. The Prieſt beſprinkleth the Altar with the blood thereof, not in ſuch manner as it is ſaid L
heretofore, but the hornes of the Altar only: and on the Altar they offer the kidneies, and the reſt of the fat, with the lobe of the liuer: the prieſts carry away the skins, and eate the fleſh within the Temple the very ſame day; becauſe the law permitteth them not to reſerue any thing till the next morrow: he that hath ſinned (and that knoweth it in himſelfe without the knowledge or priuitie of any other man) offereth a Lambe according as the law commandeth, the fleſh whereof is in like ſort deuoured by the Prieſts the ſame day: but if the gouernours offer for their ſinnes, they ſacrifice in like manner as priuate men doe, and are different from them in that they bring a Bull, or a male Kid. The law alſo ordaineth, that in ſacrifices both priuate and common, there ſhould be fine flower brought, for a Lambe, the meaſure of an Aſſar; for a Ramme, M
the meaſure of two; with a Buſl, three; which flower is firſt of all mingled and wrought with oyle, and ſet vpon the Altar to be ſanctified. They that ſacrifice likewiſe doe bring oyle, the halfe part of a Hin for a Bull; for a Ramme, the third of the ſame meaſure; and for a Lambe, the fourth part: this Hin is an Hebrew meaſure, which containeth two Attique Choas: they brought alſo the like meaſure of wine as of oyle, and poured out the wine neere to the Altar. And if any without ſacrificing offer vp fine flower, he putteth the firſt fruits vpon the Altar, that is to ſay one handfull, and the reſt is taken by the Prieſts for their maintenance, either fried

The ſacrifice of him that hath ſinned wittingly. *Leuit.* 4. 9.

The cuſtome obſerued in ſacrifices.

(for

A (for they are kneaded in oyle) or with loaues made thereof: but whatſoeuer the Prieſt offereth, all that muſt be burned. The law likewiſe forbiddeth to offer any beaſt whatſoeuer, that day that it is borne, or to kill it with his damme, or in any other ſort before it hath fedde twelue daies. There are alſo other ſacrifices made for deliuerance from ſickneſſe, or for other cauſes; in which ſacrifices they employ wine or licour with that which is offered, of which licours it is not lawfull to reſerue any thing againſt the next morrow, when the Prieſts haue taken that portion which belongeth to, and ſufficeth them. The law commandeth that on the common purſe there be euery day killed a Lambe of a yeere old, the one in the morning, the other at the ſhutting vp of the euening: and on the ſeauenth day, which is called the Sabbath, that two ſhould be offered in that manner as hath beene declared. And on the new Moone beſides their daily offe-

B rings they ſacrifice two Oxen, ſeauen yeerling Lambes, and a Wether and a Kid, for the abolition of thoſe ſinnes which are committed thorow forgetfulneſſe. On the ſeauenth moneth (which the Macedonians call Hyperberete) beſides the aboue-named, they ſacrifice a Bull, one Mutton, ſeuen Lambes, and a Kid for ſinnes. The tenth day of the ſame moneth according to the Moone, they faſt till the euening, and on the ſame day they ſacrifice a Bull, two Muttons, ſeauen Lambes, and a Goat for a ſinne offering: beſides which they bring two Kids, one of which is ſent aliue out of the limits of the campe into the deſart (on whom all the euill may fall, if ſo be any bee threatned to the people) the other is borne without the camp into a cleane place, where it is burned with the skinne, being not any waies purged: with this they burne a Bull, which is not allowed out of the common charge, but by the proper coſts of the Prieſt. This Bull being opened

C and ſlain, & the blood therof (with that of the goat) being carried into the Tabernacle, he ſprinkleth the couer thereof with his finger ſeuen times, and the pauement as many times, and the Tabernacle & the Altar of gold, and all the reſt about the great Altar, which is abroad in the court. Beſides that, they ſet on the Altar the reines, and the fat with the lobe of the liuer, and the Prieſt offereth vnto God a Mutton for a burnt offering. The fifteenth day of the ſaid moneth (at ſuch time as it draweth towards winter) he commanded them to plant Tabernacles euery one in his family, againſt the inſtant cold weather which the increaſing yeere was wont to bring, and that when they ſhould enioy their countrey, and ſhould enter that City which they ſhould hold for their Metropolitane, (by reaſon of the Temple which ſhould be there builded) they might cele-

D brate a feaſt during eight daies ſpace, in offering burnt offering & ſacrifices vnto God: and that in witneſſe of their thankſgiuing, they ſhould beare in their hands a branch of Mirtle, and of Willow tied together with wooll, and a bough of Palme likewiſe, to which a Peach was faſtned; and that the firſt day they ſhould ſacrifice thirteene Oxen, and fourteene Lambes, and two Sheepe, with a Goat for a ſinne offering. Thoſe daies that inſued they ſacrificed likewiſe a like number of Lambes, and Wethers with a Kid, and in rebating day by day the number of Oxen, they come backe to the ſeauenth. The eight day they ceaſe from worke, on this day (as we haue ſayd) they ſacrifice a Calfe, a Ram, and ſeauen Lambs, and a Kid for a ſinne offering: and it is the cuſtome of the Hebrewes to performe theſe ſacrifices at ſuch time as they pitch their Tabernacles. In the month Xantique (which we call Niſan) which is the firſt month of the yeare, the fourteenth day after the new Moone, the Sun being in Aries (for at that time were we deliuered out of Ægypt)

E he ordained that euery yeare we ſhould do ſacrifice, which we cal the paſſeouer, which (as I ſaid) was celebrated the ſame time that we departed out of Ægypt. This ſolemnity of Eaſter we celebrate by companies, without reſeruing any thing of that which is offered till the next day. The fifteenth day the feaſt of vnleuened bread followeth the ſolēnity of the Paſſeouer, & during thoſe ſeuen daies, it is vnlawfull to eate any vnleauened bread, and euery day are ſlaine two Bulls, one Ram, and ſeauen Lambes, which are all conſumed with fire, to which there is added a Kid for a ſinne offering, for a ſeuerall daies banquet to feaſt the Prieſts with. The ſecond day of this feaſt of vnleauened bread (which is the ſixteenth of the month) they begin to enioy the fruites that are mowed, and before that time vntouched: and for that it is very conuenient that GOD ſhould bee honoured with the firſt fruites thereof, from whom they receiue ſuch aboundance,

F they offer the firſt fruits of Barley after this manner. After they haue dried a handful of the eares, they beat or threſh it, and clenſe the Barley from the chaffe, and offer an Aſſar of the ſame vpon the Altar vnto God, & after they haue caſt a handful of the ſame on the Altar, they leaue the reſt for the Prieſts vſe: and from that time forward it is lawfull for them to reape as wel in publike as in particular. With theſe firſt fruits they ſacrifice vnto God a Lambe for a burnt offering. Seauen weekes after the feaſt of the Paſſeouer (that is fortie nine dayes) on the fiftieth (which the Hebrewes by reaſon of the number, call *Aſartha*) they offer vnto God a leauened bread made of wheat

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.

Leuit. 2.

Num. 28. 29.

The ſacrifice of the month of October.

The feaſt of Tabernacles. *Exod. 29. Leuit. 23. Deut. 21. 31.*

Exod. 12. 13. 24. Leuit. 23. Deut. 16.

The Eaſter was the 14. of Aprill.

Leuit. 2.

The firſt fruits.

The ſacrifice of Penticoſt.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuitie, 1509.

wheate flower of the quantitie of two *Assars*, and sacrifice two Lambes, which are onely offered G vp to God; and afterwards are prepared for the Priests dinner; and it is not lawfull for them to reserue any thing thereof vntill the next day. But the burnt offerings are of three Calues, two Wethers, and fourteene Lambs, besides two Kids for a sin offering. There is not any feast wherin they offer not a burnt offering, and desist not from all manuell labor: but in euery one of the same there is ordained a certaine sort of sacrifice which they ought to doe; and it is presently ordered, that they rest from their labours, and after sacrifice fall to banquet. On the common charge they offered vnleauened bread of twentie foure *Assars* of flower; and those loaues they baked two by two the day before the Sabbath, and the day of the Sabbath in the morning they bring it, and set it on the sacred Table, opposing sixe to sixe, the one against the other; and vpon them are imposed two platters full of incense; and these things remaine after this maner till the next Sabbath, and then set they new in the place of the first, which are giuen to the Priests for their maintenance. H The incense is cast into the sacred fire in which the burnt offerings are consumed, and in place thereof there is new incense put. The Priest also sacrificeth on his owne charge flower mingled with oyle, and a little baked by fire, and this doth he twise euery day, and bringeth to the fire halfe an *Assar* of flower in the morning, and the other halfe in the euening. But I will entreate hereof more expresly hereafter, and for the present me thinks I haue sufficiently spoken already.

What is obserued in euery feast and sacrifice.

The bread of proposition.

Leuit. 8. Num. 3.

Moses separated the tribe of *Leui*, and exempted them from the other people, to the end they might be consecrated vnto God; and he purified them with liuing fountaine water, and purged them with solemne sacrifice, and committed the Tabernacle to their charge, with all the holy things pertaining thereunto, and all the rest which had bin made for the couer of the Tabernacle, I to the end they might be ministers to the Priests their superiours, who were already consecrated to God. After this he distinguished the beasts also, namely those that were to be eaten from those which were to be forborne and abstained from (of which we will speake at such time as occasion is offered vs, and will bring proofes; and the reason which induced him to ordaine, that some were proper to feede vpon, and for what cause he would that we should abstaine from other some.) He hath generally interdicted all vse of blood in meates, esteeming the blood to bee the soule and spirit of beasts. Hee hath also generally prohibited to eate the flesh of those beasts that died by themselues: likewise the caule and fat of goates, of sheepe and oxen. He thrust them likewise out of the company and conuersation of men, who were leprous, and such as were troubled with the flue of their seed. And as touching women that haue sickenesse, he sequestred them K for the space of seuen daies, after which it was lawfull for them to conuerse indifferently the one with the other. The like decreed he of those that had assisted the buriall of a dead man, whom he permitted to conuerse with other after seuen daies were expired. It was a thing also decreed by law, that he that was surprised with vncleanesse and vnpurified beyond the number of those daies he should sacrifice two Wethers, one of which should be purified, and the other giuen to the Priests. The like sacrifice is made for him that hath had vnnaturall pollution, who first washeth himselfe in cold water. The like must they offer that haue vse of their lawfull wiues. He altogether droue the leprous out of the Citie, not permitting them to frequent any mans companie but esteeming them as men little differing from the dead. And if any one by his prayers made vnto God, was deliuered from this disease, and his skin reduced to his natiue colour, such a one L presented himselfe before God in diuers oblations and sacrifices, of which we will speake hereafter. For which cause they are worthy to be laughed at, who say that *Moses* fled out of Ægypt, because he was a leper, and that he conducted with him other such as were trauelled with that disease, and brought them into the land of Canaan. For, if that were true, *Moses* had not made these ordinances to his owne preiudice: which if other had proposed, it behooued him to haue opposed himselfe against them: especially since amongst other diuers nations there are lepers, who are held in great honour, and who are so farre from disdain and contempt, as that they haue beene made Generals of most notable armies, and elected for Gouernours of common-weales, hauing libertie to enter the Temples, and to be present at the sacrifices. What therefore hindred *Moses* (if he had beene polluted with the like hatefull sickenesse) to make such lawes, and ordaine M such statutes among those people, who honoured and obeyed him; whereby such as were therewith infected might be preferred? By which it is manifest, that those things that are obiected against him, are rather of malice then probability. But *Moses* being cleane from such sickenesse, and conuersing amongst his countrimen which were vntainted, made these ordinances for them that were sicke, hauing regard to the honour of God. But of these things, let each man censure as best liketh him.

The tribe of Leui sacred to God.

Vncleane things. *Leuit. 12. 13. 14. and 15.*

What men are vncleane.

Gonorrhæa.

Of Lepers.

Against them that obiect against Moses and his followers, that they fled out of Ægypt for leprosie.

He

A He forbad that women ſhould enter into the Temple after their deliuerance, or to aſſiſt the ſacrifice, vntill fortie daies were expired (if they had beene brought a bed of a ſonne) but if it were a daughter, he willed that the number of the daies ſhould be doubled; and that when they ſhould enter, they ſhould preſent their offerings vnto God, and to the Prieſts that offered them. And if any one ſuſpected that his wife had committed adulterie; he brought an Aſſar of grinded barley, and caſt a handfull thereof before God, and the reſt was reſerued for the maintenance of the Prieſts: and then the Prieſt placing the woman in the Porch which is right ouer againſt the Temple, and taking the couer from her head, writeth the name of God vpon a skinne, and maketh her ſweare that ſhe hath not played falſe with her husband; and wiſh if ſhe had tranſgreſſed the bounds of chaſtitie, that her right thigh might be put out of ioynt, her wombe might rot, and that death might follow thereupon: but if (through entire loue, and iealouſie proceeding
B therefro) her husband had beene inconſiderately drawn into that ſuſpicion, that ſhe might within ten moneths bring forth a male childe. And after ſuch an oath miniſtred vnto her, the Prieſt wipeth out the name of God that was written on the skinne, and wringeth it into a viall; and then taking of the earth of the Temple, according as he findeth it, and hauing mingled the ſame, giueth it the woman to drinke; and if ſhee had beene vniuſtly accuſed, ſhee continueth with childe, and beareth her fruit her full time: but if ſhe hath falſified her faith to her husband, and forſworne her ſelfe before God, then dieth ſhe a ſhamefull death; for her thigh is nummed, and her wombe growes full of water. See here how *Moſes* hath prouided for theſe ſacrifices at the purifying of a woman. He furthermore made theſe lawes which enſue. He generally forbad
C adulterie, iudging it to be a great good hap, if men demeaned themſelues honeſtly in marriage: and that both in politique eſtates, and priuate families, it was a thing moſt profitable, that children ſhould be borne in lawfull Matrimony.

The yeare of the world, 2455. before Chriſts birth, 1509.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 14.

The lawes of women that are brought a bed.

Num. 5.

The lawes of adulterie and iealouſie.

Of adulterie and inceſt.

Exod. 22. Deut. 17. Leuit. 18. 20. 21. 29.

The law alſo forbiddeth a man to haue the vſe of his mother (for that it is a thing moſt abominable) and likewiſe prohibiteth him to keepe vnlawfull companie with his fathers wife, his aunt, and his ſiſter, or his ſonnes wife: and deteſteth it as a moſt hainous and hideous offence. It prohibiteth alſo the vſe of a woman when ſhe hath her monthly ſickneſſe; the vſe of beaſts alſo eſpecially the male, by reaſon that ſuch affections are abominable: and againſt the tranſgreſſours of theſe lawes he eſtabliſhed moſt ſtrict and mortall puniſhments. Hee willed alſo that the Prieſts ſhould be twiſe more chaſte then the reſt, for he not only forbad them that which he
D prohibited others; but moreouer he inioyned them not to marry thoſe that had beene abandoned, or ſlaues, or priſoners, or victallers and tauerners, forſaken by their husbands for any occaſion whatſoeuer. And as touching the high Prieſt, he permitted him not to match with the widdow of him that was dead (although it were made lawfull for the other Prieſts) and granted him only libertie to take a virgin to his wife, and to keepe her. The ſaid high Prieſt is alſo forbidden to approch a dead man (although the other Prieſts are not ſcanted of that libertie to approch their brothers, fathers and mothers, and children deceaſed.) Willing that they ſhould be ſimple in all kinde of ſimplicitie.

Leuit. 21.

What wife the high Prieſt might marry with.

He likewiſe ordained, that the Prieſt which ſhould not be found in bodie, ſhould be maintained by the other Prieſts, but in the meane time that he ſhould not approch the Altar, neither
E enter into the Temple: willing that not onely they ſhould be neat in that which concerned the diuine ſeruice, but alſo that they ſhould ſtudie and indeuour to be the like in all the actions of their life, to the end that no man might reproue them. For which cauſe they that beare the habit of the Prieſts are vnreproueable, and in all things pure and ſober, being forbidden to drinke wine as long as they ware the prieſtly veſture. They were willed alſo to offer vp entire ſacrifices, and no waies maimed. Theſe ſtatutes did *Moſes* decree, and make during his life time. And afterwards he deuiſed others alſo, at ſuch time as he remained in the deſart; which both the people might practiſe in that place; and then alſo when they had poſſeſſed the land of Canaan. He gaue reſt vnto the earth the ſeuenth yeere; ſo that it was neither tilled nor planted (in like manner as he had commanded them to reſt from their labours on the ſeuenth day of the weeke) and he
F ordained, that the fruits which the earth of it ſelfe brought forth, ſhould be common to all thoſe that would make vſe thereof, as well to thoſe of the countrey, as ſtrangers, without any forbidding or reſeruation. He likewiſe decreed that this ſhould be done after the ſeuenth week of yeers, which containeth the ſpace of fiftie yeeres, which the Hebrews call *Iubile*, in which the debtors are acquited by their creditors, and the bond-men made free, who being of the people (and for that they had forfeited againſt ſome one law) had beene puniſhed, being handled after the maner of ſlaues, and not put to death; and to thoſe, who from the beginning had beene poſſeſſours of

Leuit. 25.

The law of euery ſeuenth yeere.

lands

lands, they were reſtored vnto them in this manner following. The Iubile being at hand (which G
The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Nativity. 1509
word ſignifieth libertie) both he that ſold, and he that bought the land, meet together, and caſt vp
The yeere of Iubile.
the account of the profits and expences that haue beene reaped and beſtowed on the land; and if it be found that the profits doe amount, he that ſold the land repoſſeſſeth it: but if the charges exceed the value of the profits, he reſtoreth the ſurpluſage to the buyer that is due vnto him, and retaineth the land to himſelfe. And if the profits and expences are anſwerable the one vnto the other, the reſtitution is made to him that had the ancient inheritance. He ratified likewiſe the ſame law in houſes that were bought in Villages or Cities. For if he that ſold, counted downe the money he had receiued before the yeere were finiſhed; he compelled the purchaſer to reſtore him his houſe: and if hee ſtayed till the yeere were fully finiſhed, the poſſeſſion and free purchaſe remained vnto him that bought it. *Moſes* receiued this diſpoſition of his lawes from H
God, at ſuch time as his flockes fed at the foote of the mountaine of Sinai, and he gaue them in writing to the Hebrewes.

CHAP. XI.

The lawes and cuſtomes of warre.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 15. al. 12.
AFTER that theſe lawes had beene after this manner digeſted, *Moſes* addreſſed himſelfe to the affaires and lawes of warre (forethinking him of thoſe battels which ſhould follow.) He therefore commanded the gouernours of the tribes (the tribe of *Leui* onely I
Num 1. Moſes numbreth vp the people.
excepted) to take a preciſe view and muſters of thoſe men that were capable and able to beare armes (for the Leuites were ſacred and exempt from thoſe functions) and the ſearch beeing made, there were found ſixe hundreth and three thouſand, ſixe hundreth and fiftie fighting men, betwixt the yeeres of twentie, and fiftie. But in ſtead of *Leui* he choſe *Manaſſes*, the ſonne of *Ioſeph*; and *Ephraim* for his father *Ioſeph*: for ſo much had *Iacob* intreated at *Ioſephs* hands, that he
Num.2,33,34.
would giue him his ſonnes, that he might adopt them (as it hath beene aforetime declared.) When they pitched the Tabernacle, it was planted in the midſt of the campe, guarded and defenced with the tribes which were incamped three by three on euery ſide. There were certaine
The diſpoſition of the army.
waies or paths likewiſe laid out betweene them, and a market place was quartered out, and ſhops for all ſorts of merchandiſe diſpoſed by order, and workemen and artizans of all occupations, K
trauelling in their ſhops; ſo that to looke vpon it, it reſembled a Citie that marched and encamped.

The Prieſts firſt were planted next vnto the Tabernacle, and after them followed all the communitie of the Leuites (for there was a view alſo made of them, accounting all the males exceeding the age of thirtie daies; and they were counted to be twentie and three thouſand, eight
A cloud on the Tabernacle. *Num. 9.*
hundreth and eightie.) And when it chanced that a cloud deſcended vpon the Tabernacle, then reſted they, as if God thought good to reſt in that place; and if it departed from the ſame, then remooued they likewiſe. He inuented alſo a certaine kinde of Cornet made of ſiluer, and framed after this manner. In length it was almoſt a cubit, and it was like the narrow whiſtle of a Fife,
Num. 10. Two trumpets made of ſiluer.
but a little more thicker, yet neuertheleſſe, it was wide inough for the ſpace of the mouth, to the L
end to receiue the breath, and the end thereof was made like a little Bell, in forme of a Trumpet. They call it in the Hebrew tongue Aſofra. There were two of them, whereof the one of them ſerued to aſſemble and call the people to publike aſſemblies; and the other to conuocate the gouernours when they were to conſult vpon affaires of eſtate: and if both of them were ſounded, then all of them in generall gathered together. When the Tabernacle was remooued, this manner was obſerued; As ſoone as the firſt charge was ſounded, they that were encamped toward
The order of the army with the Tabernacle.
the Eaſt, firſt of all diſlodged: at the ſecond charge, they to the ſouthward diſincamped; then was the Tabernacle vnpitched, and carried in the midſt, ſixe of the tribes marching before, and ſixe of them after: the Leuites were all about the Tabernacle. And when they ſounded the M
third time, the quarter toward the Weſt-ward remooued: and the fourth was that to the North-ward. They made vſe alſo of theſe Cornets in the diuine ſeruice, with which they ordered the ſacrifices on the Sabbath and other daies. Then alſo was the firſt Paſſeouer celebrated with ſolemne offerings after their departure out of Ægypt, they being in the deſart.

CHAP.

A

Chap. XII.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativity. 1509.

Sedition against Moses *through the scarcitie of victuals, and the punishment of the Rebellious.*

NOT long after this they remooued their campe from the mountaine of Sinai; and after certaine encampings (of which we will speake) they came to a place which is called Iseremoth, where the people once more began to ruminate and reuiue their seditions, and lay the fault of their laborious pilgrimage vpon *Moses*, obiecting that by his perswasion they had left a fertile countrey, and now not onely that they were destitute of the plentie thereof, but also in stead of hoped felicitie, forced to wander here and there in extreame miserie, and trauel-
B led with want of water: and that if Manna likewise should in any sort faile them, they were like all of them without question to perish for want of sustenance. Hereunto annexed they diuers contumelies, which were euery where inflicted against him, being a man of so great desert and consequence. Meane while there arose one amongst the people, who (admonishing them of the forepassed benefits receiued by the hands of *Moses*) counselled them to be of good courage; assuring them that at that time they should not be frustrate either of that hope, or helpe, which they expected at Gods hands. But the people were the rather incensed against him by these words, and more and more whetted their spleanes against the Prophet; who seeing them so desperate, willed them to be of a good courage; promising them, that although by iniurious speeches he had vndeseruedly beene offenced by them, yet that he would giue them store of flesh,
C not for one day onely, but also for many. But they being incredulous (and some one amongst them demanding how he could make prouision for so many thousand men) God (saith he) and I, although we be euill spoken of by you, yet will we neuer desist to be carefull for you, and that shall you shortly perceiue. Scarce had he spoken this, but that all the campe was filled with Quailes, which they hunted for by heapes. Yet God not long after that, punished the insolency and slander of the Hebrewes, by the death of no small number; for at this day the place retaineth his name, which for that cause was imposed thereon, and it is called Cabrothaba, as if you should say, the monuments of concupiscence.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 16. al. 13. *Num.* 11. Sedition against Moses.

The Israelites obtain quailes in the desart. The graues of concupiscence.

Chap. XIII.

D

Of the spies that were sent to search the land of Canaan; and how returning to the Israelites, they amated them with feare.

BVT after that *Moses* had led them out of that place, and had brought them into a country not so apt for habitation (not far from the borders of the Canaanites, which is called the Iawes) he called the people to a councell, & standing vp in the midst of them, he spake after this maner. God (saith he) hauing decreed to grant you two great benefits, namly the libertie and possession of a happie countrey, hath granted you already the possession of the one, & will shortly make you partakers of the other. For we are vpon the borders of Chanaan, from whence both the Cities and Kings are so farre from driuing vs, as the whole nation being vnited together, is
E not of power to expell vs. Let vs therefore addresse our selues very confidently to attempt the matter: for neither without fight will they resigne the title of their countrey vnto vs; neither without great conflicts may we obtaine the Palme of victorie. Let vs therefore send out certaine spies to search into the secrets of the countrey, and such as may coniecture how great their power is: but aboue all things, let vs be at vnitie one with another, and let vs honour God, who assisteth vs in all dangers, and fighteth for vs. After that *Moses* had spoken after this manner, the people (applauding his counsels) chose twelue out of the most nobleste families of the tribes, to goe and search the countrey, out of euery tribe one; who beginning from the parts extending towards Ægypt, visited all the countrey of the Chanaanites, vntill they came to
F the Citie of Amathe, and the mountaine of Libanus: and hauing searched out both the land, and the nature of the inhabitants, they returned home againe, hauing consumed fortie daies in those affaires. Moreouer they brought with them such fruits as the countrey yeelded; and by the beauty thereof, and by the quantity of those riches (which they reported to be in that country) they incouraged the harts of the people to fight valiantly: but on the other side they dismaid them with the difficulty of the conquest, saying, that there were certain riuers impossible to be ouerpassed, both for their greatnes & depth: that there were therin also inaccessible mountains

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 17. al. 14. *Num.* 13. 14.

Moses sendeth spies to search the land of Chanaan.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativitie, 1509.

and Cities fortified both with wals & bulwarks: Moreouer they told them, that in Hebron they found a race of Gyants. And thus these spies (when as they had found all things farre greater amongst the Chanaanites, then to that day they had seene since their departure out of Egypt) they of set purpose by their feare, brought the rest of the multitude into a dangerous suspicion & perplexitie. Who coniecturing by their discourse that it was impossible to conquer the land, dissoluing the assembly, returning each one to their houses, lamenting with their wiues and children, saying that God had onely in words promised many things, but that in effect he gaue them no assistance: moreouer they blamed *Moses*, & reuiled both him & his brother *Aaron* the high Priest. And thus spent they all the night in disquiet, vrging their discontents, both against the one and the other: but on the morrow they reassembled their councell vnder this pretence, that stoning *Moses*, and his brother, they might returne back again to Egypt from whence they came. Which euent, when two of the spies greatly suspected (namely Iesus the sonne of Naue, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Caleb* of the tribe of *Iuda*) they went into the middest of them, and appeased the multitude, praying them to be of good hope, and not to challenge Almightie God of deceit, by yeelding certaine slight beliefe to some, who by spreading vaine rumors of the affaires of Canaan had terrified the credulous multitude; but rather that they should follow them, who both would be the actors and conductors also of them in the conquest of the countrey: and that neither the greatnes of the mountaines, nor the depth of the riuers could hinder them, that like valiant men were prepared to attempt, especially God being their guide, and readie to fight for them in that battell. March forward therefore said they) and laying aside all feare (and being assured of the diuine succours) follow vs with a bold courage whither soeuer we lead you. With these words laboured they to appease the insulting multitude. In the meane while *Moses* and *Aaron* falling prostrate on their faces, besought God, not for their owne safetie; but that it would please him to restore the despairing multitude to a better minde, who were troubled with so many present and instant necessities. Whereupon sodainly a cloud appeared on the Tabernacle, and gaue testimony that God was there present: which when *Moses* perceiued (drawing his spirits vnto him) he pressed into the presence of the multitude, and told them how God was incited and whetted to take punishment of the outrage which they had committed against him; yet not so seuerely as the iniquitie of their sinnes deserued, but in that discipline which fathers are accustomed to vse for the instruction of their children. For at such time as he stood before God in the Tabernacle, and besought him with teares for the safetie of the multitude, God had recounted vnto him, how many benefits and fauours they had receiued from him, and how vngratefull they shewed themselues towards him: and that at the present being transported with the feare of the spies, they had esteemed their reports more true, then his promises. Notwithstanding all which, that he would not vtterly consume them all, nor exterminate their whole race (whom he had honoured aboue all the nations of the earth) but that he would not grant them the grace to conquer the land of Canaan, neither making them partakers therof, but would bring to passe that they should liue in the desart without house or Citie for the space of fortie yeeres, for punishment of their transgression. Yet hath he promised (said he) to giue the countrey to your successors, whom he will make Lords of their goods, and heires of those possessions which you haue enuied your selues.

The spies driue feare into the Israelites.

The murmure of the people against Moses.

Iosuah and Caleb appease the people.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18 al. 14.

The Israelites should wander in the desart fortie yeeres.

After that *Moses* had discourſed theſe things after this manner, according to the ordinance of God, the people were in great sorrow and calamitie, and besought *Moses* that he would appease Gods wrath conceiued against them; beseeching him that forgetting their faults that were past in the desart, he would make them Lords of their enemies Cities. *Moses* answered them, that God was not incited against them, according to the manner of humane weakenesse, but that he had giuen a iust sentence against them. In this place it is not to be supposed, that *Moses* (who was but a man onely) did appease so many multitudes of displeased men, but that God assisted him, and brought to passe that the people were conquered with his words (hauing with diuers disobediences, and by the calamities whereinto they were falne, knowne that obedience was both good and commendable. Furthermore, for that *Moses* was admirable for his vertue, and the force proceeding from his faith: of whom not onely they haue spoken, who liued in his time, but euen at this day there is not any one amongst the Hebrewes, who (as if *Moses* were now here present to chastice him, if he ran astray) would not obey the ordinances made by him, although he might make breach of them in secret.

The repentance of the people.

Moses a man of great authoritie.

There are besides diuers great and euident signes of the more then humane vertue which was in him: and amongst the rest this was not the least, that certaine strangers trauelling out of the

Regions

A Regions beyond Euphrates a foure moneths iourney, to their great charges and with no leſſe perill, to honour our Temple, and offer ſacrifice, yet could they not obtaine licence or permiſſion to offer, in that by our lawes it was not lawfull for them to doe it: and ſome other without ſacrificing (other ſome the ſacrifice halfe finiſhed, the reſt not permitted to enter the Temple) haue returned backe againe to their homes, without finiſhing their purpoſes, chooſing rather to obey *Moſes* law, then their owne wills: yet being reproued therein by none but their owne conſciences. So much did the opinion once conceiued of this man preuaile, that hee is eſteemed more then a man, who is ſuppoſed to haue receiued lawes from God, and to haue deliuered them to men. Of late alſo (not long before the warres of the Iewes, during the Empire of *Claudius*, and *Iſmael* beeing high Prieſt amongſt vs) when as ſo great a famine oppreſſed our nation, B that an Aſſar was ſold for foure drams, and there was brought to the feaſts of *Azymes* the quantity of ſeauenty Cores (which make thirty Sicilian, and forty Athenian Medimni, which are two buſhels of ours almoſt) ſome of the Prieſts were not ſo bold as to eate one graine of Barley (notwithſtanding the countrey was in that extreamity) fearing the law, and Gods diſpleaſure extended alwaies againſt ſinnes concealed. For which cauſe we ought not to wonder at that which happened at that time, conſidering that the writings left by *Moſes* are in ſuch force, euen at this day, that they themſelues who hate vs, confeſſe that hee that hath inſtituted our gouernment is God, by the meanes and miniſterie of *Moſes* and his vertue. But of theſe things let euery man thinke, as it pleaſeth him.

The yeare of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.

The great ſcarcity during the Empire of Claudius.

C

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

D

The Contents of the Chapters of the fourth Booke.

1. *The fight of the Hebrewes with the Chanaanites, and their ouerthrow by them, without* Moſes *knowledge.*
2. *The ſedition raiſed by* Chore *againſt* Moſes *and his brother for the Prieſthood.*
3. *How the authors of the ſedition were ſlaine by Gods iudgement, and the Prieſthood confirmed to* Aaron *and his ſonnes.*

E 4. *What chanced to the Hebrewes in the deſart for the ſpace of* 38. *yeeres.*
5. *How* Moſes *ouercame* Sehon, *and* Og *Kings of the Amorites, and ouerthrewe their armies.*
6. *Of the Prophet* Balaam.
7. *The victorie of the Hebrewes againſt the Madianites, and how the countrey of the Amorites was granted by* Moſes *to two and a halfe of the Tribes.*
8. Moſes *lawes, and how he was taken out of the world.*

F

CHAP. I.

The fight of the Hebrewes with the Chanaanites, and their ouerthrow by them without MOSES *knowledge.*

The yeere of the world, 2450. before Christs Natiuitie, 1509.

WHILEST thus the Hebrewes passed their life in great penurie and perplexitie in the desart, groning vnder the burthen of their grieuous afflictions; there was nothing that more distracted and distempered them than this, that God had forbidden them to hazzard or enter battell against the Chanaanites: neither would they now any longer giue eare vnto *Moses* (who perswaded them to peace) but waxed confident in themselues, that both without his conduct and counsails, they might easily obtaine victory ouer their enemies: and accused him likewise, as if hee sought after no other thing, but that they beeing daily pressed with great wants, should bee inforced continually to depend vpon his counsels. Whereupon they embattailed themselues against the Chanaanites, presuming with themselues, that God would succour them, not onely in regard of *Moses*; but also for that hee had a generall care of their nation, euer since the time of their forefathers, whom hee had alwaies held vnder his protection; and by reason of whose vertues hee had already granted them liberty. They said likewise, that if they would take the paines at that time and endeauour themselues, that God would alwaies fight with them: protesting that they were able to ouer-runne the nations, although they were but themselues; yea although *Moses* would endeauour to estrange God from them. In a word, that it was behoouefull, that all of them should bee Lords of themselues, and that beeing recomforted and redeemed from the seruitude of Ægypt, they ought not to suffer *Moses* to tyrannize ouer them, or to conforme their liues to his will; vnder this vaine beliefe, that God had onely discouered to *Moses* that which was behoouefull for them, by reason of the affection which hee bare him: As if all of them were not deriued from the loynes of *Abraham*, and that he onely were the motiue of all, in fore-knowing the things that should happen vnto them, by particular instruction from God? That euen then they should seeme to be wise, if (condemning his pride, and fixing their trust vpon God) they would take possession of the countrey which hee had promised them, in spight of *Moses* contradiction; who for this cause hindred them, setting the name of God before them: that therefore putting before their eyes their necessitie and the desart, which daily more and more aggrauated their miserie, they should endeauour themselues courageously to sally out against the enemy the Chanaanites; alleadging that God would bee their guide; so as they had no reason to expect the assistance of their law-maker. At last when this sentence was approoued by a generall allowance, they flocke out in multitudes against their enemies; who neither affrighted by their fierce assault, neither terrified with their infinite multitude, valiantly resisted them, who desperately charged them: so that (the better part of the Hebrewes beeing slaine) they pursued the rest (enforced shamefully to turne their backes) euen vnto their campe. This ouerthrow (hapning beside all mens opinion) wondrously deiected the mindes of the multitude, that they grew desperate of all future good fortune, concluding that God had sent and inflicted that plague vpon them, because without his counsell and fauour they had enterprised the battell. But when *Moses* perceiued that both his owne countrey-men were dismaide with the ouerthrow which they had, and the enemy was waxen proude with their late victory, fearing likewise least (not content with their present successe) they should attempt further; hee determined to retire his forces backe againe into the desart. And whereas the people promised thereafter to bee obedient to him (beeing taught by their owne miserie, that nothing would fall out prosperously vnto them without the counsell and conduct of their guide) they disincamping themselues, retired into the desart vnder this resolution, that they would no more attempt the battell against the Chanaanites, before they receiued a signe of their good successe from heauen. But euen as in a great armie it accustomably falleth out (especially in time of trouble) that the common multitude waxe headstrong and disobedient to their gouernours, so did the like also happen amongst the Iewes: for whereas they were in number sixe hundreth thousand, and euen in their better fortunes seemed disobedient to their gouernours, so much the more were they exasperated by their wants and misfortunes, both amongst themselues, and against their gouernour. For which cause there arose so great a sedition, as neither amongst the Greekes or Barbarians the like was neuer heard of: which things without doubt had ouerthrowne them (being brought into so desperate an estate) except *Moses* (forgetting the iniurie hee had receiued

Num. 14. The Israelites without Gods or Moses command deuise how to assayle the enemies.

The Canaanites put the Hebrewes to flight.

Moses retyreth the people into the desart.

Sedition against Moses

which

A which was no leſſe then a pretence to ſtone him to death) had ſuccoured and relieued their diſtreſſed fortunes. Neither did God vtterly abandon the care of them : but although they were contumelious againſt their law-maker, and tranſgreſſed alſo againſt the lawes which hee had deliuered them by *Moſes* ; yet deliuered he them out of that dangerous ſedition, of which (without his eſpeciall prouidence) there could be expected no other but a lamentable iſſue. This ſedition, as alſo how *Moſes* gouerned the eſtate when the troubles were ended, wee will now declare, hauing firſt expreſſed the cauſe thereof. *The yeare of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.*

CHAP. II.

B *The ſedition raiſed by* CHORE *againſt* MOSES *and his brother concerning the Prieſthood.*

CHORES (a man noble in birth, and famous for his wealth amongſt the Hebrewes, and endowed with a certaine kinde of popular eloquence) ſeeing *Moſes* placed in the higheſt eſtate of dignitie, was ſore troubled and oppreſſed with enuie. For, although he were of the ſame Tribe and kindred ; yet thought he it to be a great indignity in himſelfe to be helde his inferiour, beeing both more inabled in riches, and nothing inferiour in parentage : For which cauſe hee began to mutine and murmure amongſt the Leuites (which were of the ſame Tribe with him, and his kinſmen) telling them (in vehement diſcourſe) that it was not to bee ſuffered nor permitted, that *Moſes*, vnder a pretext of certaine diuinitie, ſhould by ambitious policie (to other mens preiudice) onely ſtudy his owne glory : ſhewing them how of late without all lawe and right hee had giuen the Prieſthood to his brother *Aaron*, and diſtributed other dignities at his owne pleaſure like a King, without the allowance and approbation of the people : That this iniury done by him was not to be endured, by reaſon that ſo couertly hee had inſinuated himſelfe into the gouernement, that before hee might be eſpied, the people ſhould bee brought vnder ſeruitude. For hee that knoweth himſelfe to bee worthy of a gouernement, ſtriueth to obtaine the ſame by kind perſwaſions and conſent of the people, and not by force and violence: but they that deſpaire by good meanes to attaine thereunto, doe notwithſtanding abſtaine from force, leaſt they ſhould loſe the opinion of their goodneſſe and honeſty ; yet endeauour they by malicious ſubtilties to attaine thereunto. That it concerned the common-weale to extinguiſh and roote out the ſubtill inſinuations of ſuch men, leaſt of priuate, they ſhould at laſt grow publike enemies. For what reaſon (ſaid he) can *Moſes* yeeld, why hee hath beſtowed the Prieſthood on *Aaron* and his ſonnes? For if that God had decreed that this honour ſhould be beſtowed on one of the tribe of *Leui*, there were more reaſon that I ſhould haue it, who am of the ſame kindred with *Moſes*, & who ſurpaſſe him both in riches & age: And if this honor appertained to the moſt ancient of the Tribes, that thoſe of *Rubens* loynes ought by right to enioy it, namely *Dathan*, and *Abiram* and *Phalal*, who are the moſt ancient of that Tribe, and the moſt powerfull in riches. Theſe things ſpake *Chores* (vnder colour and pretence of the weale of the common-weale, but in effect onely to raiſe a tumult amongſt the multitude, and intrude into the office of the high Prieſt. This Diſcourſe of his paſſing by little and little from one eare to another amongſt the multitude, and multiplied by the enuious, and ſuch as maligned *Aaron*, at laſt brought the whole Tribes into a mutinie: ſo that two hundred and fiftie of the chiefeſt Nobles grew at length to be partakers of *Chores* conſpiracie, and all of theſe inforced themſelues to take away the Prieſthood from *Moſes* brother, and to transferre it to him. The people likewiſe were in ſuch ſort incenſed, as that they ſought to ſtone *Moſes*; and ran all of them by confuſed heapes with noiſe and vprore, crying out before the Tabernacle of God, that the tyrant was to be cut off and the people deliuered from thraldome, who vnder pretext of religion, had inſupportable thraldome impoſed on them : For if it were God that had choſen him to be high Prieſt, he would haue preferred ſuch a one to the dignitie who had been worthy, and would not haue departed it to thoſe who were far inferior to others; that if he had decreed to beſtow it on *Aaron*, he had remitted the commiſſion of his election to the people, and not left the diſpoſition thereof to his brother. *Moſes*, who long before that time had perceiued *Chores* treacherous ſlander, and ſaw the people very ſore incenſed ; was notwithſtanding nothing at all abaſhed thereat : but being reſolued in his conſcience that he had gouerned the eſtate vprightly, and well aſſured that his brother obtained the Prieſthood, not by his fauor but Gods election, he came into the congregatiõ, where he vttered no one word againſt the people : but addreſſing himſelfe to *Chore*, he expoſtulated with him, and accuſed him in as much

Num. 16. Chore endeauoureth to perſwade the multitude to mutine againſt Moſes.

Alias Balas. Two hundred and fiftie men follow Chores faction.

They cry out to ſtone Moſes.

Moſes oration to ſeditious Chore.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuitie, 1509.

much as was for him possible; being (besides his other qualities) fashioned & composed by nature eloquently to speake in publique assemblies. I thinke (saith he) *Chore*, that both thou and euery one of these (pointing with his finger at the two hundred & fifty men of his faction) are worthy of honour: yea I contemne not the rest of this assembly (although they are not to be compared with you in riches, and other indowments. For neither doth *Aaron* therefore possesse the Priesthood becausse hee is richer (for thou hast more ample possessions then either of vs) neither becausse he is more noble (for God hath equally imparted the same vnto vs all, hauing giuen vs one & the same Grandfather) neither haue I bin mooued thereunto by brotherly affection, to bestow that on him which was due vnto others. For had I not respected God and right in disposing of this dignity; I had not forgotten my selfe, to further and preferre another, since there is no man more neere my selfe then my selfe, or whom I had rather wish well to, then to my selfe: for what wisedome had it been for me, to expose my selfe to those dangers which they incurre, who make breach of lawes, to suffer another man reap the fruits of my impiety? But God forbid that my conscience should be stained with any such sin: neither, were the fault mine also, would God leaue it vnpunished; neither in me, who should contemne him, neither in you, for that you were ignorant of that you ought ro doe, and of that which was gratefull in his sight. He himselfe it is that hath chosen the high Priest, and by this meanes hath accquitted me of that accusation, that in this respect might be obiected against me. For although *Aaron* hath obtained this degree (not by my fauour, but by Gods owne appointment) yet notwithstanding hee referreth and remitteth the matter to the publike disposition and order of you all, neither requireth he any prerogatiue (for that he hath already exercised the charge, or for that at this present it is granted him to entermeddle with the same) but esteemeth it to be the greatest good fortune that may befal him, to see your mutinies and seditions cease; although with the losse of that honour, which he hath receiued from your owne election: for neither haue wee iniured Gods will, in this that we also wish your assent and allowance; but that which of his owne accord hee hath giuen, it was not lawfull to refuse with a safe conscience: as reciprocally it is a thing most reasonable, that they which receiue it should alwaies enioy it, since God himselfe had giuen them both the assurance and confirmation. God therefore shall once againe determine who amongst you shall be chosen to offer sacrifice vnto him, and to take charge of those things which appertaine to piety. For it is a most absurd matter that *Chore* should haue power to desire a dignitie, and that God should bee depriued of that authority to dispose the same as best liked him.

Cease therefore to mutine amongst your selues, and to bee troubled vpon these occasions: and let euery one of you that desire the Priesthood, to morrow bring each of you his censer with perfumes, and fire from his house. But thou O *Chore*, giue place vnto God, and expect his election, neither arrogate to thy selfe a greater authoritie then God hath, but come thou also amongst the rest thy competitors in this honour, to heare his iudgement. Neither see I cause why *Aaron* should not bee there also present to bee iudged with thee, in that hitherto hee hath vertuously and vprightly behaued himselfe in the execution of that office, and is likewise of the same tribe and race that thou art of. You shall likewise offer incense in the presence of all the people, and when the perfume shall bee past, let him whose sacrifice shall be most acceptable in Gods sight, be declared and published for the high Priest: so shal I be acquit of that slander which is wrongfully vrged against mee, whereby I am charged to haue (vpon my particular grace and fauour) bestowed the office of the Priesthood on my brother. After that *Moses* had spoken in this manner, the people gaue ouer murmuring, and forbare to suspect *Moses*, allowing in themselues all that which had beene spoken, as being profitable for the Common-weale: so that hereupon they dismissed the assembly.

CHAP. III.

How the authors of the sedition were slaine by Gods iudgement, and the Priesthood confirmed to AARON *and his sonnes.*

Ruffin. cap. 1. Num. 16.

THE next day the people reassembled themselues together to assist the sacrifice, and to heare the strife decided amongst the Competitors; neither was this assembly without tumult: for the whole multitude were in suspence in expectation of the euent, and some of them were desirous that *Moses* might be conuicted of deceit. But such as were of the wiser sort amongst them, desired an end of the sedition: for they feared least the common weale should be vtterly ruinated, if the tumult should proceede any further. The multitude likewise (being naturally

A rally desirous of noueltie, and prone to speake euill of their Magistrates) were diuersly disposed vpon euery occurrent. *Moses* also sent his seruants to *Abiram* and *Dathan*, to summon them to appeare (according to the couenants and accord) to attend the issue of the sacrifice. But their answer was, that they would not obey him, neither that they would any longer permit that *Moses* by his subtill and siniſter deuices, should signiorize ouer the people. Which when *Moses* vnderstood, he tooke diuers of the Elders amongst the people with him: and being no waies mooued with *Dathan* and his contumacie, he came vnto him (being willingly attended by those who were drawne to accompanie him.) Now when *Dathan* and his friends vnderstood that *Moses* with the Nobles came vnto them, both they, their wiues and children assembled themselues before the Tabernacle, expecting that which would ensue. They came likewise guarded B with their seruants, who were armed to oppose themselues against *Moses*, if so be he should offer them any violence: But no sooner drew he neere vnto them, but that lifting vp his hands vnto heauen, he cried out with a loud voice in the hearing of the whole multitude, and prayed after this maner. O God (said he) thou Lord ouer all that which either heauen, earth, or sea containeth, thou art a sufficient witnesse with me of all mine actions: for that I haue managed all things by « thy will; and thou art he who hast giuen me power to execute my purposes: thou that alwaies in « commiseration of the Hebrewes hast beene my perpetuall helpe and assistance, heare this my « prayer. For nothing that is either done, or thought, is hidden from thee: for which cause I hope « thou wilt not disdaine to testifie and iustifie my truth, and manifest the ingratitude of these men. « Thou doest exactly know the antiquitie of my race, not for that thou hast heard it, but for that « C thou hast seene and assisted it; in effect, now also testifie the truth for me in those things which « these men (although they know the contrarie) are not ashamed to impute vnto me. At such time « as I led a peaceable life, and that by my vertue and thy counsell, and my father in law *Raguels* « fauour, I had sufficient to liue vpon; I forsooke the possession of my goods, and the fruition of « my peace, to ingage my selfe in these miseries, which I haue suffered for these men: and first of « all for their libertie, and now likewise for their safetie, I haue most readily vndertaken grieuous « trauels. Now therefore since I am growne into suspicion among those men, who by my care « and prouidence haue escaped so many mischiefes and miseries; thou that appearedst vnto me in « that fire on the mountaine of Sinai, and vouchsafedst both to speake vnto me, and to confirme « me by the sight of miracles; that in my name sentst me a messenger into Ægypt; that hast aba- « D ted the great fortunes of the Ægyptians, and hast giuen me meanes to escape from their serui- « tude; and hast made *Pharaoes* power and armie inferiour to my fortunes; that when we were ig- « norant of our way gauest vs a passage through the sea, in whose bottome and wombe afterward « the Ægyptians were drowned; that gauest vs armes, when we were vnweaponed; that madest the « bitter water sauoury and fit to be drunke of; and in our scarcitie of water enforcedst drinke for « vs out of the bowels of the hard rocke; when we found no meat on the land, didst send it vs from « the sea; Moreouer (as a thing neuer before heard of) affoordedst vs meat from heauen, and hast « established our estate with lawes and customes: Be thou, O Lord, my Iudge in all things, and my « vnpartiall witnesse, that neither I haue beene corrupted by any bribe of any particular Hebrew, « to fauour iniustice, neither that I haue suffered a poore man in his iust cause to lose his right « E against a rich aduersarie. And now hauing administred the common weale with all sinceritie, I « am called in question for a crime, whereof I am altogether guiltlesse, as if I had bestowed thy « Priesthood on my brother for priuate affection, and not for thy command sake: make it knowne « that all things are dispensed by thy prouidence, and that nothing is brought to effect by casualtie, « but by thy especiall ordinance: And to expresse that thou hast care of the Hebrewes, testifie the « same by thy iust punishment inflicted on *Dathan* and *Abiram*, who accuse thee to be insensible, « and boast that thou art circumuented by my subtilties. But thou shalt make thy reuenge more « notorious against the vnbridled detractours of thy glorie, if they perish after no common man- « ner, least any man should suspect that they suffer nothing inhumane: but let the earth which « they vnworthily tread vpon, open it selfe and swallow them vp both with their families and fa- « F culties. By this meanes both thy power will manifestly appeare vnto all men, and thou shalt leaue « an example to posteritie, that no man hereafter shall dare to thinke otherwise of thy maiesty then « becommeth him, and my ministery shall be approued to proceed from thy direction. But if those « crimes be truely vrged which are inforced against me, then let the curses returne and light on « mine owne head, and let those whom I haue cursed liue in safetie. And thus exacting a pu- « nishment from those that disturbe thy people, keepe the rest of the multitude in peace, concord, « and obseruation of thy commandements, secure and voide of that punishment which is due vnto « wicked

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuitie. 1509.

Dathan and Abiram rebellious.

Moses prayer vnto God.

wicked men, for that it is contrarie to thy iuſtice, that the innocent multitude of the Iſraelites ſhould anſwer their miſdeeds, and ſuffer their puniſhments. Whileſt he ſpake theſe words, and intermixed them with teares, the earth inſtantly trembled, and ſhaking began to remoue (after ſuch a manner, as when by the violence of the wind a great billow of the ſea floateth and waltereth.) Hereat were al the people amazed. But after that, a horrible and ſhattering noiſe was made about their tents, the earth opened, and ſwallowed vp both them and all that which they eſteemed deere, which was after a maner ſo exterminate, as nothing remained of theirs to be beheld. Wherupon in a moment the earth cloſed againe, and the vaſt gaping was faſt ſhut, ſo as there appeared not any ſigne of that which had hapned. Thus periſhed they all, leauing behind them an example of Gods power and iudgements. And this accident was the more miſerable, in that there were no one, no not of their kinsfolke or allies that had compaſſion of them: ſo that all the people whatſoeuer, forgetting thoſe things which were paſt, did allow Gods iuſtice with ioyfull acclamations, eſteeming them vnworthie to be bemoned, but to be held as the plague and peruerters of the people. After that *Dathan* with his family was extinguiſhed, *Moſes* aſſembled all thoſe that contended for the Prieſthood together, committing againe the election of the prieſthood vnto God, concluding that the eſtate ſhould bee ratified to him; whoſe ſacrifice was moſt acceptable in Gods ſight. For which cauſe the two hundred and fiftie men aſſembled themſelues, who were both honoured for the vertue of their anceſtors, and for their owne abilities farre greater then theirs: with theſe alſo ſtood *Aaron* and *Chore*, and all of them offered with their cenſers before the Tabernacle, with perfumes ſuch as they brought with them; when ſodainly ſo great a fire ſhone, as neither the like was euer kindled by mans hand, nor vſually breaketh from the bowels of the burning earth, neither was euer quickned in the woods, ſplit and borne downe in the ſommer time by a ſoutherne brize, but ſuch a one as ſeemed to be kindled in heauen moſt brightſome and flaming: by force and power whereof thoſe two hundreth and fiftie (together with *Chore*) were ſo conſumed, that there ſcarce appeared any reliques of their carcaſſes; Only *Aaron* remained vntouched, to the end it might appeare that this fire came from heauen. Theſe things thus brought to paſſe, *Moſes* (intending to leaue a perpetuall memory to poſteritie of that puniſhment) to the end they ſhould not be ignorant thereof, commanded *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Aaron* to conſecrate their cenſers affixed to the braſen Altar, that by reaſon of this monument, all men might be terrified, who thinke that the diuine power can be circumuented by humane policy.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Nativity. 1509.

Dathan and Abiram ſwallowed vp.

Chore with two hundreth and fiftie men is conſumed with fire.

CHAP. IIII.

What things hapned in 38. yeares ſpace to the Hebrewes in the deſart.

AFTER that by ſo euident an argument it appeared vety ſufficiently, that *Aaron* neither by ſiniſter inſinuations, neither by the fauour of his brother, but onely by Gods election had obtained the Prieſthood; he euer afterwards held it without any contradiction: yet for all this, the ſedition was not ſufficiently ceaſed, but that it brake out with a more vrgent furie then at firſt: for it tooke his originall from ſuch cauſes that it might eaſily appeare that it would be of long continuance. For whereas this perſwaſion had once taken roote in the hearts of men, that nothing is brought to paſſe without Gods will, they imagined that God wrought theſe things in fauor of *Moſes*; to him therfore imputed they al theſe things, as if God had not puniſhed thoſe men thorow the hate he bare againſt their ſins, but only on *Moſes* ſolicitation: & they were ſore aggrieued that *Moſes* (hauing giuen this mayme vnto the people, by the loſſe of ſo many noble men, that onely periſhed through the zeale they bare to Gods ſeruice) not onely had done them open wrong; but that which was more, had aſſured the Prieſthood to his brother after ſuch a manner, that thereafter no man durſt oppoſe himſelfe to purchaſe the ſame; ſeeing how vnfortunately thoſe others were ouerthrowne by a violent death. Moreouer the kinſmen of thoſe that were ſlaine, ſolicited and ſtirred the people, praying them to reſtraine the pride and ouergreat power of *Moſes*, in that it lay in their power eaſily to performe the ſame. But *Moſes* perceiuing that the people was incenſed, and fearing leaſt once more they ſhould bethinke them on ſome innouation, wherby ſome great misfortune might ſucceed, he aſſembled them together, and gaue audience to their accuſations: & without replying any waies (for feare he might the more incenſe them) hee onely commanded the heads of the tribes, that each of them ſhould bring a rod, wherein the name of each tribe ſhould bee written, promiſing that the Prieſthood ſhould remaine with them, in whoſe rod God ſhould ſhew any ſigne. Which iudgement of his being allowed

Num. 17.

Another ſedition againſt Moſes.

A lowed by all men,both they,and *Aaron* brought their rods with their inſcriptions;and *Aaron* had written in his,the tribe of *Leui*. Theſe *Moſes* tooke from them,and laide them in Gods Tabernacle:the next day he brought them forth euery one of them (which were eaſily knowne to bee thoſe which the Princes brought,& the reſt of the people had marked)and they ſaw that al theirs remained in the ſame forme which the day before they retained, when *Moſes* tooke them; but out of *Aarons* rod there grew branches and buds: and that which is more to be wondred at, it bare ripe Almonds, which in a rod of that kinde of wood was admirable and miraculous. The people amated at the noueltie of this ſpectacle (diſmiſſing their hatreds wherewith they both proſecuted *Moſes* & *Aaron*)became wholly amazed and drawne into admiration of Gods iudgement,and forbare any more to repugne againſt God, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt *Aarons* B Prieſthood. And thus three times confirmed by the approbation of God, by all mens conſent he became hie Prieſt; and the people of the Hebrewes turmoyled with long ſeditions,at laſt by this meanes grew ſetled in peace and quietnes.But after that *Moſes* had made the tribe of *Leui*(which was dedicate to Gods ſeruice) free and exempt from warfare (for feare leaſt beeing occupied in prouiding themſelues neceſſaries for their maintenance, they ſhould grow negligent in executing their duties in ſacrifice)he ordained that after the land of Chanaan was conquered by their forces and Gods fauour, that of the Cities they ſhould conquer, they ſhould diſtribute fortie eight of the beſt & faireſt on the Leuites,& certen lands abutting on their Cities, to the quantity and ſpace of two thouſand cubits. Moreouer, hee commanded that the tenths of all the yearely fruit that was gathered by the whole people, ſhould bee giuen and beſtowed on the Leuites C and Prieſts;and euer after this tribe had their ſolemne reuenues.Now muſt Ideclare what things are proper to the Prieſts. Of the fortie eight Cities which were granted to the Leuites,he commanded them to grant thirteene to the Prieſts; and that of thoſe tenthes which they receiued of the people, they ſhould pay vnto them a tenth ſhare. Beſides,he gaue charge that the people ſhould offer vp vnto God all the firſt fruits of whatſoeuer the earth yeeldeth them: and that the firſt borne of foure footed beaſts dedicated for ſacrifice, if it were a male,ſhould bee deliuered to the Prieſts to ſacrifice,to the end they might be nouriſhed with all their family in the ſacred Citie of Ieruſalem; and that they which are not fit to bee ſacrificed to God, ſhould bee eaten by them according to the vſe and cuſtome of the countrey, the owners paying in lieu of a firſtling a ſicle and a halfe,and for the firſt borne of a man, fiue ſicles. Hee allotted them likewiſe the firſt D fruits of ſheep-ſhearing,and ordered that the bakers ſhould offer them ſome cakes. But they that conſecrate themſelues by vow, and are called Nazarites (nouriſhing their haire, and taſting no wine) when as they conſecrate their haire;were bound to offer it vnto the Prieſts. They likewiſe who call themſelues Corban, which is called the gift of God, if they deſire to be diſmiſſed from that miniſterie(whereunto by voluntarie vow they bound themſelues) muſt pay money to the Prieſts, for a woman thirtie ſicles, for a man fiftie; and that thoſe that had not ſo much money ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the Prieſts. And if any man ſhould kill (for his priuate feaſt) any beaſt,and not for Gods ſeruice,yet that he ought to offer vnto the Prieſt the breaſt and legge of the beaſt. This is that allowance which *Moſes* ratified to the Prieſts, and beſides this, whatſoeuer the people offered for ſinnes (as we declared in the next precedent volume.) And what- E ſoeuer was contributed by the people to the order of the Prieſts, hee commaunded that both their wiues, children and ſeruants ſhould bee made partakers of the ſame (onely except thoſe things which were offered for ſinne offerings, for theſe things the Prieſts onely themſelues eate vp in the Temple the ſame day.)After thatthis policy was in this ſort ratified by *Moſes*,& thatthe mutinie was appeaſed,he remooued his campe, and with all his forces came to the borders of Idumæa,where he ſent Embaſſadours to the King therof, requiring him to grant him and his free paſſage(and offering him ſuch and ſo ſufficient pledges, as hee ſhould eſteeme and recken of, to aſſure him that no violence or iniurie ſhould bee offered; aſſuring him to make payment for whatſoeuer victuall or drinke,eyther he or his army ſhould receiue.) But he ſetting light by their Embaſſage,denied them paſſage, and with a well furniſhed army marched foorth againſt *Moſes* F to withſtand him, if contrary to his will hee ſhould attempt to paſſe thorow his countrey. And for that God had not counſelled *Moſes* to begin the combate,if hee were inforced by the enemie,hee retired backe againe, determining to ſeeke his paſſage athwart the deſart. At that time died his ſiſter *Mary*,the fortieth yeare after their departure out of Ægypt,& the firſt Moone of the moneth Xantique: ſhee was magnifically entombed at the common charge, on a certaine mountaine called Sein: and after the people had mourned for her fortie daies, hee purified them after this manner.The Prieſt taking a yong heifer(which had neuer as yet borne yoake

The yeare the world, 2455.before Chriſts birth, 1509.

Aarons rod fructifieth.

Hedio & Ruffinus,cap. 3.4. *Num.* 18 35. *Leuit.*14.18.28

The reuenues of the Prieſts.

Num.6.

Of the Nazarites.

The yeare of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt.1471

*Num.*20. Moſes Embaſſage to the Idumæans.

Mariam Moſes ſiſter dieth.

*Num.*19. The manner of purificatiõ;

nor

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativity. 1471.

nor laboured) in colour wholly red, led him a little apart from the campe, in a most cleane place, G and there cut his throat, and with the blood thereof taken on his finger, he seuen times besprinkled the Tabernacle of God; and after he had consumed in fire the whole heifer, with his skinne and entrailes, he cast a branch of Cedar into the fire with a little Hysope, and red wooll, and wholly gathered vp the ashes thereof. A man that is cleansed putteth it in a cleane place, and they that are vncleane by meanes of one that is dead, put a little of these ashes into a fountaine with Hysope, and after they haue mixed the ashes in the fountaine, they besprinkle themselues three times, and on the seuenth day, and after that they are purified. He likewise ordained that the like purification should be vsed, when a man should take possession of his inheritance.

Num. 20.

But after the army (that had so long mourned the dead sister of the Generall) were thus purified, he led them thorow the desart into Arabia; and arriuing in a place (which the Arabians account for their Metropolitane citie, in times past called Arce, and at this present Petra) which is H inuironed with a high mountaine; *Aaron* ascended the said mountaine, and *Moses* shewed him the place, where he should yeeld vp his soule vnto God; and in the sight of all the army standing on a high place, he put off his stoale, and gaue it to his sonne *Eleazar*, to whom by eldership the succession appertained: and thus (in the sight of the people) he died in that very yeere wherein he lost his sister; and in the hundreth, twentie and third yeere of his age: he departed on the new Moone, in the moneth of August (called by the Athenians Hecatombeon, by the Macedonians Ious, and Sabba by the Hebrewes. The people mourned for him for the space of fortie daies, and then desisted. *Moses* displaced his campe from thence, and pitched his tents neere vnto a riuer called Arnon (which springeth from the mountaines of Arabia, and runneth along the de- I sart, and then entreth into the Asphaltique lake, separating the Region of the Moabites from that of the Amorites.) The countrey is fertill and sufficient to yeeld fruit to all the inhabitants in great foison: to *Sehon* King of this countrey *Moses* sent Embassadors, requiring passage thorow his kingdome, vnder such assurance as should best please him, that no wrong should be offered, neither to his countrey, nor the inhabitants thereof, assuring him to pay the price of what soeuer his soldiers tooke either in victuals or water. But *Sehon* refused him, and arming his people, pitched his tents on the banks of Arnon, being readie to repulse the Hebrewes if they presumed to passe the riuer.

Ruffinus. c. 4. Hedio, cha. 5. Num. 21.

Moses sent Embassadors to Sehon, king of the Amorites.

CHAP. V. K

Moses ouercommeth Sehon *and* Og, *Kings of the Amorites, and distributeth their countrey by Lot, vnto two Tribes and a halfe of the Hebrewes.*

Num 21. The Hebrews addresse themselues to fight against the Amorites.

BVT when *Moses* perceiued that the Amorites were disposed to hostilitie; for which cause supposing that the iniurie and contempt was not to be endured, and seeing the Hebrewes were an intractable kind of men (and such as either by idlenesse or want, might be easily perswaded to renue their former seditions and tumults, and being willing to preuent all these occasions) he asked counsell at Gods hands, whether he would permit him to enforce his passage by the sword. Now when God had allowed his purpose, and besides that promised him the vi- L ctory, he was greatly confirmed in hope, and animated and encouraged his soldiers, telling them that the time was now come, wherein they might enterprise their long desired warre with Gods fauour, and his approbation and encouragement: who reioycing at this libertie that was granted them, sodainly tooke armes, and in a set battell hasted to charge the enemie. On the other side the Amorite (as soone as he saw them march forward, and begin the onset) forgetting his former fiercenes was both himselfe terrified, and his souldiers likewise (who before the sight of their enemies were as cruell and bloody as Lions) now waxed as fearefull & as meeke as Lambs. So that they scarcely had endured the first assault, but that they fled, reposing the whole hope of their prosperity in their retreat: they trusted likewise to their walled townes (which notwithstanding did nought at all auaile them.) For no sooner did the Hebrews perceiue that their enemies M began to trust their feete and that their rankes were broken, but they more freshly pursued them and brought them into extreme feare: so that being vtterly put to flight and dispersed vpon the field, they were inforced to flie vnto their Cities. Yet ceased not the Hebrewes to pursue them more fiercely, but began more and more to molest them with those kinde of weapons wherein they were exercised before time: for being expert and well trained in the sling and bow, and perfect in casting the dart, and nimble in bodie (by reason of their light armours) they ran after their enemies,

The Hebrews ouerthrow the Amorits, and put them to flight.

A enemies,and with their ſhafts and bowes ſhot at thoſe which were afarre off, and might not bee ouertaken. So that there followed a moſt huge ſlaughter, and they that eſcaped were grieuouſly wounded: yet were they more afflicted with thirſt then any other hoſtilitie (in that it was ſommer time)ſo that all thoſe that went to refreſh and coole their thirſt at the riuer(beſides all thoſe that had turned their backs to flie) were purſued with all kindes of miſſile weapons and darts vntill they were all ſlaine. The king *Sehon* himſelfe alſo was ſlaine in this fight. And the Hebrewes ſpoiled thoſe that were ſlaine,& carried away great ſtore of pillage.They had likewiſe great foyſon and abundance of all kindes of fruites(in that the harueſt was not as yet gathered.) Thus paſſed the Armie through the whole countrey, forraging and ſpoyling the ſame without any reſiſtance; by reaſon that the enemie wes diſcomfited,& that all his forces in warre were defeated. This was the deſtruction which hapned to the Amorites,who neither vſed their counſell
B prudently,nor managed their warre valiantly. But the Hebrewes occupied their countrey (ſituate betweene three riuers,after the manner of an Iſland.) For the banks of *Arnon* doe terminate the Southerne coaſts therof,and *Iobacchus* the Northerne,which flowing into *Iordan*, leeſeth his name:now the Weſterne coaſt is watered by the riuer of *Iordan*. Amidſt this proſperous eſtate of the Iſraelites,there aroſe a new enemie againſt them,called *Og*,king of Galadine,& of the coũtries of Gaulanitis,who came as a friend and companion to aſſiſt *Sehon*; who ſeeing his fortunes and eſtate ſo deſolate and deſperate, yet in hope to obtaine the victorie, determined to make triall both of his owne mens vertue,and his enemies valour: which hope of his failed him, for hee both died in the battaile, and his whole hoſt was likewiſe diſcomfited. But *Moſes* no ſooner
C ouerpaſſed the flood of *Iobacchus*, but that entring *Ogs* kingdome, hee ouerthrew one citie after another,and deſtroyed all the inhabitants thereof(who for riches and fruitfull paſtures exceeded all other men of that countrey.) *Og* alſo was a man of a moſt heroicke and high ſtature, and nothing inferiour thereunto either in ſtrength or vertue; the argument of whoſe ſtrength and ſtature was extant in the ſacke of the chiefe citie & palace of the country of the Ammonites, called Rabatha, where there was an Iron bed found of foure cubits breadth,and nine in length.The fal of this man did not only further the preſent felicity of the Hebrews,but alſo became the cauſe of many their future and more fortunate ſucceſſes:for they took ſixtie well fortified cities which were vnder his gouernment;and what with their priuie preyes and publike pillage, they were all enriched. After this *Moſes* remooued his campe toward *Iordan*,and pitched it in a broade plaine
D neere vnto the Citie of Iericho(which is rich and fruitfull, and aboundeth with palme trees and balme.) And now were the minds of the Iſraelites in ſuch ſort confirmed,as they deſired nothing more then warre,and battell; and *Moſes* thinking good to make vſe of this their forwardneſſe, (hauing ſacrificed to God in way of thankſgiuing; and feaſted the people) he ſent part of them armed to deſtroy the countrey of the Madianites,and to ſpoile the cities of that region: the cauſe of which warre had this originall.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1571.

Sehon king of the Amorites ſlaine.

The Hebrews poſſeſſe the land of the Amorites.

The ſituation of the land of the Amorites. Og king of Baſan is ſlaine with his army

Ruffin.cap. 5. Hedio.cap. 6. Hierico.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Prophet Balaam.

E VVHen *Balac* king of the Moabites (who was both an old friend and confederate with the Madianites)ſaw the Iſraelites increaſe to ſuch greatnes,he began to ſuſpect the ſecuritie of his owne fortune and eſtate: for he knew not that God had inhibited the Hebrewes to couet to poſſeſſe any other Countrey but the land of Canaan, and therefore more raſhly then prudently he bethought him of new matters; and for that he durſt not aſſaile them in battell, whom he knew to be puffed vp with the ſucceſſe of many victories (yet deſirous to hinder them from proceeding any further) he ſendeth Embaſſadours to the Madianites to conſult with them,as concerning their common profit.They knowing that beyond Euphrates there was a famous Diuine called *Balaam*(who was their eſpeciall friend) ſent ſome of their moſt ho-
F nourable princes together with *Balacks* Embaſſadours,beſeeching him that he would come vnto them and curſe the Iſraelites.The Prophet intertaining the Embaſſadours with great humanitie, and feaſting them at his owne table, asked counſaile of God as touching that which the Madianites had required at his hands:but ſeeing that God forbad him to obey them, hee returned vnto them,and told them that he wanted not will to gratifie them, but that God withſtood him; to whoſe mercie he aſcribed the glory which he had hitherto gotten by true predictions and prophecies:for that armie which they deſired ſhould be curſed,was dearely beloued of God. For which cauſe he gaue them counſell,that ſeeking out the Iſraelites, they ſhould make peace with them

Num.22.23. 24.

Balac king of the Moabites embaſſage to the Madianits Balacs & the Madianites embaſſage to Balaam.

The yeare of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie, 1471.

them vnder whatsoeuer conditions: which said, he dismissed the Embassadours. But the Madianites (beeing instantly requested by *Balac*) once more sent their Embassadours vnto *Balaam*, to that purpose, who desirous to satisfie them in their demands, consulted with God. But God (offended with him) commanded him to assent to the Embassadours: & he supposing that God had indeed licenced him therein, departed onward with the Embassadours. But as he trauelled vpon the way, the Angel of God came and met him in a certaine narrow way, betweene two mounds or wals made of stones; which when the Asse perceiued whereon *Balaam* was mounted, hee started out of the way, and thrust *Balaam*, and crushed him against one of the wals; and neither by the strokes which his rider gaue him (beeing sore grieued by his bruise) not by any other meanes might he be drawn forward. And when as neither the Angell forsooke the way, neither the Prophet gaue ouer tormenting the Asse, at length the beast falling downe by the will of God, spake to *Balaam* in a humane and articulate voice; blaming him, for that hauing neuer before that time receiued domage by him, he had so cruelly tormented and beaten him; considering that he vnderstood not that God did prohibite him from the performance of that which hee desired. Whilest thus hee was troubled with the prodigious speech of the Asse, an Angell appeared vnto him, blaming *Balaam*, and telling him that the Asse was not in the fault, but that hee hindered his iourney, by reason hee attempted it against Gods will. Hereat the Prophet terrified, addressed himselfe to returne backe againe: but God commanded him to prosecute that iourney which he had intended, charging him to declare and doe that which hee should aduise and instruct him in.

The second Embassage to Balaam.

The Angel resisteth Balaam.

The Asse speaketh to Balaam.

Balaam is reproued by the Angell.

G H

Balaam commeth to Balac

After that God had giuen him this charge, hee went vnto *Balaac*, who entertained him honourably, and caused him to be brought to a certaine mountaine, from whence he might behold the Hebrewes campe. *Balac* also himselfe being royally attended, accompanied the Prophet, conducting him honourably vnto a certaine mountaine, which ouerhung the Israelites, beeing threescore furlongs from their campe. Which when he perceiued, he caused the king to build seauen Altars, on which he laid seauen Buls, and seauen Rams. All which being readily executed by the king; he offered a burnt sacrifice, to the end hee might presage and fore-prophecie the victorie: which done, he spake after this manner. Happy are you, on whom God bestoweth so large a blessing and abundance of riches, and vouchsafeth you his prouidence for your perpetuall guide and assistance. Because there is not any sort of men, before whom in innocencie of maners and studie of honestie and vertue, you are not to be preferred: your successours also shall haue a more famous posteritie, because amongst men God onely fauoureth you, and taketh care that no nation vnder the Sunne shall either exceede or equall you in happinesse. You shall likewise possesse that land whereto he hath sent you: and your posteritie shall bee perpetuall Lords thereof; and the glory of your name shall fulfill both the whole earth, and sea; and so shall your nation bee multiplied, that there shall bee no nation of the world that shall not bee intermixed with your blood and line. Blessed are you (most worthy army) and deseruing great admiration, hauing your increase thus multiplied by the meanes of one parent. For the land of Canaan at this present shall entertaine you, but in little number; but know that hereafter the whole world is destinated for your inhabitation: so that both in the Islands, and in the continent you shall liue in so great number, that you shall equall the starres of the firmament. And whereas you are like to growe so innumerable, yet notwithstanding he shall not suffer you to want the vtmost of plentie and abundance; neither in warre shall hee cease to animate and leade you against your enemies. Let your enemies resolue to take armes and to assault you, yet shall there no one returne from them to beare message of the victorie, or to bring glad tidings to their wiues and children. This prudence and prowesse is giuen you by Gods prouidence, who onely can and may abase the power of greatnesse, and repaire the weakenesse of obscuritie. Thus spake the Wizard in his propheticall spirit, being transported beyond himselfe, and rauished with a supernaturall furie. But *Balac* was sore incensed against him, exclaiming that hee had not kept couenant, although by great rewards he had been by his Confederate drawne thither to curse them, vrging it against him, that in stead of execrations against them, he had published their pietie and praises. To whom the Prophet made this answer: Thinkest thou (said he) that it lieth in our power, as often as destinies are to be discouered, to speake or conceale what we list, at such time as God speaketh in our mouths? No, he himselfe vttereth those words which him listeth, & publisheth those oracles by vs, which neither we know, nor euer thought vpon. Verily I sufficiently remember wherunto I was perswaded by the solicitation of the Madianites, and for that cause came I hither, to execute that which they extorted from my hands; but God is more powerfull then my will, who contrarie to the

Balaams prophecie of the people of Israel.

I K

Balac being displeased reprehendeth Balaam.

Balaams answer.

L M

will

A will of God,and for the particular fauour of men,had purpoſed to ſpeake otherwiſe:but as ſoone as he entreth into our hearts,there remaineth no more of our ſelues in our ſelues. Truly I had determined in my ſelf to ſpeak nothing in their praiſes,neither was it in my mind to reckon vp what God had decreed to beſtow vpon that nation,but the fauorable power which befriendeth them, and ſtudieth nothing more then the felicity & glory of that nation,hath in his preſcience put theſe words into my mouth:now therefore(ſince it is my deſire to gratifie both thee,& the Madianits, whoſe praiers I ought not but admit)go to let vs erect new Altars,and prepare freſh ſacrifice,and make trial if perhaps God wil be moued to grant me licence to curſe theſe kind of men.Hereunto *Balac* gaue his conſent,yet did not God ratifie thoſe his imprecations made againſt the Iſraelites, notwithſtanding he had ſacrificed twice; ſo that falling on his face, he declared the occurrences B of their kingdomes and common-weales, of moſt eſteeme (of which ſome one were not as yet built) and ſuch things likewiſe as ſhould thereafter happen to thoſe men both by land and ſea, euen to our daies: out of all which things (accompliſhed according to his predictions)we may gather moſt aſſuredly that, which of his prophecie is to be fulfilled, will ſurely take effect, *Balac* being ſore diſpleaſed,becauſe the Iſraelites could not be curſed, ſent *Balaam* backe again without honour: who returning homewards (at ſuch time as he came vnto Euphrates)called *Balac* & the Princes of the Madianites,and ſpake thus vnto them. *Balac* and you Princes of Madian,it behoo- ueth me to gratifie you (although it be againſt the will of God) for which cauſe giue eare vnto me: All the ſorts of death that may be to the vttermoſt, cannot extinguiſh the race of the Hebrewes:neither by warre or peſtilence,or famine,or any other chance may they be ruinated: for C God hath care to preſerue that nation from all euill, ſo that no ſlaughter can fall vpon them, whereby the whole multitude ſhall be extinguiſhed: yet in the meane while ſome things may not be auoyded,whereby afflicted for a time,they may preſently flouriſh more then they did before,being by ſuch a chaſticement reduced to better health. For which cauſe if you ſeeke to obtaine ſome ſhort victorie ouer them, by this my counſell you ſhall bring your wiſhes to effect. Send me the faireſt of your daughters,as trimly decked and beautified as is poſſible,who by their beautie may conquer, and by their loue allure their hearts; let theſe wander about their campe, and offer themſelues to entertaine a familiar embrace, if by the yong men they ſhall be ſolicited thereunto: and as ſoone as they ſhall eſpie them to be ſurpriſed with deſire, let them ſodainly breake from them; and when as they ſhall be requited by them to ſtay, let them not yeeld, ex- D cept they will be perſwaded to forſake their countrey lawes,and the ſeruice of God from whom they receiued them,and honour the Gods of the Madianites, and Moabites. For by this meanes ſhal they incenſe Gods wrath againſt themſelues. Which when he had certified and admoniſhed them of,he departed.Now whē the Madianits(according as they were counſelled)ſent out their daughters,the yonger ſort of the Hebrewes were intangled with the beautie of the damſels: and growing in talke with them, they prayed them that they would not enuy them the opportunity to reape the pleaſure and inioyment of their beautie, neither that they would diſdaine their intercourſe: they willingly both admit the words, and the embraces of the yong men, and hauing well hette them with daliance, they addreſſed themſelues to leaue them in the heat of their deſires. Whereupon they diſcomforted at the womens departure,did inſtantly intreat them,that E they ſhould not in that ſort forſake them, but that in hope of future marriage and poſſeſſion of their greateſt goods,they ſhould remaine and dwell with them. Theſe promiſes they confirmed with oathes,and ſealed with teares, calling God to witnes (the rather to perſwade and confirme them vnto mercie)whereupon they (after they perceiued that they were ſurpriſed,and beſotted with their companie) anſwered after this manner. Valiant yong men; we want not at home neither ample faculties, or the affections of our parents, and domeſticall friends; neither come we hither vnto you for want of theſe things; neither admit we your prayers, in that we meane to make ſale of our beauties: but being perſwaded that you are honeſt men, we haue not diſdained to entertaine you with this gracious hoſpitalitie, in that we ſee ye had need thereof, and for that cauſe haue we ſhewed our ſelues courteous vnto you: now therefore becauſe you ſay you F loue vs, and that you are ſore aggrieued at this our departure, we haue thought good not to gainſay your intreaties: if therefore you will plight your faith, and promiſe vs marriage (which thing onely is that which muſt ſatisfie vs)we will willingly liue with you as your lawfull wiues; but we feare leaſt when your luſts are ſatisfied, you ſhould with iniurie and contumely, ſend vs backe againe to our parents: to which ſuſpect of ours it becommeth you(if you ſo pleaſe)to giue a lawfull pardon.But they promiſed to giue their faith in what maner ſoeuer,and refuſed no condition(by reaſon of their extreame loue.)Wel then(ſaid the virgins)ſince that you are ſo pleaſed,

The yeere of the world,2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.

Numb. 25. Balaams prophecie of things to come.

Balaams counſell againſt the Hebrewes.

The daughters of the Madianites come to the campe of the Hebrewes.

The yeare of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie, 1471.

and that you haue manners ſo different from others, that you alſo vſe your proper meates according to your peculiar manner; neither can you endure that your drinke be common with other mens; it behoooueth you if you will liue with vs, to adore our gods. For by no other argument may you perſwade vs that your loue is vnfained, except you honour as we doe the ſame gods: neither ſhall you be blamed if you honour the gods of that countrey, into which you are come, conſidering that our gods are common vnto all nations, whereas your God is adored by none other but your ſelues. It behoooueth you therefore (ſaid they) to conforme your ſelues in opinion with other men, or that ye ſeeke out another world, wherein you might liue ſolely according to your particular policie and religion. G

The daughters of Madian allure the Iſraelites to Idolatrie.

The Hebrewes blinded with the loue of the women reuolt from the lawes of their fathers.

The Hebrewes blinded with the loue which they bare vnto the virgins, conceiued wel of their words, & conſented to that which they ſaid, ſuffering themſelues to be ſeduced according as they were inuited; ſo that they tranſgreſſed the ordinances of their fathers, in following ſtrange gods; to whom they purpoſed to do ſacrifice according to the maner of the country. They took pleaſure alſo to eat ſtrange kinds of meats which were prohibited them by the law; & addicted themſelus to all kinds of pleaſure, according as the women perſwaded them, ſo that the whole army was infected with a diſſolute diſorder (amongſt the yonger ſort) & a worſe mutiny aroſe therby then the precedent, where through it was to be ſuſpected, leaſt the whole courſe of law and gouernment ſhould be permitted. For the youth hauing once had a touch of theſe forrain and laſciuious faſhions, were vnſatiably tranſported with the ſame: and if there were any more excellent then others in nobility, they together (with the reſt of the multitude) were retchleſly corrupted. H

Zambrias and Cosby. Moſes accuſeth the Iſraelites of Idolatry and voluptuouſneſſe.

Zambrias alſo of the tribe of *Simeon* (& one of the Princes among the) marrying *Cosby* the Madianite) daughter vnto *Vri* a gouernour of that countrey) at the commandement of his wife, and in contempt of *Moſes* lawes, for her ſake did ſacrifice after a forrain maner, & contrary to the law diſported with his forrain wife which was a ſtranger. During this eſtate of affaires, *Moſes* being afraid leaſt ſome more grieuous miſchiefe ſhould ſucceed, called the people together, accuſing no man in particular (for that he was vnwilling to draw them into deſperation, who whilſt they thinke they lie hidden may be reduced to a better mind) but he told them that it was a thing vnworthy & ill-beſeeming themſelues or their elders, that they ſhould ſet more by their pleaſures, then by God and their religion. That it behooued them whileſt they had time, to repent themſelues, and that they ſhewed themſelues to be valiant men, not by contempt of lawes, but by appeaſing their diſordinate deſires. Beſides he told them that it was an abſurd thing, that wheras in the deſart they liued modeſtly, they ſhould now in a plentifull countrey grow ſo diſſolute & diſordinate, as to loſe that by affluence which they had got by temperance. In ſuch like ſpeeches he indeuoured to correct the youth, and to reduce them to a better mind: whereupon *Zambrias* riſing vp, ſpake after this manner. I K

Zambrias oration againſt Moſes.

Moſes (ſaith he) vſe thou thine owne lawes (whereunto by long vſe thou haſt added ſtrength and confirmation) which hadſt thou not done, oft times ere this hadſt thou ſuffered puniſhment, and learnt to thine owne miſerie) that the Hebrewes were not to be deluded: for my ſelfe thou ſhalt neuer tie me to thy tyrannicall decrees, for hitherto haſt thou indeuoured nought elſe, but vnder pretext of law and religion to bring vs into ſeruitude and ſubiection; and thy ſelfe by thy ſubtile and miniſter meanes, to honour and ſoueraigntie; taking from vs the pleaſures and libertie of our liues (things that belong to free men, and ſuch as appertaine or liue not vnder any mans gouernment.) For this ſhould be worſe then an Ægyptian thraldome, to puniſh euery man by thy lawes, according to thine owne pleaſure; whereas thou thy ſelfe art more worthy to be puniſhed, in that thou diſannulleſt that thing which is approued by all mens conſent: and deſireſt that thy decrees ſhould be of more force, then all the reſolutions of all other mortall men whatſoeuer. But I (as touching that which I doe) in that I ſuppoſe it to be well done, am not afraid to confeſſe in this aſſembly, namely, that I haue taken a ſtranger to wife: thou heareſt mine actions from mine owne mouth, as from a free and reſolute man, neither doe I deſire that they ſhould be hidden. I likewiſe ſacrifice to the gods contrarie to our cuſtome, becauſe I ſuppoſe it to be both iuſt and neceſſarie, that from many I ſeeke the truth, and not (depending as it were vpon a tyranny, or liuing thereunder) to build my faith vpon one only: for no man ſhall pleaſe me that will haue more intereſt in mine actions then my ſelfe. Whileſt *Zambrias* alledged this both for himſelfe and other of his faction; the people ſilently expected the iſſue of this audacious boldneſſe, eſpecially for that they ſaw their law-maker would not contend any longer, leaſt he ſhould make an inſolent man more outragious; for he feared leaſt diuers ſuch in imitation of him growing impudent in their ſpeeches, ſhould ſtirre vp tumults amongſt the people: ſo that the aſſembly for this time was after this maner diſſolued, and perhaps this miſchiefe had taken further L M

head

A head, except *Zambrias* had beene ſodainly cut off, by ſuch a meanes as enſueth. *Phinees* (both in reſpect of other things, as alſo the dignitie of his father, the chiefeſt among the youths, and the ſonne of *Eleazer* the high Prieſt, whoſe great vncle *Moſes* was) was grieuouſly diſcontented with *Zambrias* contumacie, and leaſt by his impunitie the law might grow into contempt, he reſolued to be reuenged vpon the tranſgreſſors, being well aſſured how much the example of great men preuaileth on both parts: and whereas he was of ſo much ſtrength of mind and of body, as that he would not attempt any thing raſhly which he would not bring to iſſue, hee repaired to *Zambrias* tent, and at one ſtroke ſlue both him and *Chosbi* his wife. By whoſe example the reſt of the youth (beeing exaſperated by this his worthy act) enforced themſelues to doe iuſtice on thoſe that had committed the like offence; ſo that they ſlew a great part of them by the ſword, and the reſt by the peſtilence (which was inflicted by Gods iudgement on them) were vtterly
B rooted out. Neither ſpared he thoſe, who though by reaſon of conſanguinity they ought to haue reſtrained and diſſwaded their kinſmen from lewdnes, yet had rather either diſſemble, or kindle their luſt in them, then counſaile them; neither intermitted he from puniſhing thoſe men till fourteene thouſand of them were done to death by ſicknes. For which cauſe *Moſes* (being incenſed againſt the Madianites) ſent out an army to deſtroy that nation (of which expedition we will preſently diſcourſe, after that we haue annexed that which was omitted in this hiſtorie.) For reaſon would that we ſhould not pretermit to praiſe the deſeigne of our lawmaker in this behalfe. For
C in regard of *Balaam*, (ſought out by the Madianites vnder the intent to curſe the Hebrewes, although he could not doe it, being hindred therefro by the prouidence of God, who notwithſtanding gaue that counſell to the enemie, by meanes whereof within a little ſpace a great multitude of the Hebrews were corrupted in their courſe of life, and diuerſe haue beene grieuouſly plagued with ſicknes) in regard I ſay of this *Balaam*, he hath greatly honoured him in chronicling his predictions in his writings. And although it had been eaſie for him to haue depriued him of the glorie, and to haue appropriated it to himſelfe, by reaſon that there was not any witneſſe that might contradict him; yet neglected he not to giue teſtimonie of him, and to make mention of him in his writings: Yet let euery one thinke of this according as it ſhall ſeeme good vnto him. But *Moſes* (as I began to ſay) ſent an army of twelue thouſand men againſt the Madianites, chuſing out of euery tribe one thouſand ſouldiers, and appointed *Phinees*, captaine ouer theſe forces, by whoſe induſtry (as a little before I haue declared) both the lawes were ſatisfied, and *Zambri* (that brake the ſame) was puniſhed.
D

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.

Phinees thruſteth Zambri and Chesbi thorow at one time.

Otherwiſe 24000.

Moſes ſendeth forces againſt the Madianites.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrewes fight againſt the Madianites, and ouercome them.

BVT the Madianites (hauing intelligence that their enemies drewe neere vnto them, and that they were not farre off from their borders) gathered their forces together, and beſet all thoſe paſſages of their countrey, by which they thought their enemie might breake in, addreſſing themſelues to repulſe them with force and valour: but no ſooner did *Phinees* with
E his forces charge them, and ſet vpon them, but that (vpon the firſt encounter) ſo great a multitude of the Madianites was ſlaine, that the number of the carcaſſes might not bee accounted: neither were their kings in like ſort ſaued frō the ſword. Theſe were *Og*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Vbes*, & the fift *Recemus* (from whom the chiefeſt Citie of the Arabians deriueth his name, and at this day retaineth the ſame, and is called Receme, which the Græcians had rather call Petra.) The Hebrewes hauing thus put their enemies to flight, foraged the whole Region, and carried and droue away with them a great prey; and killing all the inhabitants therof both men & women, they only ſpared the virgins (for this command had *Phinees* receiued from *Moſes* hands) who returning home with his armie in ſafetie, brought with him a memorable and mighty prey; of Oxen, fiftie
F and two thouſand, ſixtie and ſeauen: of Aſſes, ſixtie thouſand: of golden and ſiluer veſſels a great number (which thoſe of that countrey were wont to vſe in their domeſticall affaires.) For by reaſon of their great riches, they liued very delicately: there were alſo led captiue from thence about thirtie thouſand virgins. But *Moſes* (diuiding the prey) gaue the fiftieth part thereof to *Eleazar*, and the Prieſts, and to the Leuites another fiftie: as for the remainder hee diſtributed it amongſt the people. Whence it came to paſſe, that euer afterwards they liued in great ſecurity, hauing gotten riches by their vertue, & peace alſo to enioy the ſame. Now for that *Moſes* was wel

Hedio. cap. 7. Ruffinus. ch. 5

Fiue kings of the Madianits ſlaine

Otherwiſe Areceme or Arcæ.

A great prey gotten from the Madianites.

Num. 27. *Deut.* 3. Moſes appointeth Iohuah for his ſucceſſor.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie, 1471.

ſtricken in yeeres, he appointed *Ieſus* (who if need were might ſucceede him in the offices, both of a Prophet and a Prince and Gouernour; for God had ſo commanded that he ſhould make choice of him) to be his ſucceſſor in the principalitie. For he was moſt expert in all diuine and humane knowledge; being therein inſtructed by his maſter *Moſes*. About that time, the two tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, with the halfe tribe of *Manaſſes* (being abundantly ſtored with cattell, and all other manner of riches) by common conſent beſought *Moſes* that he would giue and aſſigne to them in particular the countrey of the Amorites, which not long ſince they had conquered by the ſword, for that it was full of rich paſtures. But he (ſuſpecting leaſt ſurpriſed with feare, they did detract and withdraw themſelues from the battell of the Chanaanites, and that vnder the pretext of the care of their cattell, they couered their ſloth) highly taunted and controuled them, ſaying that they were fearefull diſſemblers: He accuſed them likewiſe, that their deſire was to poſſeſſe that land, which was conquered by the common valour of the people, to the end they might lead their liues in idleneſſe and pleaſure; and that bearing armes with the reſt of the hoſt, they would not helpe to poſſeſſe the land beyond *Iordane* which God had promiſed them, by ouercomming thoſe nations which he commanded them to account for their enemies. Who perceiuing that he was diſpleaſed (leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to be deſeruedly incenſed againſt them) anſwered, that neither thorow feare they fled danger, neither by reaſon of ſloth ſhunned labour, but onely ſhot at this, that leauing their prey in commodious places, they might be more fit to enter conflict: ſaying, that they were readie (if ſo be they might receiue Cities for the defence and receit of their wiues, children, and ſubſtance) to follow the reſt of the armie whither ſoeuer they were conducted; and to aduenture their liues with them for the common ſucceſſe. Whereupon *Moſes* (allowing their forwardneſſe, and aſſembling *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and *Ieſus*, with the reſt of the Magiſtrates) granted them the land of the Amorites, with this condition, that (together with the people ioyned vnto them in conſanguinitie) they ſhould warfare againſt their common enemie, till all things were accompliſhed according to their deſires: and by this meanes hauing receiued that which they demanded, and building them walled Cities, they left their children, wiues, and ſubſtance in the ſame. *Moſes* alſo builded ten Cities in that Region (which are to be reckoned in the number of thoſe fortie and eight) in three whereof he appointed Sanctuaries and places of refuge, which they onely might take benefit of, who fled thither for chance-meddly; and he appointed them their terme of exile till ſuch time as the high Prieſt died, vnder whom the man-ſlaughter was committed: at ſuch time they might ſafely returne into their Countrey. And during the time of their exile, it was lawfull for any of the kinne to take reuenge againſt the offender by his death, onely at ſuch time as he found him without the Citie of refuge: and that right he onely ratified to thoſe that were akinne, but not vnto others. Now the Cities of refuge were theſe: in the confines of Arabia, Boſora: in the Region of Galadena, Arimanum: in the countrey of Bataneades, Gauladeaman: And after the conqueſt of Chanaan ſo many Cities of the Leuites (by the commandement of *Moſes*) were appointed to that end that they might giue refuge and habitation to ſuch ſort of offenders. At that time when one of the Magiſtrates called *Salpades*, of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, was dead (and had onely left behind him children of the worſer ſexe) the gouernours of the tribe came vnto *Moſes*, and asked his counſell, whether in the diſtribution of the lands, they ſhould leuie out any part or portion for them: who anſwered them, that if they married within their tribe, they ſhould haue their dowrie; but if they made choice to handfaſt themſelues in another tribe, that then they ſhould leeſe their patrimonie in their owne: and for this cauſe made he this ordinance, to the end that euery tribe ſhould continually poſſeſſe his proper inheritance. But whereas now there remained but thirtie daies onely, to fulfill the number of thoſe fortie yeeres ſince their departure out of Ægypt, he (ſummoning an aſſembly in that place neere to Iordan, where now the Citie of Abila is ſituate, enuironed with a field beſet with Palme trees) as ſoone as he ſaw the people addreſſed to heare him, ſpake vnto them after this manner.

Numb. 32. The tribes of Ruben, Gad, and the halfe of Manaſſes, require the land of the Amorites.

Numb. 35. Deut. 4. 43. Ioſuah 20.

The Cities of refuge.

Numb. 27. 36. The daughters of Salpades haue their inheritance in their fathers place.

The hiſtory of Deuteronomie.

Ruffinus. ch. 5 Hedio. cap. 8. *Deut. 4.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

MOSES *Lawes, and how he was taken out of this world from the companie of men.*

The yeere of the world, 2492. before Christs Nativity. 1471.

MY deare friends and fellow ſoldiers, companions in my long trauell, ſince it is ſo thought requiſite by God, and mine age (attaining to the full number of one hundreth and twentie yeares) requireth no leſſe, but that I muſt depart out of this life; and ſince it ſeemeth not good in Gods ſight, that either I ſhould bee agent, or aſſiſtant in your affaires beyond Iordan: I haue thought it requiſite that (in as much as appertaineth to your felicitie) I ſhould not now alſo faile or default in my duty towards you; but that according to the grace that is giuē me, I ſhould prouide that by laying open the way vnto you that leadeth to the ſame, I may
B ſeeme worthy amongſt you to merit eternall glory & memorie. Giue therfore eare vnto me, that when as I haue firſt declared vnto you, wherein both your felicitie, and the happines of your poſterity conſiſteth, and haue left this perpetual teſtimony and monument of my entire loue towards you, I may willingly depart out of this life: for well I know that I deſerue to be credited by you, both for that before times I haue inceſſantly (in ſtudying for your profites) neuer deceiued you, as alſo for that the ſoule (being ready to bee ſeparated from the body) becommeth more accompliſhed in all vertue and veritie. Ye ſonnes of Iſrael, there is but one onely cauſe whereby men attaine vnto felicitie, to wit, the fauour of God, which he is onely able to giue to thoſe that deſerue it, and to withdraw it from thoſe that offend him: towards whom if you continue dutifull (according as he requireth, and in ſuch manner as I according to his direction, doe inſtitute you)
C you ſhall neuer faile to multiply in vertue, and to draw all men into emulation of your happines: and that which is more, thoſe goods which you haue now obtained ſhall be perpetuall, and that which you want ſhall ſhortly be plentifully beſtowed on you. Onely indeuour you your ſelues to be ſubiect to Gods will, and obedient to his commandements: and neither purpoſe vnto your ſelues any other lawes then thoſe I haue giuen you, neither thorow contempt innouate any thing in your religion. Which if you ſhall performe, you ſhall excell all other Nations in warre, and grow inuincible againſt your enemies: for by Gods aſſiſtance all threats are eaſily contemned.
Moreouer, there are great rewards (in all the courſe of life) propoſed vnto vertue, and ſhe her ſelfe to her ſelfe is a chiefe and eſpeciall reward: beſides, by her all other bleſſings are eaſily obtayned,
which if you intertaine among your ſelues, you ſhall both leade a bleſſed life, and obtaine immor-
D tall glory, not onely amongſt ſtrangers, but alſo in all poſterities. Theſe things are you to hope vpon, if neither you your ſelues violate thoſe lawes (which by Gods command, and mine induſtry) are ſet downe vnto you, neither ſuffer any other to violate the ſame, but in your ſelues continually meditate vpon the vnderſtanding and vſe thereof. As for my ſelfe, I depart this life in fulnes of ioy, reioycing at theſe your good fortunes, & commending you all to the lawes of pietie and prudence, and the vertue of your guides and magiſtrates, who hereafter are to take care of your ſafetie and felicitie. God likewiſe, vnder whoſe conduct you haue liued (and to whoſe fauour you owe whatſoeuer you haue receiued by mee) will not faile to to take care of you, but as long as you ſhall honour both him and pietie, ſo long ſhall you remaine in ſecuritie vnder his protection: neither ſhall you want ſuch men, who ſhall giue you ghoſtly inſtructions, whoſe counſels if
E you obey, you ſhall be fortunate (namely *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and Ieſus, with the Senat and Magiſtrates of the tribes) towards whom beware leaſt you grow ſtifnecked, knowing and remembring this, that he that is inſtructed to obey well (when hee ſhall attaine vnto dignitie) will gouerne well. Neither ſuppoſe you that libertie conſiſteth herein, if you mutinie againſt the commandements of your Princes: for hitherto haue you repoſed your libertie in your contumacie towards your benefactors; from which ſinne if hereafter you ſhall bleſſe your ſelues, you ſhall ſee your eſtate waxe ſtill more flouriſhing, and fortunate: And God forbid that you ſhould euer be ſo exaſperated againſt theſe, as you haue beene ſometimes incenſed againſt mee. For if you remember your ſelues, I haue beene more oftentimes in hazzard of my life by your meanes,
then by the enemie: Which I ſpeake not therefore vnto you to vpbraid you therewith,
F for I would not leaue you afflicted with the remembrance hereof, at the houre of my death, (who euen at that time entertained the iniurie with a quiet minde) but to the ende that beeing by mee admoniſhed, you ſhould henceforward bee wiſer in thoſe things which hereafter ſhall concerne you; and leaſt you ſhould grow contumelious againſt your gouernours, beeing made proude with affluence of your riches, which you ſhall enioy at ſuch time as you haue ouerpaſſed Iordan, and conquered Chanaan. Otherwiſe if made more inſolent

Moſes oration vnto the people before his death.

Moſes exhorteth the people to be obedient to Gods will.

The promiſe of Gods aſſiſtance.

Obedience to the Magiſtrates.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie. 1471.

by these blessings you fall into contumacie, and contempt of vertue, Gods fauour will neuer G
bee extended towards you; whom if by your sinnes you shall incense against your selues,
you shall both lose the land which you haue conquered by your courage by beeing shamefully
oppressed by your enemies, and beeing dispersed ouer the face of the whole earth, you
shall fill both the land and sea with your seruitude; which if it should come to passe, then were
» it too late to repent you, that you haue not obserued the lawes of your nation. Wherefore
» (to the intent to auoid this danger, and for feare you violate the same) suffer not any of your e-
» nemies, after your victorie is once gotten, to liue; and thinke it more conducible for your affaires,
» for feare least liuing with them, and intangled in the like studies and delights, you corrupt and
The Israelites are commanded to kill their enemies, and destroy their Idols.
depraue your Countrey lawes & institutions. Moreouer, I command you to destroy their woods,
their altars, and temples, as many soeuer as you shall meete with, and so to raze them both with H
fire and flame, as there may not remaine any token or memorie of them any more: For so shall
you more safely maintaine your estates. But least through ignorance of better things your na-
» ture be depraued by the worser, by Gods commandement I haue written you lawes, and a forme
» of administration, both of the common-weale, and your priuate estates; from which if you shall
» no waies diuert, or wander, you shall prooue the most fortunate people of the earth. When he
» had spoken these things, hee deliuered them a booke, containing in writing their lawes, and cu-
Moses deliuereth the Israelites a book wherein their lawes and maner of life was written.
stomes of good life: which when they had heard and receiued, they melted in teares, and now
lamented they both for the losse of their Captaine, as also for that they remembred them how
many perils hee had suffered, and how diligently he had procured their safetie and securitie: and
they grew carefull of the time to come, for that they were not like to recouer so good a Prince: I
and they suspected likewise that God would not hereafter bee so fauourable vnto them, in that
they had not a *Moses* to pray for them. Besides, they repented them of those things which
(through furie) they committed against him in the desart, and were grieuously sorie: so that all
the people (breaking out into teares) would admit no consolation. But *Moses* recomforted them,
and prayed them to giue ouer weeping, & incouraged them to receiue their lawes: and so for this
time dissolued the assembly. But now before I addresse my self to manifest the rest, I haue thought
Lawes made by Moses. Ruffinus. ca. 7.
it meete to insert in this place the lawe of this law-giuer, worthy both his maiestie and vertue:
whereby the Reader may know what our lawes haue beene, euen from the first time, and in-
The excuse of the writer of the Historie why he innouated the order of the lawes.
stitution of our common-weale. For all those things are extant which this man wrote, so that
we neede not faine or affixe any thing in way of ornament: we haue onely renewed the order, K
and those lawes which he scatteringly set downe according as he receiued them from God, we
haue generally digested into their places: whereof I thought good to admonish the Reader,
for feare least hereafter any of our Tribes comming to the view hereof, should rashly accuse me,
for that I had not scarce faithfully deliuered the writings and institutions of *Moses*. Now will I
reckon vp those lawes in especiall, which appertaine to the publike institution and rites of our
Nation: but those things that concerne priuate customes and contracts, either betwixt our selues
or forraine nations, I haue deferred to be discoursed of in that commentarie, wherein (by Gods
assistance) I intend to debate of our manners, and method in sacred causes.

Item the Israelites shall liue in the land of Canaan.
After that you haue gotten the land of Chanaan, built your Cities, and haue begun in secu-
ritie to reape the fruit thereof; in obseruation of these commandements, you shall gratifie God L
highly, and establish you atchieued felicitie. Let there be one sacred citie in the region of Cha-
naan, situate in a famous and fertile place, which God shall make choise of for himselfe, and his
A sacred city and Temple in Canaan.
Prophets: In the same let there be one onely Temple built, and one Altar erected of rough and
vnpolished stones, and such as are gathered here and there, which shall be conueniently placed
and finished with decencie, as touching the outward ornament: and let not the ascent of the
Blasphemie against God.
same be made by degrees, but let the earth be easily and fitly raised. But in any other Citie let
there be neither Altar, nor Temple: for God is one, and the Hebrew nation is one. Whosoeuer
shall blaspheme God, let him be stoned to death, and hanged for a day, and be afterwards igno-
miniously and obscurely buried. M

Leuit. 4. Deut. 16. Thrice in the yeare the Hebrewes ought to meete.
Let all the Hebrewes from their seuerall prouinces, assemble themselues thrice in the yeere
in the sacred Citie and Temple; that they may giue thankes vnto God for the benefits they
haue receiued, and that they may by their prayers demerit his graces in future time; and that
by their conuersation and mutuall intertainments, they may increase their beneuolence and
loue the one towards the other. For it is behouefull that they should know one another, who
are of the same stocke, and are delighted in the same studies. And this very fitly falleth out by
their meetings after this kind of maner, whilest both the countenance and discourse as yet taketh

deepe

A deepe roote in mens minds; as contrariwiſe, they that neuer meet, it behoueth them that be ſtrangers the one vnto the other. *The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.*

Beſides, let the tenth part of the fruits (beſides them that are due to the Prieſts and Leuites) which you are accuſtomed to ſell in your markets (being reduced into readie money) be ſpent on ſacrifices and banquets in the ſacred Citie. For it is requiſite to celebrate feaſts in Gods honour, of the fruits of the earth, which we haue receiued from his hands. Tenths. *Deut.* 28.

Let no ſacrifice be made of the hire of an harlot: for neither doth any thing delight God which is annexed with iniurie; neither is there greater vncleanneſſe, then the ſhamefull and vnlawfull mixture of our bodies. The hire of a harlot.

Likewiſe, if any man take reward for couering a bitch (whether ſhe be for the chaſe, or for the flocke) it is not lawfull to make ſacrifice vnto God thereof. Let no man ſpeake ill of thoſe
B gods which other Countries and Cities ſuppoſe to be gods. Let no man ſpoile any ſtrange Temple, nor take that which is dedicated to any god. Let no man weare a garment wouen of linnen and woollen, for it belongeth onely to the Prieſts. Other gods. *Deut.* 12. Linnen and woollen.

Euery ſeuenth yeere, when the people ſhall be aſſembled together in the ſacred Citie to ſacrifice vpon the feaſt of Tabernacles, at ſuch time as the feaſt approcheth, the high Prieſt from a high Pulpit (from whence he may be heard by the whole multitude) ſhall reade the law vnto all of them: ſo that neither women nor children ſhall be exempted from the hearing of the ſame, no not the very ſlaues and bondmen. For it is requiſite that they retaine the perpetuall memorie thereof, alwaies imprinted in their minds: for ſo ſhall they ſinne the leſſe, in that they vnderſtand what is decreed in the law. The lawes likewiſe ſhall be of more force in the conſciences of thoſe
C that ſhall offend, whileſt they infixe in the midſt of thoſe that heare them, their doctrines intermingled with menaces: ſo that the will to performe the law ſhal neuer be inwardly extinguiſhed: and beſides that the remembrance will liue in them, how many plagues they incur by contempt thereof. Let children in eſpeciall learne the lawes, then which diſcipline there is not any more honeſt; neither more conducible vnto felicitie. Twice in the day, in the morning and in the euening about bed time, let God be honoured for his benefit of our deliuerance out of Ægypt. For it is a thing in nature reaſonable, to giue thankes vnto God, as well in acknowledgement of the goods which we haue before time receiued, as in expectation of his future mercies. The chiefe of theſe alſo are to be written ouer our doores, and worne on our armes: and thoſe things which declare his power and beneficence, are to be borne about, written on the head and armes,
D that euery way Gods bountie may be ſeene towards his people. In euery Citie or townſhip let there be ſeuen gouernours, ſuch as are approoued in vertue, and famous for their iuſtice: let each one of theſe Magiſtrates haue two Miniſters of the tribe of *Leui*. Let thoſe that are appointed Iudges in the Cities be held in high reputation: ſo that in their preſence no man preſume either to vrge contumelies, or iniurious ſpeeches: for ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that men accuſtomed to doe reuerence, ſhall alſo exerciſe themſelues in pietie, and grow ſo much the further from contempt of God and his power. Whatſoeuer ſeemeth good to the Iudges to decree, let that be held inuiolable; except it be apparant that they be corrupted with money, or that they may be manifeſtly conuicted of a wrongfull iudgement. They ought likewiſe to iudge without reſpect of lucre or dignitie, and preferre iuſtice before all other things: for this iniurie ſorteth out to
E Gods contumely, as if it were to be ſuppoſed, that he is to be ſuſpected to be weaker then they, for whoſe ſake they wreſt the law contrarie to equitie: for Gods power is iuſtice; he therefore that giueth iudgement in fauour and partialitie of great men, maketh them greater then God himſelfe. And if the Iudges cannot determine of the matter in queſtion (as it oftentimes falleth out) let them referre the cauſe to the ſacred Citie, and then ſhall the high Prieſt and the Prophet, with the aſſiſtance of the Senate, determine that which ſhall be conuenient. Children ſhal learne the law *Deut.* 6. The ſignes of the law. The ſeuen preſidents. Honour to the Magiſtrate. The office of Iudges. Iuſtice is Gods power.

The teſtimonie of one witneſſe ſhall not be receiued, but of three, or at leaſtwiſe of two whoſe teſtimonie ſhall be made good by the examination of their behauiour and life. As for women, it is not lawfull for them to beare any witneſſe; by reaſon of the leuitie and temeritie of that ſexe. *Deut.* 19.

Neither is it lawfull for a man ſeruant to bring in teſtimonie, by reaſon of his degenerate and ig-
F noble minde: for it is to be ſuſpected, that either for lucre ſake, or for feare, he will depoſe an vntrue teſtimonie. And if any falſe witneſſe ſhall fortune to be beleeued, and he afterwards bee conuicted of periurie, let him be ſubiect to that penaltie, which hee ſhould haue endured that ſhould haue beene caſt by his falſe accuſation. If man-ſlaughter be committed in any place, and the offender may not be found out, neither there appeare any likelihood, that the man is ſlaine of malice, let there be a diligent and carefull inquiſition made (with rewards prefixed to the diſcouerer) The puniſhment of a falſe witneſſe. *Deut.* 21. Of homicide committed.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie. 1471.

uerer) but if no probabilities or coniectures may be gathered, then let the Magiſtrates of the next Cities (that adioyne the place where the ſlaughter is committed) and the ancients of the ſame, aſſemble together, and meaſure from the place where the dead bodie lyeth: and let the townſhip that is found to be neereſt, and the inhabitants thereof, buy a Heyfer; which they ſhall bring into a place vnlaboured and vnplanted, where they ſhall (after they haue cut the nerues of the necke) kill it, and the Prieſts, the Leuites and ancients of the Citie ſhall waſh their hands in the blood: then ſhall they lift vp their hands ouer the head of the ſaid Heifer, and cry out with a loude voice, that they haue their hands cleane from that homicide, the which they haue not done, neither were they preſent at ſuch time as it was perpetrated; and they ſhall call vpon the mercie of God, beſeeching him not to permit that any ſuch grieuous accident euer fall out in their countrey. G H

Ariſtocracie the beſt kinde of gouernment. Deut. 17.

The gouernment of the Peeres is the beſt kinde of regiment of all other ſorts of gouernment: take you therefore heede that you deſire no other forme of policie, but retaine and continue the ſame, hauing no other ſuperiours but the lawes; and managing your affaires by your ſelues. For it ſufficeth you that God is your Prince.

Of the election of a king.

Yet notwithſtanding, if you ſhall grow in deſire to haue a King, ſee that yee elect one of your owne nation, that he in all things be ſtudious to procure iuſtice, and all other vertues, perſwading himſelfe that God and the lawes are moſt vpright: Let him not vndertake any thing without the aduice of the high Prieſt, and the counſell of the Elders. Let him not haue diuers wiues, neither let him hunt after huge treaſures, nor multitudes of horſe: for feare leaſt poſſeſſing them, he become ſo inſolent, as that he raiſe his power and will aboue the lawes: and if you ſee him affectioned vnto theſe things, beware leaſt he grow more puiſſant then is expedient for you. I

Deut. 19. The bounds of lands are not to be remooued.

It is not lawfull for any man to remooue the land markes, neither of his owne land, or any other mans whatſoeuer; for by this meanes is the peace conſerued: Let each one therefore forbeare to remooue them, becauſe they are as the voice of God, aſſured for euer. For warres and ſouldiers are raiſed thereby, when ſuch as would augment their inheritance, ſtriue alwaies to enlarge the bounds of their dominion: And they that are ſo hardie to remooue the ſame, are not farre from contempt of the lawes.

Leuit. 25. The plants that are not of foure yeers growth are prohibited.

He that ſhall plant a peece of ground, and the trees begin to fructifie before the fourth yeere, the firſt fruits thereof ſhall not be offered vnto God, neither ſhall any man eate thereof, by reaſon that the time is inconuenient, and permitteth not that the trees ſhould fructifie as yet; and nature her ſelfe is as it were inforced before her time, wherby the fruit is neither conuenable for God, nor conuenient for the vſe of man. But all that fruit that ſhall grow in the fourth yeere (for then is the time that the trees ſhould beare) ſhall be gathered and brought into the holy Citie (together with the tenth of all other fruits) and they ſhall be eaten during the feaſt which the Lord thereof maketh to his friends, and with Orphanes and Widdowes: But in the fift yeere it ſhall be lawfull for him to gather the fruit for himſelfe. K

Vines to be planted. The law of the plough.

Sow not a field that is planted with vines, for it ſufficeth that it nouriſheth one ſort of plants: ſo that it needeth not to be laboured and manured with the plough. The land is to be plowed with Oxen: neither are any other ſorts of beaſts to be yoaked with them, but the tillage muſt alwaies be performed by beaſts of the ſame kinde. L

The ſeeds alſo ought to be cleane and without any mixture; ſo that two or three ſorts ought not to be ſowed together: for nature alloweth not a commixtion of things that are different.

It is not lawfull alſo to couer the female with a male of another kinde: for it is to be feared that this filthineſſe ſhould draw men to forget themſelues; and grow in contempt of that ſexe which is appropriate vnto them: for it often falleth out, that from ſmall beginning, things waxe worſer and worſer. For nothing ought to be admitted, by the imitation whereof, there might chance to grow any maime in policie: for which cauſe the lawes diſſemble not (no not the lighteſt) things, to the end they may no way ſeeme to be deficient in their nature.

Some gleanings are to be left for the poore in the field.

They that mow and reape corne, ought not to gleane, but to leaue ſome eares for thoſe that are in neceſſitie, to the end to ſuccour them. They likewiſe that plant vines, ought to leaue ſome cluſters for the poore, and ſome fruit on the Oliue trees, to the intent that they that haue none of theſe, may gather ſome little thing for their reliefe: for the owners of the field ſhall not reape ſo much profit by the ſparing inning of their corne, as may be compared with the good and profit which the poore ſhall reape by their gleaning: for God will bring to paſſe that their land (who regard not their particular profit, but ſhall haue care of the nouriſhment of thoſe that are in neceſſitie) ſhall be farre more fat and fertile to bring forth and nouriſh her fruit. M

Neither

A Neither is the mouth of the Oxe to be mouzled, at ſuch time as hee treadeth the corne in the mow: for it ſtandeth not with reaſon, that they who haue beene partakers of the labour, and haue trauailed for the increaſe of the fruites, ſhould bee bridled from the vſe and benefite thereof. *The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1571.*

Neither ought the trauailer alſo in his iourney to be denied to gather and taſte the fruites of Autumne; but he is to be permitted to take his fill, as if they were his owne, whether he be of the countrey or a ſtranger, who ſhall depart ioyfully, in that they haue beene made partakers of ſuch fruit: but it is not lawfull for them to carry any away with them. Oxen treading or grinding.

They likewiſe that gather Grapes, ought not to forbid any man to taſte of them as they beare them to the preſſe: for it is an vniuſt thing, that the goods which are giuen by the will of God for the ſuſtenance of man, ſhould bee denied them that deſire to taſte the fruit which God giueth in Trauellers are not to be driuen away from ripe fruits.

B due ſeaſon, and muſt ſodainly paſſe away.

They likewiſe are to be inuited, that through ſhame make nice to touch the ſame, yea and to be intreated to take part (if they be Iſraelites) for ſuch are companions and maiſters, in that they are of the ſame race; and if they trauell into any place, they ought to be intreated to take part of thoſe benefites which God preſented vnto them according to the ſeaſon. For it is not to be ſuppoſed, that that is ill imployed, which in way of curteſie a man permitteth another man to take, ſince it is God that furniſheth and giueth the abundance and foiſon of all things; not to the end to inioy them in priuate, but alſo to beſtow them willingly; and he it is that by this meanes would declare vnto other people, the good will hee beareth to the people of Iſrael, and the felicitie whereof he maketh them partakers, by reaſon that in that abundance which they haue, his will is Thirtie nine ſtripes.

C that other men ſhould haue part thereof. But whoſoeuer ſhall do the contrarie, let him be chaſtiſed for this his diſhoneſtie, and in publike receiue thirtie nine ſtripes (if he be a free man) for that making himſelfe vnto his gaine, he hath diſhonoured his excellent qualitie.

It ſhall very well become you (ſaid *Moſes*) ſince you haue taſted miſeries both in Ægypt, and the deſart; that you haue care of thoſe who are in like eſtate; and for that you are made rich by Gods mercie and prouidence, it behoueth and becommeth you to impart ſomewhat to the indigent, who at the preſent are in that eſtate in which you were.

Beſides the two tenths which I commanded you yearely to pay (the one to the Leuites, and the other for your feſtiuals) you ſhall for euery yeare annexe a third, to be diſtributed among the poore, to women, widowes, and orphanes. The tenth for the poore.

D Incontinently after a man hath gathered his firſt fruits, he ſhall bring them to the Temple (and after he hath giuen thanks vnto God (for that the land which hee hath giuen him in poſſeſſion hath brought foorth fruit) and as ſoone as hee hath accompliſhed that ſacrifice (which the law commandeth him to make) he ſhall giue the firſt portion to the Prieſts. And after he hath done all that which concerneth him to doe (as well the tenths of the Leuites, as alſo thoſe other things which were ordained for the feaſts, and firſt fruits) being readie to returne vnto his home, let him ſtand vpright neere vnto the Temple, and aboue all things giue thankes vnto God, that hauing deliuered them from the grieuous ſeruitude of Ægypt, he hath giuen them a plentifull and ample land to enioy: and making proteſtation that he hath paid the tenths according to *Moſes* law, let him beſeech God, that he will bee fauourable both to himſelfe in priuate, and the Hebrewes in The firſtfruits *Deut. 26.*

E publique; and that he will continue thoſe goods vnto him which hitherto he hath beſtowed vpon him, and of his great goodneſſe and mercie vouchſafe to encreaſe them.

Let thoſe that are of full yeares to be married, match themſelues with vertuous virgins; and ſuch as are borne of honeſt parents. And he that will not take a virgin to wife, let him not abuſe himſelfe with one that is married to another man, leaſt he breed diſcontent and ſorrow in her firſt husband. Let not free men match themſelues with ſuch as are ſeruants, no not although they be thereunto moued by loue. For it is a thing worthy and befitting honour, to ſurmount a mans affections. Let no man meddle with an Harlot (whoſe ſacrifice God refuſeth, by reaſon of the filthineſſe of her bodie.) For the children ſhall bee of a free heart, and addreſſed in vertue, not if they be ingendred in villanous and vnlawfull concupiſcence; but if they be begotten and borne Of Marriage. Free-men ought not to marry ſeruāts. The marriage of an harlot.

F by a free father and mother. If any one that is married for a virgin, be afterwards found to the contrarie, let her bee brought before the Iudge, and let him produce all the ſignes that hee can, and let the new married wiues cauſe be defended by her father, or brother, or by them who next vnto them ſhall ſeeme to be her next in blood; and if the Damoſell be found to haue committed no crime, let her returne and dwell with him that hath accuſed her, who cannot anie more refuſe her, except ſhe giue him great occaſions, whereunto ſhee cannot contradict. But hee that The penaltie of a woman married for a virgin, & not found ſo. *Deut. 24.*

without

The yeare the world, 2493. before Christs birth, 1471.

without cauſe, and raſhly ſhall accuſe and ſlander his wife, he ſhall be puniſhed with thirtie nine ſtripes; and in way of amends ſhall pay fiftie ſicles to her father. But if it be prooued that ſhe hath beene defloured, and hath beene common, then ſhall ſhe be ſtoned to death, for that ſhe hath not chaſtly conſerued her virginitie, till the time of her lawfull marriage; and if ſhe be of the race of the Prieſts, ſhe ſhall be burned aliue. G

Deut. 21. The firſt begotten ſhould hold his right.

If any man haue two wiues, the one of which he holdeth in great honour and amitie, either for loue, or by reaſon of her beautie; and that the other be not in the like condition and eſtimate; if the ſonne of her that is borne beloued, demandeth to haue the prerogatiue of the elder, which is two portions of that which commeth to all the reſt by his fathers patrimonie (for ſo much import our ordinances) and challengeth the ſame by reaſon that his father more deerely loueth his mother then the other, let it not be granted him. For it is an act againſt iuſtice, that the eldeſt ſhould be depriued of that which appertaineth vnto him, becauſe his mothers condition is inferiour to that of the others, by reaſon of his fathers affection. H

The puniſhment of adulterie, or rather rauiſhing. Deut. 22.

Whoſoeuer ſhall violate a maiden, being betrothed to another man (if by perſwaſion ſhee hath conſented to lie with him) let her die with him. For they are both of them equally guiltie of ſinne: the man, becauſe he hath perſwaded the maiden to ſuffer an inſufferable diſhonour, and to preferre her luſt before an honeſt marriage: and the maide, for ſuffering her ſelfe to be ouercome, and abandoning her bodie to villanie, either for luſt or lucres ſake: But if meeting her alone he inforce her, and ſhe haue none to ſuccour her hard by; let him die alone.

The defloüring of a virgin.

He that ſhall defloure the virgin that is vnmarried, he ſhall take her to wife: but if he condeſcend not to the father to entertaine her in wedlocke, he ſhall pay fiftie ſicles for amends of the iniurie. I

If any man pretend to ſeparate himſelfe from his wife for certaine cauſes, ſuch as ordinarily happen amongſt married couples: let him confirme it in writing, that hee will neuer more entertaine her againe, and ſo may ſhee marrie againe vnto another, and refuſe the former husband: And if it happened that ſhee were euill intreated by the ſecond, or that he beeing dead, the firſt would take her againe in marriage, it is not lawfull for the wife to returne vnto him.

Leuit. 25. The wife of the dead brother married.

If the brother of him that is deceaſed without iſſue, take to wife her whom his deceaſed brother had maried; and that the ſonne which was borne by this ſecond wedlock, beareth his name: let him be brought vp as the ſucceſſor of his inheritance (which thing is granted for publike profite ſake, to the end that families ſhould not come to ruine, and that the goods ſhould remaine to thoſe of the ſame kinred.) Furthermore it is allowed for the comfort of afflicted women, that they may be ioyned in marriage with the next akinne of their firſt husbands: but if the brother will not take her to wife, ſhee ſhall repaire vnto the Senate and make this proteſtation, that the brother of her deceaſed husband will not intertaine her (although ſhe had deſired to remaine in that line, and bring forth infants vnto him) proteſting that by him onely the memorie of her deceaſed husband was diſhonoured. And when the Senate ſhall haue examined the cauſe why he eſtrangeth himſelfe from this marriage, his excuſe ſhall be allowed of how great or ſleight conſequence ſoeuer it be; and then ſhall the widdow vnlooſe his ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, and tell him that he hath deſeruedly ſuffered theſe things, in that he hath iniuried the memorie of his dead brother: and thus ſhall he depart out of the court, being defamed for his whole life time, and the woman may marrie whomſoeuer ſhe liſt. K L

Marriage with a bondwoman. Deut. 21.

If any man take a virgin priſoner, or ſuch a one as hath beene alreadie married, and be deſirous to take her to his wife, it is not lawfull for him to touch or approch her before ſuch time as ſhee hath beene ſhauen, and (hauing put on her mourning apparell) hath bewailed her parents, or friends ſlaine in batrell: but after ſhe hath in this ſort aſſwaged her ſorrow, ſhe may afterwards addict her ſelfe to mirth and marriage. For it is a matter both honeſt and iuſt, that he that entertaineth her to haue iſſue by her, ſhould condeſcend vnto her will in all that wherin he might gratifie her, and that he ſhould not onely addict himſelfe to the purſuit of his pleaſure: when as then the thirtie daies of mourning ſhall be expired (for that time is ſufficient for the wife to bewaile her friends in) then may ſhe hearken after marriage: and if after he hath had his pleaſure with her, it fortune that he miſlike her, and will not accept her for his wife, he can no more make her his ſlaue, but ſhe may goe whether ſo euer ſhe pleaſeth, for that ſhe beareth with her, her libertie.

The lamentation & mourning of thirtie daies. M

Deut. 21. Diſobedience ἀσωτίαι.

All thoſe yong men that ſhall make no reckoning of their fathers and mothers, and that ſhall not doe them that honour which belongeth vnto them (whether the ſame proceed of ſhame, or ſpring from folly, by which meanes they grow to neglect their dutie) theſe firſt of all ſhall bee admoni-

A admoniſhed by diſcreete counſell of their parents (who are by nature appointed ſufficient iudges in that behalfe) who ſhall ſignifie vnto them, that they were matched together in matrimonie, not for their pleaſures ſake, neither that by vniting their poſſeſſions, they might become the more richer; but to the end they might beget children, who might nouriſh them in their age, and miniſter vnto them in their neceſſities. That they had receiued them at Gods handes with great thankſgiuing and infinite ioy, and brought them vp with great care and diligence, ſparing nothing that might appertaine to their ſuſtenance or inſtruction. Now therfore ſhall they ſay, ſurely the follies of youth are to be pardoned, let this ſuffice you that hitherto you haue forgotten your dutie: for which cauſe, remember your ſelfe, and grow wiſe: thinking with your ſelfe that God is grieuouſly offended againſt thoſe who diſobey or diſdaine their parents by reaſon that he him-
B ſelfe is the father of all mankinde, who ſeemeth to be preiudiced in himſelfe, in that diſhonour which is done vnto thoſe that beare his name, at ſuch time as they receiue not ſuch dutie from their childrens hands, as hee commandeth. The law likewiſe inflicted an ineuitable puniſhment againſt ſuch: which thou oughteſt, with all prouidence to preuent & not incurre. If by theſe medicines the vnbrideled irregard of youth may bee healed, let no man either impute or reproach him in his ſubmiſſion: for in ſo doing, the law-maker ſhall bee accounted mercifull, and the parents ſhall bee held to be happie, when as they ſee that their ſonne or daughter is exempt from puniſhment. But if ſuch ſpeeches and inſtructions of the father are ſet light by the ſonne, let the lawes be irreconciliable enemies againſt ſuch continuall outrages committed by the children againſt their parents, and let them drag them out of the Citie, in the ſight and preſence of all the
C people, and there let him be ſtoned to death: and after the offender hath lien there a whole day in the ſight of the people, let him be interred and buried by night. In like manner ought they to be buried, who for any occaſion whatſoeuer are condemned and executed by iuſtice.

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Let the enemie alſo be interred after the ſame manner, and let no dead man lie vnburied after ſuch time as he hath beene iudged, and hath ſatisfied the lawes.

Enemie to be buried. *Deut. 23.*

It is not lawfull for any Hebrew to lend vpon vſurie, whether it be meate or drinke: for it is an vniuſt thing to make profit of the fortunes of the tribes: but it is better to ſuccour their neceſſities; and impute their thankſgiuing, and Gods retribution, to bee a gaine vnto them, which are wont to follow ſuch kind of benefits. But they that haue borrowed either money, or any fruit, either dry or moiſt; when as by the fauour and aſſiſtance of God, they ſhall reape their owne
D harueſt, and gather their fruite, let them make a willing reſtitution to thoſe that haue lent them; as if they had laid them vp for thẽſelues, to poſſeſſe them at ſuch time as they had need of them. But if there be any ſo impudent as they will not make ſatisfaction, let no man enter into their houſes to take a pawne, before the Iudges haue giuen order that the pledge ſhould be demanded before their doore, and the debter without contradiction ſhall bring it vnto him, beeing aſſiſted by the maieſtie of the law. If he of whom the pledge is taken haue ſufficient abilitie, the creditor may retaine the gage, till ſuch time as he be paid: but if he be poore, hee ſhall reſtore him his pawne before the ſunne ſet; and eſpecially if it bee any garment whereon hee is accuſtomed to ſleep: for God doth naturally beſtow his mercy on thoſe that are poore. It is not lawfull to receiue in way of gage either a mill, or ought elſe that belongeth thereunto, leaſt any debter ſhould
E be depriued of the neceſſary inſtruments to prouide his victuals with, and he ſhould endure any euill through pouertie. Let him that committeth any theft be puniſhed with death, but hee that hath ſtolne either gold or ſiluer, let him reſtore it two-fold. If any man kill ſuch as breake into their houſes to rob them, or they that breake their walles, let not ſuch a one be puniſhed. Who ſo ſhall ſteale a beaſt ſhall reſtore foure for it, except it bee an Oxe, for which one ſhall ſatisfie fiue-fold: and if the thiefe want meanes to pay this penaltie, let him be their ſlaue againſt whom they haue treſpaſſed, and at whoſe ſuit they are condemned. If any one be ſold vnto one of his owne tribe, let him ſerue him ſeauen yeares; and at the ſeauen yeares end, he ſhall depart with libertie: but if during the time that he remaineth with the buyer, he beget any child vpon a female fellow ſlaue, and that he be willing to ſerue by reaſon of the good affection and great amity that hee
F beareth vnto the houſe, in the yeare of Iubile (which hapneth euery fiftieth yeare) let him be ſet at liberty, leading away with him his children, & wife with their freedom. If any man find money or gold by the way, let him ſeeke out him that hath loſt it, and make knowne the place where he found it, to the intent he may reſtore it, knowing that the profit is not good, which commeth and accrueth by another mans iniury. The like is to be done with beaſts, for if any man finde them ſtraied in the deſart, if he find not out the owner, let him preſently keepe it by him, taking God to witneſſe that he will not detaine with him another mans goods. If any man finde another

That which is borowed muſt be paid. *Deut. 24.*

A pledge.

Theft.

An Hebrew ſlaue is to be ſet at libertie after ſeauen yeares.

Goods that are found.

mans

The yeare of the world, 2492 before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1471.

mans beasts bemired or bebogd, let him not passe further, but succour them: or if he finde them G
trauailed with foule weather, let him indeauour and helpe to saue the same, and helpe him that is
the owner, not sparing or making nice of any labour.

Let each man direct the ignorant trauailer in his way, and set him in the right path if hee wan-
der, without deluding him, or hindering him in his necessities, or misleading him in his iourney.
Deut. 22. The law of violence. Let no man speake ill of him that is either absent or deafe. If any man bee strooken in a quarrell,
and it be not with a weapon, let him that strooke him be presently punished in receiuing the like
outrage as he hath offered him. But if hee be carried into his house, and lie sicke vpon it diuerse
dayes, and in the end die thereof, hee shall be exempt of the penaltie. But if he escapeth, and dur-
ring the time of his sickenesse hath beene greatly hindred and charged; then let him that strooke
him pay all the charges hee hath beene at during the time he kept his bed, and satisfie the Phisiti-
ans. He that with his foote shall strike a woman with child, if the woman miscarry, hee shall be by H
the Iudges amerced in a summe of money, for that he hath lessened the number of the people by
the losse of him that is dead in his mothers wombe. Let him likewise bee condemned to pay a
summe of money vnto the husband. But if the woman die of the stroke, hee that offred the vio-
lence must die the death also, by reason that the Law iustly ordaineth, that life should be satisfied
with life.

Poyson. Let not any one among the Israelites, vse any mortall poyson, nor any drug that may doe hurt
vnto any man: and if any man be found with such things about him, let him die, dying that death
Talions law. which he determined they should suffer, for whom he had prepared the poison. Whoso hath mai-
med any man, or puld out his eye, let him in like manner be maimed and blinded, being depriued I
of the same member of his body whereof hee hath depriued another man; except hee that is
maimed had rather haue a pecuniarie amends, by reason that the law remitteth it to the election
of the offender to estimate his iniurie, and if hee will bee more seuere he may. If any one haue
Of an Oxe striking with his horne. an Oxe that striketh with his horne, let him kill him: and if the same Oxe striketh and killeth any
man in the field, or mow, let him bee stoned to death, and let no man eate the flesh thereof. And
if it bee prooued that the master which oweth the same hath heretofore knowne the qualitie of
the beast, and hath not taken order he should doe no harme, let him also be put to death, as being
the author of the murther committed by the Oxe. But if the said Oxe kill a slaue, either male
or female, hee shall bee stoned; and the owner thereof shall pay thirty sicles to the master of the
slaue that is slaine. If one Oxe be strooken by another, so as he die thereof, let both of them (both
that which was dead, and that which stroke the other to death) be sold, and the price thereof shall K
Deut. 22. A Pit. bee parted equally betwixt both their owners. They that dig a pit or cisterne, must bee carefull
that they inclose and fence it in with planks or bars, not to hinder any man from drawing water,
but least any man by misfortune should fall into the same. And if any mans beast shall fall into
the same (and it vndefenced) the owner of the pit must pay to the owner of the beast the price
thereof: and euer after let it bee couered as it were with a wall; for feare least any thereafter fall
Deut. 24. into the same. Let him that receiueth any thing in trust keepe it carefully, as a thing sacred and
diuine; and let neither man nor woman attempt to alien that which is committed to his custody,
although thereby he might gaine an infinite sum of gold; and although there were not any man
that could conuince him thereof. For since that generally the conscience knoweth the same, euery L
one ought to endeuour himselfe to deale vprightly; and supposing himselfe to be a sufficient witnes
against himselfe, let him doe those things which are laudable in the sight of men, but in especiall
that which is pleasing to God, from whose sight no wrongfull dealing is concealed: if notwith-
standing he to whom this trust is committed (without any fraud on his part) shall chance to lose
the thing that is so left in trust; let him present himselfe before seuen Iudges, and there take an oath
that nothing is lost by his wil or weeting; & that he hath not conuerted any part therof to his owne
In the same place. vse, whereupon let him be dismissed without any further enquirie. But if he haue made vse of the
least part of that which hath beene committed to his charge & trust, and that he happen to lose it,
he shall be condemned to restore all that which was committed to his keeping. As it hath beene
Hire. ordained in respect of matters in trust: the like is decreed as touching hire which is due vnto the M
labourer; and let each man take heede least hee defraud a poore man of his hire, knowing that
God gaue him his hands in stead of lands, and other possessions. For which cause the paiment of
Children are not to be punished for their parents offences. hire ought not to be deferred, but satisfied the same day, by reason that God permitteth not that
the labourer should lose the fruite of his trauell. The children shall not bee punished, for the mis-
deeds of their parents: but if they bee vertuous, and are begotten by lewde fathers, they rather
merit that men should haue compassion of them, then that they should hate them: neither are

the

A the offences of the children to bee imputed to the parents, by reason that youth oftentimes engageth it selfe in those follies, which hee neuer learned by examples, not for which hee endureth not to be reprooued. Eunuches are to be detested, and their companies to bee fled, because they depriue themselues of manhood, and the gift of begetting children, which God hath giuen vnto men for the increase of mankinde. Such people therefore are to be driuen farre from vs, and esteemed wholly inexcusable, who kill their children before they be borne. For it is a matter very manifest, that their spirits being effeminate, their bodies also are degenerate. Euch thing also that is monstrous to behold, is to be driuen away: neither is it lawfull to geld either men or beasts. Let this be the disposition of those lawes, wherewith you shall be pollicied and gouerned in time of peace, and God bee fauourable vnto you, and giue you grace to vse them in good order, and
B without confusion. And since it cannot otherwise be, but that humane affaires must sometimes fall into troubles and dangers, somewhiles beyond desire and expectation, and otherwhiles of set purpose: I will briefely set you downe certaine lawes as touching that point, to the intent that being fore-instructed of that which you ought to doe, you may haue aboundance of holsome remedies, and being well prouided and instructed in that which you ought to doe, you may preuent and not fall into any danger and calamitie.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie. 1472.

Eunuches.

God grant that you may enioy the countrey (which he hath giuen you) in contempt of trauels and in exercise of vertues: and that you may possesse the same in security and peace, and that strangers may not leuie armies to ouerthrow you, and that no ciuill mutiny may bee raised amongst you, which may bring to passe, that that which hath beene well ordered and decreed by
C your ancestors, doe come to nought, when you shall happen to commit the contrarie. Liue therefore, and persist you to conforme your selues to those lawes, which both God hath approoued for good, and hath also giuen you. But if perhaps your selues at this present, or your successours hereafter, shall fortune to entertaine and vndertake a warre, God grant it may happen without the confines of your countrey: but if the matter must needs be tried out by the sword, you shall send certaine heraulds to your destinated enemies. For before you enter battell, it shall bee requisite first of all to parlee with them, and to declare vnto them that you haue a great armie, and horses, and weapons, and (besides all these) that you haue Gods fauour and assistance: who shall require them therefore that you may not bee inforced to warre against them, nor to make bootie of their goods, and to carry them away in spight of their resist. If they condescend vnto
D any reasonable conditions, then entertaine peace; making your accompt that they are stronger then you be: but if they will needs offer you iniury, you shall lead forth your army against them, hauing God for your Generall and soueraigne Conductor; and for his Lieutenant, him whom you your selues haue chosen; surpassing all the rest in valour. For whereas there are diuers commanders, it falleth out that that which ought necessarily and readily to be executed, is hindered; and commonly the issue is vnfortunate, where there are diuers commanders. Let your army be generally leuied of men that are strong in body, and hardy in courage, and sequester from your armie him that is fearefull, least such men hapning to flie when they ought to fight, doe giue your enemies the aduantage. Let them also be free from warre, who hauing built them a new house, haue not enioyed the same for a yeeres space; as also he, that hath planted a vineyard and hath not
E gathered the fruite thereof; and besides these, hee that hath wedded a wife, and hath not as yet brought her home to his house: least being transported with the desire of these things, and reseruing themselues to their forsaken pleasures, in the behalfe of their wiues, they fight but faintly and coldly.

The lawes of warre. *Deut.* 20. Heraulds to be sent.

But when you haue brought your armie into the field, take heed you commit no outrage: and when you shall assault any Cities, if you fortune to haue any neede of matter to make engins of, grub not the land, neither see you cut downe the fruitfull trees, but spare them; remembring you that they are planted for the good of men, and that if they could speake they would accuse you, alledging that without cause of war they are ill intreated against all right: and that if they had the power to depart from thence, they would dislodge and remoue into another countrey.

Fruitfull trees are not to bee cut downe.

F But when the battell is ended, and the day is yours, kill all those enemies that resisted you in the skirmish, the rest reserue as your tributaries (except the people of the land of Chanaan, for they with all their families are to be ruinated.) Beware also (but especially in warre) that neither a woman vse a mans apparell, neither a man a womans raiment. These are the lawes which *Moses* left. He gaue them likewise certaine institutions (which he had written forty yeeres before that time) whereof we will speake in another treatise. Some few daies after) for he assembled the people sixe daies one after the other) he gaue them his blessing, and pronounced his maledictions against

The Chanaanites are wholly to bee extingnished. *Deut.* 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. Moses song and blessing.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie, 1471.

against those which should not liue according to his lawes, but should transgresse the determinations thereof: Hee read also vnto them a Poeme of sixe measures (which he had enregistred in the holy booke) containing a prediction of things to come, according to which all things haue and doe fall out, without varying any waies from the truth and verity. These volumes and the Arke, gaue he vnto the Priests; in which he also placed the ten commandements written in the two tables. Hee committed also vnto them the custodie of the Tabernacle. He likewise exhorted the people that (at such time as by force they had conquered the promised countrey, and were plinted therein) they should not forget the iniury which the Amalechites had done vnto them, but that they should lead forth their army against them, and take vengeance of the wrongs they had done them, at such time, as they were in the desart. And commanded them that as soone as they had taken the countrey of Chanaan, they should exterminate and extinguish all the people. G

The Amalechites to be punished. H

He willed them also to erect an Altar toward the rising of the sunne (not farre from the Citie of Sichem, betweene two mountaines, the one Garizim, on the right hand; and the other called Gebal on the left) and that distributing the people into two parts (sixe tribes in euery part) they should plant them on the mountaines. And he commanded that the Leuites, and Priests should be with them, to the intent that they first of all that were vpon the mountaine of Garizim, should beseech God that hee would multiply his blessings vpon them that should bee zealous of his seruice, and carefull of the conseruation of his lawes, without diuerting from that which *Moses* had commanded. The sixe other also were appointed to answer the like: and when as likewise these sixe last had praied, the sixe first were to answer them, and confirme that which they had pronounced. This done, they pronounced maledictions against the transgressors (each one answering other (in ratification of that which had beene spoken. He reduced also vnder writing these blessings and curses, to the intent that the memorie thereof might neuer bee suppressed or extinguished by time: which he also (being neere vnto his death) caused to be written in the Altar on the one side thereof, in that part which extended it selfe toward the place where the people stood, at such time as they sacrificed and offered burnt offerings. Since which day there were no more sacrifices offered in that place: because it was contrary to law. Thus did *Moses* establish, and these the Hebrew nation obserue continually and inuiolably, euen vnto this day. I

Deut. 29.

Moses bindeth the Hebrewes by an oath to keepe the law.

On the next morrow, he reassembled all the people, themselues, their wiues, and children: he likewise commanded that the slaues should be there present, binding them by an oath that they should maintaine and keepe the lawes, and that diligently tying themselues to the will of God, they should not so much esteeme either their kinred, or means, or perils, or any other cause whatsoeuer, as that thereby they should be driuen to neglect their lawes, or depart from the ordinances thereof: but whether it were any one of their kindred, or any City whatsoeuer, that would seeke to altar and disturbe the same, or striue to weaken the estate thereof, that both in particular and in publike, they should expose themselues and endeuour to punish them: and if they should fortune to take such a City, that they should rase and vtterly deface the same; and if it were possible not to leaue one stone vpon another, but to destroy the foundation. But if they were too feeble to take such a reuenge, yet that they should make it knowne that they were not consenting to their impietie. Hereunto the whole people subscribed and sealed it with an oath. K

L

He afterwards tolde them, how the people should know when the sacrifices were agreeable vnto God, and how they ought to march out to battell, taking a signe of the stones of which I haue foretold.

Iosuah likewise, during the life and in the presence of *Moses*, foreprophecied whatsoeuer he intended to performe for the profit of the people, either abroad in the administration of war, or at home in prescribing lawes; and preparing them to an order of life (which was newly prescribed them) he told them, that by instructions from God he foreprophecied, that if they violated their country religion, they should not escape their destruction; for that both their countrey should be filled with forraine armes, and their Cities sackt, and their Temple burnt, and that they themselues should be sold vnder the speare, and that they should serue a nation which would not be mooued or touched with commiseration of their afflictions and miseries; and that at length they should too lately and vnprofitably repent them of their errour: yet that God their establisher should restore Cities to the Citizens, and a Temple to his people: And that it should come to passe, that they should not lose this only one time, but also very many times. Then did *Moses* also exhort *Iesus* that he should lead his army against the Chanaanites, promising him that God would be assistant in his actions, prophecying besides much good hap vnto the people. M

Moses exhorteth Iosuah.

Since

A Since that (ſaith he) I goe vnto mine anceſtors,and that God hath prefixed this day and time of my departure, I proteſt before you, that liuing as yet and ſtanding in your preſence, I giue him thanks for the care and prouidence, which he hath hitherto had of your affaires, not onely in propulſing your aduerſaries, but alſo in largely imparting his bleſſings vnto you, and for that he hath alwaies fauourably helpt me whilſt I endeuoured by my labour and care to reduce your fortunes to a better ſtate: And that which is more, it is he which hath giuen both the entrance & the iſſue; making vſe of me but as his committee and ſeruant in all that good, which hee would ſhould be done vnto his people. For all which things I haue thought it requiſite, that (in departing from you) I ſhould bleſſe the power of God, who in time to come ſhall haue the care and charge of you: and to acquit my ſelfe of that debt, I leaue you this in remembrance, which is, B that you ought to ſerue and honour him,and reuerence the ordinances which he hath giuen you, whereby (continuing his fauour towards you) hee will grant you grace to conſerue and keepe this excellent gift. Truely that law-maker(that were no more then a man)would be greatly diſpleaſed and highly diſcontented with thoſe men, who ſhould violate his ordinances, and ſhould ſet them at noughts: doe not you therefore tempt God,who is prouoked vnto anger,when thoſe lawes which he himſelfe hath eſtabliſhed and giuen you,ſhall be contemned and neglected.

The yeare of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1471.

Deut. 31.

Deut. 33. 34.

Whileſt *Moſes* pronounced theſe his laſt words, and diſcourſed vnto the tribes their ſeuerall deſtinies, the whole multitude brake into teares; and the women beating their breaſts, ſhewed and expreſſed the ſorrow they had conceiued at his death. The children likewiſe lamented,making it knowne that they could not bee maſters of their owne ſorrow, becauſe that in their tender yeares they had vnderſtood the vertue and famous actes of *Moſes*; and betwixt the elder and C younger ſort, there was as it were a conflict who ſhould weepe more bitterly: for the one vnderſtanding of how worthy a Gouernour they were depriued, lamented the time to come; and the other were perplexed, becauſe they ſhould then forſake him, before they had ſufficiently taſted and made triall how great his vertue was. But how great the compaſſion and complaint of the people was, a man may make coniecture by this that then befell the Prophet. For, although he were aſſuredly perſwaded,that a man was not to lament vpon the inſtant of his death (in that it chanced vnto him both according to the will of God, and the law of nature) yet he beholding the affection of the people, could not temperate and reſtraine himſelfe from teares: And whileſt he was born thither where he vaniſhed out of their ſight, all of them followed him,wetting their D faces and boſomes with flowing teares. Then did *Moſes* (beckening with his hand) warne them from a far off,that they ſhould ſtand ſtil and keep their places,and exhorted them that were neereſt him,by word of mouth,that they ſhould not follow nor proſecute him any further with teares, for feare leaſt they ſhould make his departure tragicall and lamentable. Onely the Senate led him forth,and *Eleazar* the high Prieſt,and the chiefetaine *Ieſus*. And when hee was arriued vpon the mountaine called Abarim (which is very high, and ſituate neere vnto Iericho, and from whence he might diſcouer the greater part of the land of Chanaan) hee diſmiſſed the elders: and whileſt with mutuall embraces he tooke his laſt leaue of *Eleazar* and *Ieſus*, and diſcourſed with them,a cloud ſodainly enuironed him,and hee was taken away into a certaine valley: but in the ſcripture he writeth that he died,fearing leaſt for the excellency of his vertue,they E might report that he was rauiſhed and taken away by God. The whole time of his life was one hundreth and twenty yeares,the third part whereof he ſpent in gouernment (one month onely exempted.)He died the laſt month of the yeare,and the firſt day of that month which the Macedonians call Dyſtrus; and our countrimen Adar. Of all men the wiſeſt that euer was, and who in execution of his good counſells had no man to equall him.Moreouer in eloquence he was incomparable,and in dexterity and grace to entertaine and perſwade the people,he had no ſecond: and ſo were his affections alwaies leuelled and limitted by his wiſedome,that hee ſeemed vtterly to want them,and that onely he knew the names of thoſe paſſions which hee perceiued to be too actiue in other men. In his gouernment he was matchleſſe,in his prophecies peereleſſe, ſo that all the orations that he made ſeemed to be Oracles. For which cauſe the whole multitude mourF ned for him during the terme of thirty daies: neither were the Hebrewes euer ſeized with ſo extreame griefe,as they were at that time when the Prophet died; neither did he only leaue behind him a preſent deſire of him, but a great eſtimation amongſt all men, who haue euer chanced to reade and examine his writings,whilſt by them they make eſtimate of his vertues. And theſe are thoſe things which I thought good to be ſpoken of the death of *Moſes*.

The Hebrews lamentation at Moſes death.

Moſes when he died was 120. yeares old.

Amongſt the Hebrewes, Adar is the 12. month,but amongſt vs it is called March.

Moſes was a good gouernour,and a great prophet.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fift Booke.

1. *How* Ieſus, *Generall of the Hebrewes, hauing ouercome and ſlaine the Chanaanites, diuided their land amongſt the Tribes by Lot.*
2. *How after the death of the Generall, the Iſraelites (neglecting the ordinances of their forefathers) fell into extreame calamities, and thorow a ciuill warre that was raiſed amongſt them, there were but* 300. *of the tribe of* Beniamin *left aliue.*
3. *How for their impietie the people of Iſrael were deliuered by God into captiuitie vnder the Aſſyrians.*
4. *Their liberty by* Cenizus.
5. *How the people once more were ouercome by the Moabites, and exempt from ſeruitude by* Iodes *otherwiſe called* Ehud.
6. *How they were brought vnder the ſubiection of the Chanaanites, and reſtored to their libertie by* Barac.
7. *How the Amalechites (hauing entred the countrey of the Iſraelites, and conquered them) poſſeſſed and ſpoiled the ſame for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres.*
8. *How* Gedeon *deliuered the people.*
9. *How ſome ſucceſſors of* Gedeon *waged warre againſt the neighbour nations round about them.*
10. *Of* Sampſons *ſtrength, and what miſchiefes he did in Paleſtine.*
11. *How the ſonnes of* Eli *the Prophet were ſlaine in battell by the Paleſtines.*
12. *How* Eli *(hearing of the death of his ſonnes, and the loſſe of the Arke) fell downe from his throne and died.*

CHAP. I.

How IESVS, *Generall of the Hebrewes, hauing ouercome and ſlaine the Chanaanites, diuided their land amongſt the tribes by lot.*

The yeare of the world, 2494. before Chriſts birth, 1470.

AFTER that *Moſes* had bin taken from amongſt men (after the maner as I haue declared) and that all whatſoeuer he had ordained, was duly performed, and his funerall obſequies were at an end: *Ieſus* commanded the people to prepare themſelues, and to march forward into battell. He ſent eſpials likewiſe into Iericho, who might both ſound their minds, and diſcouer their forces: presently after he diſlodged, and incamped in the open field, intending with all expedition to paſſe the riuer of Iordan, as ſoone as any opportunity offered it ſelfe. Then aſſembled he together the Princes of the tribes of *Ruben* and *Gad*, and the halfe tribe of *Manaſſes* (for to this halfe tribe the countrey of the Amorites was giuen for an habitation, which was the ſeuenth part of Chanaan) and remembred them of that which they had promiſed vnto *Moſes*, entreating them (in memory and fauour of him, who in the laſt period of his life was not wearied to take care of their common-weale, and publike profit) ſpeedily and willingly to performe that which they had promiſed vnto him: who ſhewing themſelues ready and willing, to performe that which he commanded them, he armed and arranged fiftie thouſand men, that were his followers, and afterwards (departing from the City of Abila) he drew towards Iordan, and marched forward ſome ſixtie furlongs. As ſoone as he was encamped, the ſpies returned againe and preſented themſelues vnto him, certifying him of the whole eſtate of the Chanaanites. For being vnknowne and vnſuſpected, vpon the firſt arriuall they obſerued and viewed the wals and ſtrength of the Citie at their pleaſure, ſearching which of them were more or leſſe defenſed, and which of the gates were eaſieſt or hardeſt to aſſault; neither did any of thoſe that met them, offer any offence vnto them: whileſt they thus pried into, and viewed euery place

Ieſus ſendeth ſpies into Iericho.

Ieſus calleth to memory and reckoneth vp what the tribes of Gad, Ruben, and Manaſſes had promiſed Moſes. *Num.* 13.

The ſpies ſurnay Iericho.

A place,the Citizens interpreted their diligence to bee rather an accuſtomed curioſity of ſtrangers, then ſuſpected them that they intended any hoſtile ſtratageme. *The yeare of the world, 2494. before Chriſts birth, 1470.*

About the ſhutting in of the euening, they retyred themſelues into a certaine hoſtrie that adioyned the walles,into which they had beene directed to take their repaſt; and whileſt after ſupper time they conſulted vpon their returne,the king was giuen to vnderſtand(as he ſate at his ſupper) that certaine Spies ſent out of the Hebrewes campe, had ſuruayed the Citie, and taken vp their lodging in *Rahabs* houſe,where they ſuppoſed to conceale themſelues till they might gaine them opportunity to depart. Whereupon the King ſent a ſpeedy commandement and officers to apprehend them, to the end that beeing brought before him, hee might by torture extort from them the cauſe and reaſon why they came into his Citie. Of whoſe approach, when *Rahab* had gotten ſome priuate intelligence, ſhee hid the Spies vnder certaine packes of linnen, Rahab hideth the Spies.
B which ſhee dryed neere vnto the walles, and told them that were ſent by the King, that certaine ſtrange gueſts a little before Sunne-ſet had ſupt in her houſe, but that they were departed; who if they were ſuſpected by the King, as ſuch as intended any detriment to the common-weale, they might with little labour and purſuite be eaſily ſurpriſed in their way. They hearing the woman ſpeake after this manner, and imagining no ſubtilty or deceit in her, returned backe againe without ſearching the hoſtrie. But after they were buſied and trauelled in the purſuit and ſearch after them euery way, and tracting of euery path, whereby they might bee ſuſpected to trauell towards Iordan, and perceiuing no ſigne of their flight,they deſiſted any further to purſue them. No ſooner was the tumult appeaſed, but *Rahab* calleth forth the Spies,and told them the dangers to which ſhe had expoſed her ſelfe for their ſecurity ſake (for had ſhe bin conuinced to haue con-
C cealed them,ſhe might by no meanes haue eſcaped the puniſhment of the King,but that both ſhe and all her family had miſerably periſhed:) She therfore required them,that at ſuch time as they ſhould bee Lords of the countrey of Chanaan,and had both the occaſion and power to requite her curteſies, that they would haue her in remembrance. This ſaide, ſhee diſmiſſed them (to the end they might returne home againe.) But before their departure ſhe tooke an oath of them, to warrantize both her ſelfe and all that which appertained vnto her, at ſuch time as they ſhould become maſters of the Citie, and had deſtroyed all the Citizens thereof, according to the arreſt and ſentence giuen againſt them; which ſhee knew ſhould come to paſſe, hauing certaine apprehenſion of the ſame, by certaine ſignes and tokens from God: whereupon for the preſent with many thankeſgiuings they proteſted, and for the future avowed and ſwore vnto her, to acknow-
D ledge her kindneſſe not in words, but in deedes. At ſuch time therefore as ſhee ſhould perceiue that the Citie was ready to bee ſurpriſed, they counſelled her that ſhee ſhould retyre all her ſubſtance, and all thoſe that appertained vnto her,into her houſe; and that before the doore thereof, ſhee ſhould ſpread ſome crimſen garment, to the intent that the Generall perceiuing the ſame, might inhibite the ſouldiours from pillaging and ſpoiling her houſe: For (ſaid they) wee will giue him notice herof(by reaſon of that willing forwardnes that hath bin in thee to ſaue our liues) and if by misfortune any of thy friends die in the combate, doe not impute the fault vnto vs; and wee beſeech God (by whom wee haue ſworne) that hee be not diſpleaſed againſt any of vs; except againſt ſuch as falſifie their oathes. Hauing after this manner accorded vpon the couenant, they let downe one another from the wall; and when they were arriued in ſafety among
E their nation, they recounted vnto them all that which had happened ſince their arriuall in the Citie. *Ioſuah* hereupon declared vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt and the reſt of the Elders, what *Ioſuah 3.* oath his Spies had ſworne vnto *Rahab*, who all of them ratified the promiſe they had made. Ieſus paſſeth Iordan with his Armie. But the Generall was penſiue and ſore troubled,for that he knewe not which way he might paſſe the riuer of *Iordan*, by reaſon that for the preſent it was very deepe and without bridges. For, before that time there was not any bridge built thereupon; and if they would haue built one,the enemy would haue interrupted them: and further beſides that, there were not any places conuenient to ſtay in. But God made him a promiſe that hee would make the waters fall, and giue them paſſage there-through. *Ioſuah* therefore encamped his hoſte for the terme of two daies (to the end hee might paſſe ouer his whole Armie, and the reſt of the people, after this manner fol-
F lowing.) The Prieſts marched before with the Arke. After them went the Leuites bearing the Tabernacle, and thoſe veſſells which were deſtinated for ſacrifice. Then followed the whole *Ioſuah 4.* multitude, diſtinguiſhed in their Tribes, hauing incloſed within their battells the women and children whereby they might bee the more ſecure from the force of the flood. But when as the Prieſts had marched formoſt, and found the riuer paſſable, and that the water was decreaſed,and that the current thereof was not ſo violent, neither the billowes ſo incenſed, but that in the

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Christs Natiuitie, 1470.

bottome there was good footing (for that the grauell and ſand was not quicke but ſetled) then G
all of them without feare paſſed ouer the foord, finding al things aſſuredly performed vnto them,
which God had forepropheſied, and promiſed vnto them: but the Prieſts kept them in the
midſt of the channell vntill the multitude were paſt ouer, and were in ſecuritie; and when as e-
uery one had gotten the other banke, the Prieſts iſſued out, permitting the riuer to flow accor-
ding to his free and ordinary courſe: which pleaſantly flowing grew to that greatneſſe and ſwift-
neſſe which it retained at the firſt. Now when the Hebrewes had marched fiftie furlongs, they
incamped themſelues ſome tenne furlongs from Iericho. But *Ieſus* builded an altar of ſtones
(which euery one of the Princes of the Tribes had gathered out of the channell of Iordan, ac-
cording as the Prophet had commanded) to the end it might be a monument of the prodigi-
ous reſtrainment of the floud, and on the ſame he ſacrificed vnto God, and the ſolemnitie of the H
Paſchal was celebrated in that place; and at that time they, who in times paſt were in great neceſ-
ſitie, were largely furniſhed with all plentie and aboundance: for they did reape the corne of the
Canaanites (which at that time was ripe) and carried away the reſt for a prey. In the ſame ſeaſon
likewiſe their nouriſhment of Manna failed them, wheron they had fed for the ſpace of 40. yeers.
And whereas the Iſraelites did all theſe things with ſecuritie and freely, and the Chanaanites ne-
uer ſallied out againſt them, but appauled with feare, ſhut themſelues vp within their wals; *Ieſus*
decreed & reſolued to beſiege them in their Cities: ſo that on the firſt day of the feaſt, the Prieſts
bearing the Arke, and guarded on euery ſide with troups of armed men drew neere vnto the Ci-
tie, ſounding their ſeuen hornes: and exhorting their ſouldiers to behaue themſelues manfully,
they walked about and inuironed the wals round about, being attended both by the Senate and I
Elders, neither did they any other thing but blow their hornes, and ſo returned backe into their
campe. Which when they had done for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, on the ſeauenth *Ioſuah* aſſembled
the armie and all the people, bringing them ioyfull newes of the Citie, which that day ſhould be
ſurpriſed without labour (the wals falling downe of their owne accord, and without mans hand,
and yeelding them free paſſage and entrance into the Citie) and he encouraged them to kill all
thoſe whom they met withall, and not to giue ouer the ſlaughter of their enemies, although they
were wearie, neither to be mooued with compaſſion, nor allured from the ſlaughter and execu-
tion by deſire of prey, or to permit the enemie in any ſort to flie, but that they ſhould extinguiſh
and roote out all that which breathed and had life, reſeruing nothing for prey or priuate profite.
He commanded likewiſe that all that which was found (either of golde or ſiluer) ſhould bee K
brought into one place, & reſerued to be the firſt fruits of the happy works of God; and after the
ſurpriſall firſt of the Citie, that onely *Rahab* with her kindred ſhould be ſaued, by reaſon of the
othes which the ſpies had ſworn vnto her. This ſaid, he arranged his hoſt, & made them approch
the City, then did they once more walke round about the City, the Arke marching before them,
and encouraging the army to valour by the ſound of their Cornets. And after they had enuiro-
ned the walls ſeuen times, and had a little repoſed themſelues, the walles fell (wheras then neither
the Hebrewes had enforced any engine againſt them, or vſed any other violence.) So that they
entring into the City ſlue all thoſe that were therein, who were already diſcomforted by the ſo-
daine and vnexpected ouerthrow of their walles, and thorow their ſodaine feare made vnapt to
fight, ſo that they were ſlaine amidſt their ſtreets, finding neither refuge nor reliefe to ſuccour L
them: yea ſo were they fleſhed in the ſlaughter, that they neither ſpared women nor children, but
filled the City with dead carcaſſes, which at length being ſet on fire, ſerued them for a funerall
flame to conſume them in, and with equall furie rauaged and burnt the fields. Only *Rahab* & her
houſhold (who kept themſelues within her hoſtrie) were ſaued by the ſpies: who brought to
Ioſuahs preſence, he gaue her thankes for ſauing his ſpies, and promiſed her that he would reward
her courteſies, and anone after gaue her poſſeſſions, and euer after held her in great honour. All
that of the City which the fire ſpared, the ſword conſumed. And *Ioſuah* pronounced curſes a-
gainſt thoſe, who ſhould afterward endeuour to erect that which he had ruinated: namely that
he that ſhould lay the firſt foundation, ſhould be depriued of his firſt begotten ſonne, and he that M
ſhould finiſh the wo.ke might loſe his yongeſt ſonne; neither pleaſed it God that this impreca-
tion of ſhould be fruſtrate, as hereafter it ſhall bee ſpoken. At the ſurpriſe and ſacke of this ci-
tie, there was gathered an infinite quantitie of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe; ſo that no man brake the
Edict, or ſought any prey or lucre thereby for himſelfe. Theſe ſpoiles *Ieſus* deliuered vnto the
Prieſts, to be laid vp in the treaſurie, and after this manner was the Citie of Iericho deſtroied. But
Achar the ſonne of *Zebel* of the tribe of *Iuda*, hauing gotten a royall pall altogether embrode-
red with golde, with an ingot of gold of three hundreth ſicles in waight, and thinking in himſelfe
that

Ieſus buildeth an altar on the other ſide of Iordan.

The Iſraelites celebrate Eaſter, enioy the fruits of the earth, & ceaſe to feede on Manna.

Ioſuah. 6. Ieſus with his army walketh about the city

Ieſus commandeth that none but Rahab and hers ſhould be ſaued.

The wals of Iericho fall downe of themſelues.

Iericho is taken, the men ſlaine, and the citie deſtroyed and burnt: Rahab and hers reſerued.

A that it were a very fond thing, that the profit he had made by the hazzard of his life, ſhould be taken from him and preſented vnto God, who had no neede thereof, digged a deepe pit in his tent, and buried his ſpoiles therein, thinking by this meanes to defraud God, and deceiue his companions. At that time their tents were pitched in a place which was called Galgal (which ſignifieth Enfranchized, becauſe that hauing paſt the riuer Iordan they knew that they ſhould be deliuered from the affliction of Ægypt, and the penurie of the deſart.) But ſome few daies after the deſtruction of Iericho. *Ioſuah* ſent out three thouſand armed men againſt *Ainan* (a Citie ſituate a little aboue Iericho) who encountering with the Ainites in battell and by them put to flight, loſt thirty and ſixe of their company. The newes of which diſaſter beeing brought into the campe, the Iſraelites were ſeized with exceeding griefe, not onely for the men they had loſt (which were all of them valiant men and worthy of honour) but alſo by reaſon of the deſpaire they conceiued
B of their future ſucceſſe. For being already perſwaded that they were maſters of the field, and that their army ſhould be alwaies warranted and ſafe at ſuch time as they ſhould fight (according as before times God had promiſed them) they ſaw (contrary to their opinion) that their aduerſaries had taken heart; inſomuch as clothing themſelues in ſackcloth vpon their raiments, they ſpent all the day in teares & lamentations without taſting any meat; ſo grieuouſly were they afflicted with the inconuenient that had hapned. But *Ioſuah* perceiuing the army diſcomfited after this maner, and conceiuing ſome ſiniſter hope of their eſtates, boldly addreſſed himſelfe vnto God ſaying:
C We haue not beene induced by our own temerity to attempt the conqueſt of this land by force, but we haue beene hereunto incouraged by thy ſeruant *Moſes*, to whom thou haſt promiſed by diuers ſignes that thou wouldſt giue vs this country to inhabit in, and that our army ſhould haue alwaies the vpper hand in battell, and of theſe thy promiſes wee haue oftentimes experimented the euent. But now beyond all expectation (hauing receiued an ouerthrow and loſt ſome of our ſoldiers) being terrified by this accident, and ſuſpicious of thy promiſes to *Moſes*, we both abſtain from war, and (after ſo many enterpriſes and entrances of war) we cannot hope of any fortunate or ſucceſsfull proceedings. Be thou therfore aſſiſtant vnto vs, O Lord (for it lieth in thy power) & by thy mercy relieue our preſent ſorrow with a largeſſe of victory, & take from vs the thought
D of deſpaire wherein wee are too farre plunged. *Ioſuah* lying proſtrate on his face made this praier vnto God, who preſently anſwered him, that he ſhould ariſe; commanding him to purge the armie of that pollution that had hapned therein, and of a theft committed by one of the multitude, who was ſo hardy as to violate and conceale thoſe things which were conſecrated vnto him, aſſuring him that that cauſe was the meanes of the preſent calamitie: but that as ſoone as he had ſearched out, and puniſhed the ſacriledge, the Iſraelites ſhould become fortunate and obtaine the victorie. This Oracle *Ioſuah* declared vnto the people, and calling for the high Prieſt and the Magiſtrates, he caſt lots vpon the tribes, and when as the lot had fallen on the tribe of *Iuda*, it was againe caſt by kinreds; and when againe the ſacriledge was found to bee committed in *Zacharias* kinred, they examined the ſame once more man by man, and found out *Achar*: who hauing no meanes to deny the ſame, and being diſcouered by God himſelfe, confeſſed the fact, and brought forth thoſe things, which he had concealed: Whereupon being preſently put to death, he was by night buried after an ignominious manner, according as he deſerued it. But *Ioſuah* hauing purified the people, led them foorth againſt *Ainan*, and laying an Ambuſcado by night
E time aboue the Citie, early in the morning hee drew the enemy out to fight, who boldly broke forth (being incouraged by their former victory) but *Ioſuah* making a ſhew of retreat, drew them farther off from their Citie (forming in them an imaginarie hope that the Iſraelites fled, and that they ſhould gaine a ſecond victory ouer them.) But when *Ioſuah* ſodainly made a ſtand, and freſhly charged them, and gaue a ſignall vnto thoſe that lay in ambuſh, they were incontinently addreſſed and encouraged to fight, and with all expedition entred the gates of the Citie, on the walles whereof there ſtood diuers of the inhabitants, beeing eye-witneſſes (as they thought) of their atchieued victorie. In this manner was the Citie taken, and all they that were therein, were ſlaine: and *Ioſuah* on the other ſide inforced thoſe in ſuch manner (with whom he maintained skirmiſh) that they turned their backs, and fled towards the Citie, as if it had beene in
F the ſame eſtate as they left it: but when they perceiued that it was ſurpriſed, and ſaw both it, their wiues, and children conſumed with fire, they ſcattered themſelues about the fieldes, not beeing able to rally themſelues, by reaſon of their diſturbance and diſorder. After this ouerthrow of the Ainites, there were a great number of women, children, and bondſlaues taken captiue, and ſtore of all ſorts of mooueables. The Hebrewes alſo became Lords of much cattell, and gathered a great quantitie of ſiluer (for the countrey was rich.) All which *Ioſuah* (vpon his returne to Galgal)

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1470.

Ioſ 7.8.

Achar hideth certaine parts of the prey contrary to Gods commandement.

Galgal ſignifieth libertie.

Ioſuah 5.

The Iſraelits are put to flight by the Ainites.

Ioſuahs praier vnto God.

Gods anſwer ts Ioſuahs praier.

Achar found out by Lot and puniſhed.

Ainan ſacke and burnt.

The prey diſtributed amongſt the people.

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Christs Nativity. 1470.
Iosuah 9.

Galgal) distributed amongst the soldiers. But the Gabeonites (who dwelt not farre off from Ie- G
rusalem) vnderstanding what had hapned to them of Hiericho (and seeing the estate of the
Ainites, and fearing least the like misfortune might fall vpon them) thought it not good to
offer treaties of peace to *Iosuah*, supposing they should find no tolerable conditions at his hands,
because they knew that he warred vnder that resolution, vtterly to roote out and extinguish the
nation of the Chanaanites from off the earth. They therefore made a league with the Cephe-
rites, and Cathierimites their neighbours, telling them that they should not escape the danger
if so bee it so fell out that the Gabeonites were first taken by the Israelites: but that if they were
vnited together, they might both resist the greatnesse, and auoide the danger of them. Which
counsell of theirs being accepted, they sent embassadours vnto *Iosuah* (such men as they thought
The Gabeonites send Embassadors to Iesus. to be both most capable and wisest amongst them in the affaires of common-weale (to the intent H
to entreate a peace betwixt them and the Israelites: who knowing that it would bee very dan-
gerous for them, if they should say that they were Canaanites; and that on the contrary side, they
should auoid the danger, if they protested that they had no communitie or alliance with them,
but that they dwelled far off from them; told *Iosuah*, that (being incited by his fame) they had vn-
dertaken a long iourney, the truth whereof hee might coniecture by their habits: for vpon their
setting forth their garments were new, and now by their long iourney quite worne (for they had
purposely put vpon them old raiment, to the end it might be sutable to their subtile insinuation.)
The Gabeonites oration to the Hebrewes. Standing vp therefore in the middest of the multitude (attired after this maner) they tolde them
that they were sent by the Gabeonites, and the neighbouring Cities thereabouts (farre disioyned
from that countrey) to articulate and ratifie a peace betweene them, according as they haue been I
accustomed to proceed in their accords: For knowing well that the countrey of Canaan was gi-
uen vnto them by the grace and gratuitie of God (to the end they should bee masters and pos-
sessours thereof) they were much reioyced thereat, and required them to bee receiued as their
Iesus maketh a couenant with the Gabeonites. confederates. By these words, and tokens of their garments, and intimation of their long iour-
ney, they perswaded the Hebrewes to enter an accord and amitie with them. And the high
Priest *Eleazar* with the councell of the Elders sware vnto them, that they should be reputed for
friends and allies, and that no vniust action should bee enterprized against them; the people like-
wise approoued their oathes. But *Iosuah* encamping with his Army vpon their confines, and vn-
derstanding that the Gabeonites dwelt not farre off from Ierusalem, and that they likewise were
of the race of the Canaanites, he sent for the principall and princes among them, and complai- K
ned and vpbraided them of their deceit: wherunto they answered, that they had no other meanes
to procure their safetie and securitie, and for that cause (and their necessitie sake) that they had
sought their refuge thereby. Whereupon hee called vnto him *Eleazar* the high Priest and the
The Gabeonites are appointed to publike ministeries. councell of the Elders, who tolde him that he might not infringe the oath which they had made
vnto them, but that he might depute them to serue the publike ministeries. Whereupon they
Iosuah 10. were adiudged to attend on these seruices: and by this meanes deliuered they themselues from
their imminent perill. But for that the king of Ierusalem was sore incensed against the Gabeo-
The king of Ierusalem moueth warre against the Gabeonites. nites (for that they had reuolted and submitted to *Iesus*) hee assembled together the kings of his
neighbour nations, to make warre against them. The Gabeonites perceiuing the danger they
were in, and how the enemie was prepared to assault them (and how to that intent they had pit- L
ched their tents neere vnto a certaine fountaine not farre off from the Citie) they required *Iesus*
to assist and defend them. For their affaires were in that estate, that they expected death from the
hands of their friends: and contrariwise hoped for helpe to be warranted by those Hebrews, with
Iesus driueth them of Ierusalē to flight. whom they had cōtracted amity (notwithstāding that they arriued in that country to destroy the
whole nation of the Canaanites.) *Iosuah* therfore (hastning onward with his whole army to giue
them assistance, and marching both day and night) early in the morning charged the enemy (at
such time as he intended his assault) and hauing put them to flight, he pursued them by a steepie
tract, which place is called Bethora, where hee knew that God had fought for him (as it appea-
red manifestly by the thunder, lightning and haile that fell at that time, far bigger then was ac- M
The Sunne stood still. customed.) The day likewise (the like wherof was neuer heard of before) was lengthened, least by
the speedy approch of the night the enemy should escape from the victor: whereupon it came
to passe that *Iesus* tooke all those fiue Kings in a certaine caue neere Makkedah, where they were
hidden, and condemned them all to the death. And that the day at that time encreased aboue
common custome it is extant and registred in the sacred volumes, which are reserued in the Tem-
Fiue kiugs slaine. *Iosuah* 11. ple. When after this maner the Kings that inuaded the Gabeonites were slaine and conque-
red, *Iesus* led his Armie into the mountaines of Chanaan, where hauing made a great slaugh-

ter

A ter of men, and taken a rich bootie, hee brought backe his armie into Galgal. Now when the renowne of the Hebrewes valiant acts, and the admirable number of thoſe that were ſlaughtered, were bruited and ſcattered farre and neere amongſt the neighbour nations; they were ſurpriſed with a ſodaine feare: ſo that the Kings of the Chanaanites that bordered vpon Libanus, and they alſo of the plaine of Chanaan, ioyned themſelues confederates with the Paleſtines, and all of them were incenſed againſt them, and incamped neere vnto Berotha (a Citie of the higher Galilee, not farre from Cedeſa, which is alſo ſituate in the land of Chanaan.) The whole armie of them conſiſted of three hundreth thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſemen, and twenty thouſand charriots. This great multitude of the enemie aſtoniſhed *Ioſuah*, and the Iſraelites, and (by reaſon of the aſſured feare wherewith they were ſeiſed) they conceiued but little hope of
B obtaining the vpper hand: but God reproched him, and vpbraided him of that his timiditie; and for that they ſuſpected themſelues to be ſcarcely ſecured vnder his protection, he promiſed them likewiſe that he would ouercome their enemies, and make their horſes vnprofitable, and would conſume their charriots by fire. *Ioſuah* therefore was emboldened by theſe promiſes from God, and marched out againſt his enemies, whom hee ſurpriſed on the fift day. The incounter was ſtrong, & the ſlaughter ſo great, that they who ſhould but heare the ſame would ſcarcely beleeue it: many alſo were ſlaine in the purſuite; ſo that (a few onely excepted) the whole army was put to the ſword. The Kings alſo were all of them ſlaine, and of their men there remained not any one aliue. *Ioſuah* alſo commanded that their horſes ſhould be ſlaine, and hee burned their charriots, and ſecurely marched thorow the whole countrey: ſo that no man durſt ſally out, or make
C head againſt him. He beſiedged likewiſe their ſtrong places, and killed all thoſe whom he might apprehend. Now when the fift yeere was fully finiſhed, and not any one of the Chanaanites were left aliue (except ſuch as were fled into their Cities and forts of defences) *Ioſuah* once more retired his campe toward the mountaines, and placed the ſacred tabernacle in the Citie of Siloe; which ſeemed to bee a very conuenient place, by reaſon of the beautie of the ſame, where the arke might remaine till ſuch time as their affaires of eſtate permitted them to build a Temple. From thence hee departed with all the people to repaire vnto Sichem, and there builded hee an Altar in that place (according as before time *Moſes* had commanded and enioyned) and hauing diuided his army, hee planted the halfe of them on the mountaine of Garizim, and the other halfe on the mountaine of Gebal (on which alſo there is an Altar) with the Leuites and the Prieſts:
D and after they had ſacrificed and done their execrations, and ingrauen them on the Altars, they returned into Siloe. Now inſomuch as *Ioſuah* was well ſtrooken in yeeres, and very well perceiued that the cities of the Chanaanits were hardly to be aſſaulted (both in reſpect of the places wherin they were ſituate, as alſo for the munitions, wherwith (beſides other aduantages of nature) their walles were ſtrengthned and fortified: for the Chanaanites hauing intelligence of the departure of the Iſraelites out of Ægypt, and how they haſtned thitherward, to the intent vtterly to extinguiſh and ouerthrow that nation, ſpent all that time in defencing and fortifying their Cities) hee aſſembled all the people in Siloe, where when (with mutuall and frequent concourſe) they were aſſembled, hee declared vnto them the happy ſucceſſe which (till that time) had befallen them,
E and the braue executions worthy in their euents to challenge God for their author; furthermore the excellency of the ordinances vnder which they liued, alledging that the thirty one kings which had beene ſo hardy as to encounter them hand to hand, had by them beene ouercome: that all the army that had vndertaken to ouerthrow them in battell, was wholly diſcomfited, ſo that there remained not any memory of them. But for that certaine of the Cities were taken, and the reſt better defenced (and for this cauſe more obſtinate) had need of a longer aſſault and expugnation, hee thought good that they (who had beene drawne from out the countrey ſituate beyond Iordan to bee aſſociates in this common cauſe of conqueſt, and by reaſon of affinity had made themſelues copartners and companions in their perils) ſhould bee ſent backe into their owne countrey with all complement of thankes, and gratuitie. Afterwards, that ſome one of each tribe of approued vprightnes and loyaltie, ſhould be pickt out, who leuying out and ſuruay-
F ing the countrey, might faithfully and without fraud report the greatneſſe thereof. This ſentence was approued by the whole multitude, and thereupon diuers men were ſent (accompanied with ſuch as were skilfull in Geometry, who in reſpect of their ſcience could neither erre, nor be deceiued) to meaſure out the land, according to the goodnes thereof. For the nature of the land of Chanaan is ſuch, that there are great plaines very fruitfull, and which (beeing compared with other places) might be eſteemed happy and fruitfull in all ſorts of fruite: but if they be compared with the other countries of Iericho, and the land about Ieruſalem, they ſeeme to bee nothing worth.

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1470.

The kings of the Chanaanites mooue warre againſt the Hebrewes

The huge army of the Chanaanites.

All the kings of the Chanaanites ſlaine, Ioſuah ſpoileth the whole land of Chanaan.

Ioſuah diuideth his army into parts.

The yeare of the world, 2499 before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1465.

Hedio & Kuſpinus, chap. 3. *Ioſ.* 13. 14. 18

Ioſuah commandeth the diuiding of the countrey, & counſelleth that the two tribes and a halfe ſhould be diſmiſſed.

Ioſuah ſendeth certaine men to meaſure and diuide the land.

The yeere of the world, 2499. before Christs Natiuitie, 1465.

worth: for although in generalitie the whole countrey bee ſmall, and for the greater part mountainous, yet in reſpect of the aboundance, bountie, and incredible beauty of the fruits thereof, it is ſecond to no other whatſoeuer. For this cauſe he thought good that the portions ſhould rather bee eſtimated according to their value, then their meaſure; by reaſon that oftentimes one plow land was worth one thouſand other. Thoſe which were ſent were ten in number, who (hauing trauailed ouer the whole countrey and ſuruaied the ſame) returned againe to Siloe, at the end of ſixe moneths, where the Arke was kept. G

Ioſuah 9.

Ioſuah diuideth the Region of Chanaan to the nine tribes and the halfe tribe of Manaſſes.

Then *Ioſuah* (taking vnto him *Eleazar* with the Elders, and Princes of the tribes) diuided the Region amongſt nine tribes, and the halfe part of the tribe of *Manaſſes* (hauing an vnpartiall reſpect of the greatneſſe of euery tribe) and when as each mans lot was caſt, there fell to *Iudahs* part all the higher Iudæa (which extendeth it ſelfe in length euen vnto Ieruſalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodome; to which likewiſe were annexed the cities of Aſcalon and Gaza.) The tribe of *Simeon* (which was the ſecond) obtained a part of Idumæa, confining vpon Ægypt and Arabia. The Beniamites had that countrey which extendeth from Iordan vnto the ſea in length, and in breadth vnto Ieruſalem and Bethel: and this portion was very ſmall (by reaſon that the countrey was good) for it contained the Cities of Iericho and Ieruſalem. The tribe of *Ephraim* was allotted his portion in length, from Iordan vnto Gadera; and in bredth from Bethel vnto the great plaine. The halfe tribe of the Manaſſites was valued from Iordan to the city of Dor in length and in breadth vnto Bethſan (which is at this day called Scythopolis.) After them *Iſachar* had the mount of Carmel, and the flood of Iordan, for the limits and termes of his length, and the mountaine Itobir for the bounds of his bredth. The Zabulonites were allowed that countrey, which ſtretcheth out as farre as Genazereth, and that abutteth on the mountaine Carmel, and the ſea. The countrey which is betwixt Carmel and Sidon, was adiudged to the Aſſerites, in which portion was compriſed the Citie of Arce, which is alſo called Actipus. The Nephthalites poſſeſſed that quarter that ſtretcheth out from the Eaſt vnto the Citie of Damaſcus, and the lower Galilee as farre as the mountaine of Libanus, and the head of Iordan, that iſſueth from the ſame, on that ſide where are the borders of the Citie of Arce on the North ſide. To them of Dan was aſſigned the valley that is extended to the Weſtward, and is terminated by the Cities of Azoth and Dor, that containeth all the countrey of Iamnia and Gitta, from Abaron euen vnto that mountaine where beginneth the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did *Ieſus* diuide the countrey of the ſixe nations (bearing the name of Chanaan) and gaue it in poſſeſſion to nine tribes and a halfe. For Ammorrhæa (ſo called by one of the ſonnes of Chanaan) had beene already taken by *Moſes*, and aſſigned by him to two tribes and a halfe, as I haue already heretofore declared. But all the quarter of Sidon, of the Aruceans, Amatheans and Aritheans were not compriſed in this diuiſion, neither was it tilled. But *Ieſus* (ſeeing himſelfe ouerburdened with yeeres, and vnfit to execute in his owne perſon thoſe counſels, which hee had concluded vpon; and foreſeeing that the Gouernours of the people which ſhould ſucceed after him, would be negligent in procuring the common profit) commanded euery ſeuerall tribe in particular, that (when they ſhould poſſeſſe the countrey thus diſtributed amongſt them) they ſhould not ſuffer any one of the race of the Chanaanites to liue. For *Moſes* had before time tolde and perſwaded them, that their ſecuritie and the maintenance of the cuſtomes of their forefathers conſiſted in that one point) which he had likewiſe learned by his owne experience. Further, that they ſhould deliuer vnto the Leuites thirty and eight Cities, becauſe they had already ten in their poſſeſſion, within the land of Amorrhea: three of which were ordained for cities of refuge to thoſe that fled: (for hee aduiſed them with all conſideration and care to omit nothing of that which *Moſes* had commanded them) of the tribe of *Iuda, Hebron*; of that of *Ephraim, Sichem*; and of *Nepthali, Cedeſa*: which is a place in higher Galilee. Moreouer he diſtributed vnto them the ſurpluſage of the prey which was very great: ſo that not onely in publike, but in priuate, they got no ſmall quantity of ſubſtance, for there was ſo much gold and rayment, and houſhold-ſtuffe, and ſo great ſtore of cattell and horſes, as the number may not bee comprehended. After which hee aſſembled the whole armie, and to thoſe that were planted on the other ſide of Iordan (who had borne armes with the reſt, and were in number no leſſe then fiftie thouſand) hee ſpake after this manner:

H

Supra lib. 4. chap. 7.

Num. 32. Ioſuah 13.

K

Ieſus ſeuerally commandeth euery tribe to roote out the race of the Chanaanites.

L

The cities of refuge. *Num. 35. Deut. 4. Ioſuah 20.*

The diſtribution of the prey.

Ioſuahs oration to thoſe that dwelt on the other ſide of Iordan, and had ſerued with the reſt.

M

Since God (the father and maſter of our Hebrew nation) hath giuen this countrey into our poſſeſſion, and hath promiſed, that (at ſuch time as it ſhall bee conquered) hee will continue and conſerue the ſame in our poſſeſſion, and ſince likewiſe you haue willingly and forwardly aſſiſted vs in all our neceſſities and dangers (according to Gods command and direction) it

is

A is requisite at this present (since there remaines not any further matter wherein wee haue neede to imploy you) that we dismisse you, and abuse not your forwardnesse and readinesse any further, (by reason we are assured that if hereafter we shall haue neede of you, you will with no lesse endeauour and willingnes be as industrious to do vs kindnes. We therefore yeeld you hearty thanks for that you haue vouchsafed to be companions in our perils: and we require you, that you will persеuere in this your mutuall beneuolence, remembring you of your friends, and how you haue gotten your possessions by our helpe, as wee (by Gods fauour and your assistance) haue attained to this our present felicie. Neither haue you aduentured without some reward of your trauels: for in this your warfare you are inriched, and shal beare away with you a great prey both of gold and siluer: and besides all these, our beneuolence and loue, tied vnto you with all alacrity and rea-
B dinesse whensoeuer you shall haue cause to vse vs. For we haue neither forgot nor set light by *Moses* command before he departed out of this life, and haue spared no endeauour, whereby you might allie and tie our affections to you: wee therefore dismisse you to your owne possessions in complete fulnes of your delight, praying you to remember your selues onely of these things, that you will suppose that no terme can terminate our kinred: Neither (by reason of the entercourse of the riuer Iordan betwixt you and vs) suppose you vs to bee any others then Hebrewes. For all of vs (both those that dwell on this side, and on the other side of Iordan) are the posteritie of *Abraham*: and one and the same God hath brought to light both yours and our progenitors; whose lawes and religion (instituted by *Moses*) are diligently to be obserued: for by this meanes, hee will become our helper and fauourer; as on the contrary side (if we shall dege-
C nerate from his statutes) he will be an enemie against vs. After hee had spoken vnto them after this manner, he embraced in particular all those that were in dignitie, and in generall the whole people. This done, he stayed in that place, but the rest of the whole people conueyed them onward with teares, and they departed the one from the other with great griefe and remorse. But after that the tribe of *Ruben* and of *Gad*, and the rest of the Manassites had passed ouer Iordan, they builded an Altar vpon the banke of the riuer, that might serue for a memoriall to posteritie, and a token for the present of the coniunction, which they had with those that dwelt on the other side of Iordan. But when the tidings hereof came vnto their eares that dwelt on the further side of the riuer, and that they knew that they had builded an Altar, but notwithstanding were ignorant of the respect and cause they had in building it, they supposed that seeking to innouate
D their religion, they would introduce the seruice of forraine and false gods: and being rashly stirred vp with this suspicion of the violation of their religion, they put themselues in armes with this resolution, to reuenge themselues of those who had builded that Altar, and to take punishment of them for that they had forsaken the lawes and ordinances of their forefathers. For they supposed that they were not so farre to respect their parentage or dignitie (who were accused) as to forget the will of God, and that seruice which was agreeable in his sight: for which cause (being in this manner incensed) they prepared themselues to the expedition. But *Iosuah* and the high Priest *Eleazar*, with the rest of the Elders restrained them, counselling them first of all to sound their deliberation, and afterward (if it should be apparant vnto them that they did it vnder a sinister intent) at that time they might lawfully inuade them by the sword. Hereupon they
E sent *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazar*, and ten other of the most noblest among the Hebrewes, as Embassadours vnto them, to know what the intent and reason was, why they had builded that Altar on the banke of Iordan.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie, 1475.

Hecdio & Rufinus. chap. 4. *Iosuah* 22. The Israelits after they had past ouer Iordan builded an Altar on the banke thereof.

The embassage of the ten tribes to the rest of the Israelites.

Now when these Embassadours had past the floud, and were come amongst them, they summoned an assembly, and *Phinees* standing vp in the midst of them, spake after this manner. You haue committed so hainous an offence (saith he) as there is no question either to reproue or punish the same hence forward in words: yet notwithstanding we haue not vpon the instant taken armes, neither assaulted you in battell, or had reference or regard to the hainousnesse of your crime, to the intent to punish you, but we haue beene sent to you as Embassadours (in consideration of our alliance) & for that (as we suppose) you may be drawn by good perswasions to the ac-
F knowledgement and detestation of your misdeeds, to the end that when we are informed of the cause that hath induced you to erect this Altar, it might not be thought that we haue headlong thrust our selues into armes against you, if vnder an holy affection you haue builded the same: and if it appeareth otherwise, that the offence is iustly imputed and grounded against you, we may take reuenge of the same, according as reason requireth. For scarcely could we beleeue that you (who are inwardly grounded in the knowledge of God, and who are hearers of those lawes which he himselfe hath giuen you) should (since your departure from vs, and vpon your arriuall in

Phinees oration to the Rubinites.

The yeere of the world, 2499. before Christs Nativity. 1565.

in your own patrimonie (which you haue obtained by lot by the meanes of his grace, and peaceably enioy by the power of his prouidence) ſhould forget him, ſo ſoone as to forſake the Tabernacle, Arke, and Altar, which we haue by hereditarie right receiued from our progenitours, and introduce ſtrange Gods, to the intent to be partakers of the impieties of the Chanaanites. But if you repent your miſdeedes, and plunge your ſelues no further in ſo great madneſſe, but reclaime your thoughts, and reuerence your domeſticall and ancient lawes, the pardon is granted you: but G

» if you obſtinately perſiſt in your wickedneſſe, we will refuſe no trauell for the maintenance of
» our lawes, but paſſing the riuer in defence both of them (or to ſpeake more fitly) of our God, and
» accounting you no leſſe hatefull and impious then Chanaanites, we will vtterly roote out and
» race both their memorie, and your poſteritie together. For doe not ſuppoſe this, that becauſe
» you haue paſt the riuer, you are exempt from Gods power, becauſe in what place ſoeuer you
» be, you are numbred amongſt them that appertaine vnto him; and it is impoſſible for you to a- H
» uoide either his power, or his vengeance: And if you thinke that the place is an impediment
» and let vnto you from following the better courſe, it were better for you to make a new diuiſi-
» of lands, and leaue this region to be conuerted into paſtures. It behoooueth you therefore to
» grow better aduiſed, and that changing your purpoſe, you deſiſt from innouation: Whereunto
» we exhort you by that loue which you beare to your children and wiues, and beſeech you by
» the reſpect you hold of that which is moſt deere vnto you, that you inforce vs not to wage warre
» againſt you, who are wholly vnwilling to liſten to your iniuries. Reſolue your ſelues therefore
» in this preſent matter, aſſuring your ſelues that therein conſiſteth the iſſue, whether you had ra-
» ther perpetually enioy your peace and affections by our perſwaſion, or expoſe both you and I
» yours to the perill of a bloudy warre.

The Rubenites anſwer.

After that *Phinees* had finiſhed this his oration, they that were the Peeres and principals of the aſſembly, gaue this anſwer in defence of the common cauſe. Men and brethren, neither

» will we neglect our kinred, neither innouate any thing in that religion, of which we make a reue-
» rend account: we know that there is one God common vnto all the nation of the Hebrewes, and
» acknowledge alſo his braſen Altar which is before the Tabernacle, and no other but that ſhall re-
» ceiue our ſacrifices. As for that which we haue now erected, and that breedeth in you at this pre-
» ſent a cauſe of ſuſpicion, we built it not to the intent to pacifie God by ſacrifices, but that it might
» remaine as a perpetuall argument of our friendſhip, and might admoniſh vs of our countrey re-
» ligion, not to the end you ſhould ſuſpect it were an induction toward the violating of religion: K
» And that this was the onely cauſe which allured and induced vs to build the ſame, we onely chal-
» lenge God for our faithfull witneſſe (for which cauſe hereafter conceiue a better opinion of vs)
» and God forbid you ſhould ſuppoſe vs to be ſo beſotted in that ſinne, of which, whoſoeuer of
» *Abrahams* poſteritie is guiltie, and whoſoeuer ſhall degenerate from the manners and cuſtomes
» of his forefathers, may not expiate that crime without a capitall puniſhment. As ſoone as *Phi-*
nees had heard theſe things, and praiſed their conſtancie; he returned vnto *Ieſus*, and declared all thoſe things vnto the people: who reioycing (in that they had no occaſion to leuie men, nor cauſe of ciuill warre or bloodſhed) offered vnto God their ſacrifices of thankſgiuing; and preſently diſſoluing the aſſembly, each man returned vnto his owne home, but *Ieſus* choſe his habitation in

Ioſuah dwelt in Sichama.

Sichama. Twenty yeares after: *Ioſuah* being extremely olde (calling vnto him the moſt honou- L
rable of euery Citie, and both the Elders and Magiſtrates, and as many of the people as

Ioſuahs exhortation at his death, to the Magiſtrates and Elders amongſt the Hebrewes.

might commodiouſly be aſſiſtant) ſpake vnto them after this manner. Firſt he called vnto their remembrance the diuers benefites which God had beſtowed vpon them, by meanes whereof from their poore and afflicted eſtates, they had attained to ſo great riches and glory: then exhorted hee them, that they ſhould endeuour themſelues hereafter in ſuch ſort as God might hold and continue his mercifull hand ouer them; ſince they knew, that his beneuolence could bee allied vnto them by no other means, but by their good indeauours: he further alledged, that it was his duty before he departed out of this life to admoniſh them of their duty; laſt of all he required them that they ſhould accept of that his good admonition, and ſhould bee perpetually mindfull of the ſame. After this his oration he paid the due of nature, and died in the hundreth and tenth M

Ioſuah 23.24. Ioſuahs death

yeere of his life; whereof hee ſpent forty as miniſter vnder *Moſes* their magiſtrate, and after his death, gouerned the common-weale twenty fiue yeares: a man of incomparable both prudence and eloquence. Moreouer ſtrong and expedite in matter of gouernment, and both good and profitable in affaires of peace; finally moſt exact in all ſorts of vertue: hee was buried in a Citie

Eleazars death.

called Thamna belonging to the Tribe of the Ephramites. About the ſame time likewiſe died *Eleazar* the high Prieſt (leauing the inheritance of the Prieſthood to *Phinees*) the monument laid

A laid on his ſepulcher is extant in the Citie Gabatha. After their deaths *Phinees* beeing demanded by the people what Gods pleaſure was, and to whoſe charge the affaires and warres againſt the Chanaanites ſhould bee committed, anſwered them that God commanded them to giue the gouernment to the tribe of *Iuda*, which by election choſing *Simeon* and his, they for their aſſociates vndertooke the warre vnder this condition, that when they had vtterly rooted out the remnant of the Chanaanites out of their owne nation, they ſhould likewiſe employ themſelues to extinguiſh all the reliques of that race amongſt the other tribes.

The yeere of the world, 2409. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1465.

Iudg. 1.

CHAP. II.

B *How the Iſraelites after the death of their Emperour, forgetting the religion of their forefathers, fell into extreame calamities: and how through a ciuill warre raiſed amongſt them, there were onely 600. of the tribe of* BENIAMIN *left aliue.*

BVT the Chanaanites (whoſe eſtate at that time was in ſufficient ſecurity) expected them with a great hoſt about the Citie of Bezeca, hauing their army conducted by the King of that place called *Adoni-Bezec*, which name ſignifieth Lord of the Bezecenites: (for, *Adoni* in the Hebrew tongue is as much to ſay as Lord) now theſe men promiſed vnto themſelues the vpper hand, by reaſon that *Ioſuah* was deceaſed. Againſt theſe (of whom I haue foreſpoken) the two tribes fought very valiantly, and ſlaying tenne thouſand of them (whileſt they

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 2.

C purſued the reſt) they tooke *Adoni-Bezec* captiue, who hauing his hands and feete cut off, acknowledged the diuine iuſtice: for he confeſſed that he had vſed ſeuentie and two Kings before times after the ſame manner. In this plight they conducted him neere vnto Ieruſalem, where departing out of this life they buried him. Then ouerranne they the countty, ſacking and taking the Cities, and after they had diuers of them in their poſſeſſion they beſieged Ieruſalem, and entring the lower Citie thereof, they put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But the higher towne was very hard to be aſſaulted (by reaſon of the fortreſſes and ſtrength of the walles, and the naturall and ſtrong ſituation of the place) which was the cauſe that they leuied their campe to goe and beſiege Hebron, which they tooke, and ſlew all thoſe that were therein. In that time there were

Ten thouſand Chanaanites ſlaine, and Adoni-bezec taken.

The yeere of the world, 2525. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1439.

Ioſuah 21.

D ſome remainder of the race of Giants, who in that they were greater in ſtature, and vnlike vnto other men, were horrible to behold, and terrible to be heard. Their bones are to be ſeene as yet at this day, which for their hugeneſſe ſurpaſſe all credulity or conceit. This Citie was giuen in way of honour to the Leuites with two thouſand cubits of land, or thereabouts: and as touching the reſt of the countrey it was freely giuen to *Caleb*, according as *Moſes* had commanded it (this was one of thoſe ſpies which *Moſes* ſent to ouerlooke the land of Chanaan.) They gaue lands and poſſeſſions likewiſe to *Iethro* the Madianites poſterity (who was father in law to *Moſes*) for that they had forſaken their owne territories, and annexed themſelues to the Iſraelites, and had beene with them in the deſart. The tribe of *Iuda* and *Simeon* tooke thoſe Cities of the mountaynous countrey of Chanaan, and thoſe that were in the Plaine neere vnto the ſea coaſt (namely *Aſcalon* and *Azoth*.) But as touching *Gaza* and *Accaron*, they eſcaped: for theſe Cities being in the Plaine,

Iethroes poſteritie who was the father of Moſes poſſeſſed of lands

E and defenced with a great number of charriots, repulſed thoſe that aſſaulted the ſame to their diſaduantage. So theſe two tribes hauing had good ſucceſſe in warres, retired themſelues into their Cities, and laide aſide their weapons.

As touching the Beniamites to whom Ieruſalem appertained, they receiued the inhabitants thereof as their tributaries, ſo that all of them being in peace, and the one ceaſing from ſlaughter, and the other aſſured from danger, both of them imployed themſelues in manuring the countrey. The reſt of the tribes did the like, conforming themſelues according to the example of the Beniamites, and contenting themſelues to receiue their tributes, they ſuffred the Chanaanites to liue in peace. The tribe of *Ephraim* (beſieging the Citie of Bethel) could not ſee ſuch an ende of their deſſeigne, as the length of time and the trauels they had taken in the ſiege required: and

The Iſraelites ouercame not the Chanaanites at one time.

The Ephraimites recouer Bethel by a ſtratageme.

F although they were very much toyled and wearied with the ſame, yet deſiſted they not the continuance of the ſiege. At laſt they tooke one of the City (who iſſued forth to find out certaine neceſſary things that he wanted) whom they aſſured that if he would deliuer them the Citie, they would ſaue him, and grant life and libertie likewiſe to all them that were of his linage; who ſware vnto them that he would deliuer the Citie into their hand: which when he had performed, both he and his were wholly warranted; but all the reſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword. From that time forward the Iſraelites behaued themſelues more mildly towards the enemie, and im-

The yeere of the world, 2525 before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1439.

ployed them in tillage of their lands, and husbanding their fruits : and being growne in riches they followed the delights and pleaſures of the world, yea in ſuch ſort grew they diſſolute, that they had no minde neither of their policy, nor the lawes of their forefathers. Whereupon God was grieuouſly incenſed againſt them, who gaue them to vnderſtand firſt of all, that contrary to his commaund they had ſpared the Chanaanites : and afterwards, that thoſe Chanaanites in time to come ſhould exerciſe great cruelties againſt them. And although they were aſtoniſhed at that which was declared vnto them, yet notwithſtanding they toke no pleaſure in feats of armes, both for that they had receiued many profits by the Chanaanits, as alſo for that (being effeminate thorow delights) they were vnapt for labour. It hapned them at ſuch time as their Ariſtocraticall gouernment was corrupted, and that they reſpected not their elders, or any other magiſtrates before time ordained, and were extreamly addicted vnto gaine, and infinitely tooke pleaſure therein; that amidſt their greateſt ſecurity, a grieuous mutiny and commotion was once more raiſed amongſt them, ſo that at length they fell at oddes one with another, on that occaſion which enſueth. G H

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al. 3.

The Iſraelites omit warre.

Iudg. 19. The hiſtory of the Leuites wife.

A certaine Leuite and one of them of the common ſort, that dwelt within the dominions of the Ephraimites, tooke a wife that was borne in the Citie of Bethleem, which pertaineth to the tribe of *Iuda*, whom (by reaſon of her incomparable beautie) he moſt intirely loued ; and found himſelfe much aggrieued, for that he found not her affection anſwerable to his loue : at laſt his paſſion ſo much preuailed with him, as they grewe at oddes, and fell into contentious miſlikes, whence at laſt it fell out that the woman (tired with diſquiet) forſooke her husband, and went and dwelt with her father. The husband ſore aggrieued thereat (by reaſon of the loue which he bare her) came vnto her fathers houſe and appeaſed the differents, and was reconciled vnto her : There abode hee for the ſpace of foure dayes, being friendly intreated and intertained by his wiues father and mother. On the fift day, he thought good to returne to his owne dwelling, and both of them departed about mid-day (by reaſon that the father and the mother gaue them a loth farewell, and conſumed the better part of the day in entertainment.) They had a ſeruant which followed them, and an aſſe likewiſe, on which the woman was mounted. Now when they had trauelled the ſpace of thirty Stadia or furlongs, and that they drew neere the Citie of Ieruſalem : their ſeruant counſelled them to take vp their lodging in ſome place, for feare leaſt by their late trauell they might fall into ſome diſaſter, the rather for that they were not farre from the enemies countrey, and that the preſent time was ſuch, as might make thoſe things that were moſt aſſured, ſuſpected. But this opinion of his pleaſed not his maſter, who would not lodge amongſt thoſe of a forraine nation (for the citie pertained to the Chanaanites) but his intent was to paſſe further, and trauell yet twenty furlongs more, to take vp his lodging in one of their cities. This aduiſe of his beeing allowed, they came to Gaba of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, when it was late : and whereas they found no man in the market place that might lodge them ; at length a certaine old man, returning out of the countrey to his houſe (who was by birth an Ephraimite, and dwelt in that City) meeting with him, asked him what he was, and for what cauſe ſo late as it was hee ſought for his ſupper ? He anſwered, that he was a Leuite, and that he brought his wife with him from her father and mother, and was returning to his houſe, which was amongſt the Tribe of *Ephraim*. The old man hauing regard vnto parentage (by reaſon that he was of the ſame tribe, and that by good hap they had after that manner met the one with the other) lodged him in his owne houſe. But certaine yong men amongſt the Gabeonites, perceiuing the woman in that place, were rauiſhed in admiration of her beauty and good graces, and getting ſome notice afterwards that ſhee had beene brought thither as a gueſt, they ſet light by him (by reaſon of his weaknes and age, and the ſmall retinue that he had in his houſe) and came and knockt at his doore. The olde man required them to depart, and that they ſhould offer him no violence, nor to her, outrage. But contrariwiſe they importuned him to deliuer them his gueſt, and that done they promiſed him in no ſort to procure his further moleſtation. But although that the olde man alleadged that ſhee was of his parentage, and that her husband was a Leuite, and that they ſhould commit an hainous offence, in ſinning for their corrupt pleaſures ſake againſt the lawes : yet had they no regard of equity, but mocked him, menacing him likewiſe to murther him, becauſe he hindred them from ſatisfying their luſt. Finally, he was driuen to that exigent, that (to the intent they ſhould not offer violence to his gueſt, and a ſtranger) he abandoned and proſtituted vnto them his owne daughter, ſuppoſing it to be a leſſe inconuenient to let them ſatisfie their vnbridled concupiſcence on her, then that his gueſt ſhould ſuffer any villany ; at leaſtwiſe he made this account, that by this meanes he ſhould not be guilty of any iniury done vnto them. Notwithſtanding all this, they intermitted not to ſolicite and vrge the deliuery of the woman (being incenſed I K L M

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1438.

Thirty Stadia are foure Italian miles.

Two Italian miles and a halfe.

The horrible wickedneſſe of the Gabeonites.

A incenſed in vnbridled luſt towards her.) Contrariwiſe he beſought them that they would not be ſo audacious as to violate the lawes: but they ſeconded their diſordinate deſires with extreme violence,and rauiſhed her perforce, and led her to their owne lodgings. Afterwards (when as during all the night time they had lewdly appeaſed their luſts on her) they thruſt her out of doores from them vpon the breake of day. But ſhe being wholly deſolate,and diſcomforted by this diſaſter,returned to her lodging, and both by reaſon of the agonie which ſhee had ſuffered, as alſo for the ſhame that hindered her from appearing before her husband, who would be incredibly and extreamly tormented with that accident,ſhe fell downe and gaue vp the Ghoſt. Her husband ſuppoſing that ſhee was onely ſeiſed with ſome ſound ſleepe (not ſuſpecting any other inconuenient) thought to awake her, with that deliberation to comfort her, becauſe ſhee had not wil-
B lingly condeſcended to their violences and luſts, but maugre her reſiſt was rauiſhed by them,and taken out of his lodging. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued that ſhe was dead, he moderated his affections, conſidering the extreamitie of his euils, and laying the dead body vpon his Aſſe,he carried it to his houſe; where he no ſooner arriued,but that he diuided and cut the ſame into twelue pieces, which he ſent to the twelue tribes of Iſrael; commanding them that bare the ſame to tell euery tribe, who they were that were the authors of the death of his wife,and that villany they had practiſed againſt her. The tribes were very much diſcontented at that which they both ſaw, and heard (hauing neuer before that time heard of any the like aduenture) and incenſed with extreame diſpleaſure(and yet iuſt) they aſſembled themſelues in Siloe: and being arranged be-
C fore the Arke, they reſolued ſodainly to take armes, and to aſſaile the Gabeonites as their capitall and mortall enemies. But the elders with-held them, declaring vnto them that they ought not after that manner enterpriſe a headlong warre againſt their brethren,before they had conferred and debated the cauſe with them, and examined the crimes whereof they were accuſed; the rather, for that the law permitteth not any warre(no not amongſt ſtrangers)before an enterparle and embaſſage,which might reclaim thoſe that were held culpable & reduce them to reaſon. For which cauſe they tolde them that they ſhould conforme themſelues,both according to the letter of the law, and the bond of brotherhood, to ſend certaine meſſengers to the Gabeonites to demand at their hands the authors of that villany, to the end that when they were deliuered, they might take their ſatisfaction by their puniſhment: but if they ſhould not regard that which was demanded, then that it was lawfull for them to aſſaile them with open warre. Hereupon they
D ſent certaine meſſengers to the Gabeonites to accuſe thoſe yong men that had perpetrated that indignity againſt the woman,to demand them at their hands,to the intent they might ſuffer condigne puniſhment by death for the breach they had made of the law. But the Gabeonites would not yeeld vp the yong men, ſuppoſing it to be an indignity for them for feare of war to be obedient to other mens commandements, by reaſon that they thought themſelues no waies inferiour vnto others in feates of warre, both in reſpect of their number, and the courage both in the one and the other. The reſt of the tribe alſo made great preparation, by reaſon they were all of them reſolued, & vnited together,mutually to defend thēſelues againſt whoſoeuer ſhould aſſaile them. After that the report of the Gabeonites anſwer was brought vnto the Iſraelites,they ſware an oth the one vnto the other,that none of them would giue their daughters in mariage to a Beniamite,
E promiſing each of them to iſſue and make war againſt them: againſt whom they were more incenſed,then our predeceſſors haue bin animated againſt the Chanaanites, as we haue bin giuen to vnderſtand. They ſpeedily therefore leuied and led into the field an army of 400000.men againſt them. The Beniamits hoſts conſiſted of 26000.armed men, and 600. others, 50. of which were expert in ſhooting, and fighting with the left hand. The field was fought neere to Gaba, wherein the Beniamites put the Iſraelites to flight,who were ſlaine to the number of 22000. and more of them had beene ſlaughtered that day, had not the night ſodainly ouertaken them and ended the skirmiſh. Thus did the Beniamites ioyfully returne vnto their Cities,and the Iſraelites were diſcomforted thorow their vnexpected calamitie. The next day they once more renewed the battell,and the Beniamites had the vpper hand once again: ſo that the Iſraelites loſt eighteene
F thouſand men more, and by that meane forſooke their campe thorow feare, & retired to Bethel, which was not farre off from the place. The day after they faſted, and beſought God (by the mediation of *Phinees* the high Prieſt) that it would pleaſe him to appeaſe his wrath againſt them, and that contenting himſelfe with the two ouerthrowes which he had ſent them,he would now at laſt both giue them victory and valour to encounter their enemies. All which God promiſed them by the prophecy of *Phinees*. Whereupon they diuided their army into two parts,and laid the one thereof in ambuſh neere vnto the Citie. In the meane time (whileſt the other halfe that

The yeere of the world, 2526. before the Nativitie of Chriſt, 1478.

The Leuite diuideth the bodie of his wife into 12. parts,and ſent them to the 12. tribes. *Iudg.* 20.

The Iſraelits ſend Embaſſadors to the Gabeonites to require thoſe at their hands that had committed the rape. They deny to yeeld them vp: hereupon the Iſraelites make an oth neuer to match their daughters with any one of the tribe of Beniamin,and they leuy and lead out againſt them an army of foure hundreth thouſand men.

Twenty two thouſand Iſraelites ſlaine in battell.

Eighteene thouſand Iſraelites more ſlaine.

The Iſraelites place one halfe of their battell in ambuſh, and as if they fought with diſaduantage they retired by little and little.

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Christs Nativitie. 1438.

made head against the Beniamites retired themselues, to the intent their enemies should assault them) the Beniamites sodainly issued, and set vpon them that orderly retired, and the more they retired (vnder purpose to draw them the further from the town) the more eagerly the enemy insisted: so that all they likewise, who through age and weaknes were left in the City, sallied out as companions and sharers in the future prey. But when as they were drawne far enough from the City, the Hebrewes staied, made head, and fought against them. Then gaue they a signe to those that were in ambush, in such sort as was accorded amongst them: who sodainly issuing out together, rushed in vpon their enemies with a huge crie. Who seeing themselues so sodainly surprised knew not what to doe, but retiring themselues into certaine Baricadoes, they defended themselues with arrowes, but all of them were slaine, except it were sixe hundreth: who making head, and closely filletted and embattelled together, thrust themselues desperately into the midst of their enemies, and by this meanes escaped they into the mountaines hard by, where they encamped. All the rest to the number of twenty fiue thousand or thereabouts were slaine. And the Israelites burned Gaba vtterly, and slew both the women and children. They exercised no lesse iustice on the other cities of *Beniamin* (so much were they fleshed and transported with fury.) And for that *Iabes* (a Citie of Galaad) would not ioyne with them in battell against the Beniamites, they sent twelue thousand chosen men out of their companies to destroy the same, who slew all those that might beare armes, with their wiues and children, except foure hundreth virgins. So much griefe and fury had they conceiued through the accident that chanced to this woman, and the despight they had conceiued against the Beniamities for prouoking them vnto armes: which furie when it was somewhat appeased, they repented themselues, reputing themselues to be depriued of one tribe: And although they thought them iustly oppressed in battell (by reason they had offended against the lawes of God) yet celebrated they a fast in the behalfe of the dead. They sent Embassadors also, and reuoked those sixe hundreth that were fled, and held a certaine rocke in the desart which is called Rhoa. The Embassadours complained not onely for that the warre had extinguished them, but also for the Israelites had lost their Parents: and by these perswasions they preuailed so much, that they bare their crosse and losse with lesse griefe, and they came vnto them and besought them that they would not giue sentence of the totall extinction of the tribe of *Beniamin*. We grant you (said they) the reuenues of your whole tribe, and as much bootie as you may driue away. But they acknowledging their iniustice, and that they were condemned by the iust iudgement of God, returned into the possessions of their tribe, and the Israelites gaue them in marriage those foure hundreth virgins of *Iabes*: and for the rest (which were two hundreth) they deliberated with themselues how they might prouide them of wiues, to the intent they might haue issue. And when as before time in the beginning of their warre it was decreed by an oath, that none of them might match his daughter with any of the tribe of *Beniamin*; there were some of them that thought good that the oath might be suspensed withall (by reason it was grounded vpon wrath, and not on iudgement) alleadging further, that they should doe nothing contrary to the will of God, if they might saue a tribe which was in danger vtterly to be extinct: That periuries were dangerous and noysome, not at such time as they are inforced by constraint, but when they are practised with an intent to doe euill. But when as the Elders reclaimed here-against (abhorring the mention of periury) there arose vp a certaine man amongst them, that said he had a policie, whereby without breach of oath the Beniamites might light vpon wiues. And being commanded by the Senate to expresse the same, we haue a custome euery yeere (said he) to assemble and keepe a feast at Siloe, and for companions in those our congregations we haue both our wiues and daughters: as many of these as they can rauish, let the Beniamites lay hold of, without reproofe (neither being inhibited nor encouraged by vs) and if their fathers shall be displeased therewith, and shall require reuenge, we will say that they are in the fault who haue negligently kept their daughters, and that we ought not too much to whet our wrath against the Beniamites, for that we had too much already vsed and abused the same towards them. This sentence was allowed by all of them, and it was decreed, that it was lawfull for the Beniamites to rauish and violently take to themselues wiues amongst them. Now when the feast was at hand, the two hundred Beniamites (of whom we haue spoken (came two by two, and three by three, and lay in ambush neere vnto the Citie (amongst the vines and other thickets, and close places, in which they might hide themselues to surprise the Damsels.) Now they suspecting nothing, securely and pleasantly wantoned on their way: but the yong men breaking from the ambush, laid hold of them (beeing scattered and diuided here and there) and after they had married them they departed home to labour their land, and began to studie anew

Fiue & twenty thousand Beniamites slain, & onely sixe hundreth escape aliue.

Iabes & other Cities of the Beniamites burned. *Iud. 21.*

The Israelites reuoke the sixe hundreth that were fled.

The Israelites gaue the Beniamites the foure hundreth virgins of Iabes in marriage.

When & how an oath ought to be kept.

The Beniamites are permitted to rauish them wiues.

G H I K L M

A anew how to recouer their former good hap. Thus the tribe of *Beniamin* (which was wel-nigh vtterly exterminated) was restored to his former dignity after this manner, by the wisedome of the Israelites: and it incontinently flourished and encreased in a little time, as well in number of men as in all other things. Thus finished this fatall warre. *The yeare of the world, 2526. before Christs Natiuitie, 1438.*

The like accident hapned to the Tribe of *Dan,* which fell into the like incombrance for this cause which ensueth. Hedio & Ruffinus, hap. 7. al. 4.

The Israelites about this time hauing forgotten the exercise of armes, and being onely occupied in tilling, and trimming their land: the Chanaanites (in contempt of that nation) raised forces, not for that they were affraide of their owne estates, but to the intent that ouerlopping the Hebrewes with some memorable ouerthrow, they might more securely inhabite their Cities thereafter: and conspiring together (and arming a great number of footmen; and ioyning to B them certaine chariots) they drew *Ascalon* and *Acharon* (two cities within the lot of *Iuda*) into their confederacie, and diuers other Cities of the champaine countrey: so as they of *Dan* were driuen into the mountaines, hauing no place in the champaine where they might peaceably inhabite; who (for that neither in warre they were able to confront them, neither had sufficient habitation for the number of men, which they had) sent fiue men of their tribe into the champaine countrey and Midland, to spie if they could finde any place that were fit and conuenient for them to establish and fixe their colonies in. These trauelled a daies iourney not farre from the mountaine of Libanus, and more lower then are the sources of Iordan, bordering vpon the great plaine of the citie of Sidon. In which place (hauing obserued that the land was good and fertile in all sorts of fruits) they made it knowne vnto their people, who trauelling thither with C their army, builded a citie in that place called *Dan* (by the name of the sonne of *Iacob* so called, and in honour of the tribe of *Dan.*) Many aduersities befell the Israelites from that time forwards, both for that they were vnexercised in trauell, and for that they contemned piety. For hauing once forsaken the obseruation of their ordinances, they suffered themselues to be deuoured in pleasures, liuing according to their owne appetites: so that they gorged and glutted themselues with those vices, which were most of all accustomed and vsuall amongst the Chanaanites. *Iudg. 18.* The tribe of Dan oppressed by the Chanaanites. They of Dan seeke out a place to inhabite.

CHAP. III.

How the people of Israell by reason of their wickednesse, were by God deliuered to the D *seruitude of the Assyrians.*

FOR this cause the wrath of God was kindled against them, in such sort, as (through their negligence) they lost the good which they had gotten by infinite trauell. For *Schisart* king of the Assyrians leuied an army against them, who killed a great number of their men in the fight, and either by force, or composition, tooke diuers of them prisoners; and brought their city vnder his subiection. Diuers also willingly submitted themselues vnto him, (through the feare they had conceiued) and they payed tributes exceeding their powers, induring all kinde of outrage for the space of eight yeeres, after which they were deliuered by these means following. *Iudg. 3.* The Israelites oppressed by Schisart.

CHAP. IIII.

E *Their liberty restored by* CENIZVS.

A Certaine man of the tribe of *Iuda* called *Cenizus*, a man of execution and of braue courage, was aduertised by a voice from heauen, that he should not permit the Israelites in that sort to be reduced into so extreame necessity, without taking care for them, but that he ought to aduenture himselfe to set them at liberty. For which cause, calling vnto him some few companions of his perils, who were discontented with their present estate, and desired a change, he first of all discomfited the garrison which *Schisart* had placed ouer them: and so much F was he furthered with his first successe, that the number of his followers increased more & more, so that they seemed sufficient to equall the enemy in open field: whereupon encountring him in one battaile, they ouercame him, and recouered their libertie; and the rest of the scattered and confused army retired themselues toward Euphrates. Now after that *Cenizus* had by this effect giuen proofe of his valour, he receiued the gouernment at the peoples hands, and exercised the office of iudge fortie yeeres, at the end whereof he died. Ibidem. Cenizus or as the holy Scripture speakes, his sonne Athniel raigned eight yeeres.

CHAP. V.

How the people were againe made ſubiect to the Moabites, and how by IODES *they were exempt from ſeruitude.*

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1438.

AFTER whoſe death (the gouernment and ſeat being voide) the affaires of the Iſraelites began againe to fall to ruine, and the rather for that they neither yeeled due honour vnto God, neither obedience to the lawes: whence it came to paſſe, that *Eglon* king of the Moabites (ſeeing the diſorder of their policy) ſet them at nought, ſo that he waged war againſt them, and ouercame them many times. And for that he was a Prince of greater forecaſt then any of his predeceſſors, he fought againſt them and weakned their forces, and conſtrained them to pay tribute.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. *Iudg.* 3. Eglon king of the Moabites conquereth the Iſraelites.

This man (tranſlating his court to Iericho, and proud in his victories) omitted no meanes whereby he might vexe and moleſt the people: ſo that they liued for the ſpace of 18. yeeres in great miſerie. But God (being mooued with their calamities, and ſupplications) deliuered them from their intollerable thraldome after this manner. *Iodes* the ſonne of *Gera* of the tribe of *Beniamin* (a yong man, both addreſſed by valour of minde, and ſtrength of hand to attempt any worthy action) dwelt at Iericho. This man inſinuated himſelfe into *Eglons* familiaritie, and by preſents and gifts entertained and courted him in ſuch ſort, as he was well beloued and eſteemed amongſt all thoſe courtiers that were neereſt about the King. It chanced one day, that bearing certaine preſents vnto the king (attended by two of his houſhold ſeruants) he ſecretly girt a dagger to his right thigh, at ſuch time as he entred in to the king: now it was about mid-ſommer and mid-day likewiſe; whereby the watch was growne the more careleſſe and ſlothfull, partly by reaſon of the heate, and partly for that the guard were occupied about their dinner. The yong man therefore offering his preſents vnto *Eglon* (who at that time diſported himſelfe in a certaine ſommer chamber) began to diſcourſe with him. Now they were both alone (by reaſon that the king reſoluing to talke familiarly with *Iodes*, had ſent away his guard, and ſate him downe in a ſeate:) but *Iodes* fearing, leaſt falling to ſtab home enough, he ſhould not giue him a fatall and deadly wound, required him to riſe, telling him that he had a dreame to report vnto him by the commandement of God. Whereat he reioycing very much, leapt from his ſeate; whereupon *Iodes* ſtabd him to the heart: and leauing the poynard ſticking in his wound, he eſcaped and locked the doore after him; the guard making no noiſe at all, ſuppoſing that the king had laid him downe to reſt. But *Iodes* giuing priuate notice hereof to them of Iericho, offered himſelfe to be their leader in the recouery of their former liberty: who (willingly accepting thereof) preſently tooke armes, & ſent trumpets to publiſh the ſame thorow the whole country: (for after that maner were they wont to aſſemble the people.) They that were about *Eglon* were wholly ignorant of that which hapned: but about the euen-tide (fearing leaſt ſome miſhap had befalne him) they entred into the place where he was, and found him dead; whereat they were greatly aſtoniſhed, ſo as they knew not what to doe. For before they had aſſembled their forces together, the Iſraelites fiercely charged them, and ſome they killed inſtantly; the reſt that were ten thouſand in number, betooke themſelues to flie, vnder hope to recouer their countrey of *Moab*: but the Iſraelites (hauing before that, laide and fortified the paſſages of Iordan) purſued them and ſlew them: ſo that diuers of them periſhed in the Ferry, and not one of them remained that eſcaped their hands. By this meanes the Iſraelites were deliuered from the ſeruitude of the Moabites: and for this cauſe *Iodes* was aduanced to the gouernment of the people. Finally, after he had liued for the ſpace of foureſcore yeeres, he died. A man (beſides the act of late rehearſed) worthy of praiſe in all other things. After him *Sanagar* the ſonne of *Anath* was elected gouernour, and in the firſt yeere of his raigne, he left this life to partake the fruition of another.

The yeare of the world, 2574. before Chriſts birth, 1430.

Iodes of Ehud inſinuateth himſelfe into Eglons familiaritie.

Iodes killeth Eglon.

The Moabites put to flight and ſlaine by the Iſraelites.

The yeere of the world, 2614. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1350.

CHAP. VI.

How the Iſraelites were brought vnder the ſubiection of the Chanaanites, and ranſommed from ſeruitude by BARAC.

Hedio & Ruffinus. c. 9. *Iudg.* 4. Iabin king of the Chanaanites, ſubdueth the Iſraelites.

BVT the Iſraelites (in no ſort reclaimed or reconciled by their forepaſſed calamities) fell againe into their former impietie and diſobedience: and before they had ſufficiently ſhaken off the ſeruitude of the Moabites, were ſubiected vnto *Iabin* king of the Chanaanites. This man kept his reſidence imperiall at Aſor (a Citie ſituate on the lake of Sachonites) he

A he had in pay thirty thouſand foote, and ten thouſand horſe: and beſides theſe, hee had three thouſand warlike Charriots. Ouer all this huge army commanded *Siſares* (an eſpeciall man amongſt the kings fauourites) who encountring with the Iſraelites, brought their affaires into ſo deſperate an eſtate, that they willingly (for their owne ſecuritie ſake) accepted ſeruitude, and paied tribute (whereunto they were inforced through the auſteritie of their ſubiection, almoſt for the ſpace of twenty yeares, not daring to lift vp their heads) all which fell vpon them by the will of God, to the end he might puniſh the too great contumacy and ingratitude of that nation. Who at length repenting themſelues, and acknowledging the cauſe of their calamities (namely that it proceeded from the contempt of their lawes) they repaired to a certaine Propheteſſe called *Debora* (which name in the Hebrew tongue ſignifieth a Bee) beſeeching her that by her prayers ſhe would endeuour to prouoke God vnto mercy (to the intent hee ſhould not ſuffer

B them ſo to be oppreſſed by the Canaanites.) Hereupon God (beeing inclined to take compaſſion on them granted them helpe, and appointed *Barac* to bee their gouernour (a man of the tribe of *Nepthali*, whoſe name ſignifieth lightning. *Debora* therefore ſending for *Barac* commandeth him to picke out, and muſter ten thouſand choſen men, and leade them foorth againſt the enemy: alleadging that they were ſufficient to obtaine the victory which God had promiſed by the Oracle. But *Barac* denying to vndertake the gouernment, except ſhee alſo would adminiſter the ſame with him, ſhe mooued therewith, ſpake thus: Wilt thou (ſaid ſhe) ſurrender the "
dignity which God hath giuen thee, to a woman? well I will not refuſe it. Whereupon leuying "
tenne thouſand men, they pitched their tents neere to the mountaine of Itabyr. *Siſara* at that time (according as the king had commanded him) preſently marched out to meete them, and

C encamped himſelfe not farre from the enemy. But *Barac* and the reſt of the Iſraelites (beeing terrified with the multitude of the enemies) was encouraged by *Debora*, who commanded them that very day to enter and vndertake the battell, aſſuring them that the victorie ſhould be theirs, and that God would both aſſiſt and helpe them: whereupon they charged the enemy, and there ſodainly fell a ſtorme of raine mixed with haile, which the winde droue againſt the faces of the Chanaanites, and tooke away their ſight, making thoſe that carried dartes, and ſuch as ſerued with the ſling, vnprofitable in their ſeruice; the Targetiers likewiſe hauing their hands benummed with colde, could ſcarcely wield their ſwords. But the tempeſt beating on the backes of the Iſraelites, not onely wrought them leſſe offence, but made them alſo more forward (being whetted therunto by the manifeſt ſigne of Gods fauour and preſence.) Whereupon diſarraying and

D breaking thorow their enemies battell, they made a great ſlaughter of them, ſo as part of them fell by the weapons of the Iſraelites: the reſt were ouerrunne by their owne horſemen and chariots. *Siſara* alſo as ſoone as he ſaw his ſouldiers turne their backes leaping from his charriot, fled away haſtily, till at laſt he arriued in the tent of a woman of Cenetis called *Iael*, who being deſired by him to conceale and hide him, entertained him: and whereas he required drinke ſhe gaue him ſowre milke, which when he had ouergreedily drunke, he fell aſleepe: and whileſt he ſo lay buried in his ſlumbers, *Iael* tooke a mallet and droue an yron nayle thorow his temples, and faſtned him to the pauement: and anon after, when *Baracs* ſouldiers came vnto her, ſhe ſhewed him vnto them, in ſuch manner as he was nailed. And thus a woman according as *Debora* had foretolde was the author of this victory. But *Barac* leauing his army to Aſor, ſlew *Iabin* that came out a-

E gainſt him: and hauing ſlaine the king, and leuelled the city with the ground, he gouerned the Iſraelites for the ſpace of forty yeares.

The yeere of the world, 2614. before Chriſts Nativity. 1350.

Siſares or Siſara the captaine of the hoſt.

Debora the Propheteſſe.

Barac appointed Emperour againſt the enemie.

Debora and Barac charge the enemy.

Siſara ſlaine with his hoſt.

Iael killeth Siſara with an yron nayle.

Barac gouerned the Iſraelites 40. years.

CHAP. VII.

How the Amalechites ouercomming the Iſraelites, deſtroyed their countrey for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares.

The yeare of the world, 2654 before the Nativitie of Chriſt. 1310

BVt when *Barac* and *Debora* were dead, about the very ſame time and hard after, the Madianites accompanied with the Amalechites and Arabians armed themſelues againſt the men of Iſrael; and encountring them in open field ouercame them in a

F great battell, and (deſtroying their fruits and harueſt) led away a great prey, and when as they continued theſe their incurſions for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, they compelled the Iſraelites to forſake the champaine, and flie vnto the mountaines: who digging them dens and houſes vnder the earth, kept all that ſecretly hidden which they had reſerued and conueied from the fury of the enemy. For the Madianites inuading them in the ſommer time, permitted the Iſraelites to plie their husbandry in the winter, to the intent they might ſpoile and depopulate their countrey

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 10. *Iudg. 6.*

The Madianites confederate with the Amalechites ouercome the Iſraelites in a great battell.

countrey the more. Thus liued they in perpetuall famine and want: neither was there any other hope or ſuccours left them,but onely by prayers and ſupplications vnto God. G

The yeare of the world, 2654. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1310.

CHAP. VII.

How GEDEON *deliuered the Iſraelites.*

God cõmandeth Gedeon to deliuer the Iſraelits from the Madianits. *Iudg. 7.*

ABOVT that time,*Gedeon*(the ſonne of *Iaſus*, one of the chiefeſt of the tribe of *Manaſſes*) ground certaine ſheaues of corne,which he had ſecretly conueied into his preſſe: for hee durſt not bring them openly, for feare the enemy ſhould haue eſpied him. To him appeared there a viſion in the forme of a young man, which ſaid vnto him,that hee was happy and beloued of God: and that a certaine ſigne of his good happe ſhould bee, that hee ſhould vſe his preſſe in ſteed of his grange; willing him to be of good courage, and to endeuour himſelfe to recouer his countries libertie. *Gedeon* anſwered, that it was impoſſible, by reaſon that the tribe whereof hee was deſcended, had very few men in it; and that hee was too young and feeble to thinke on affaires of ſo great conſequence: but God promiſed him to ſupply his neceſſities in whatſoeuer he held himſelfe deficient; and aſſured him(vnder his conduct)that hee would giue the Iſraelites the victorie. Theſe things *Gedeon* communicated with certaine young men, who willingly beleeuing the Oracle,anſwered, that for the preſent they had ten thouſand ſouldiers in a readineſſe, moſt ready to attempt any thing in regard of their libertie. But God appeared to *Gedeon* in a dreame,and tolde him that men naturally were louers of themſelues, and haters of thoſe who were excellent in vertues: ſo that if there grow any queſtion of victorie, they forget God,and appropriate the ſame vnto themſelues, ſaying; that they are many, and all valiant men at armes. To the end therefore that they may conceiue his handie worke in their deliuerance, hee counſelled him that about the mid-time of the day, at ſuch time as the heate was moſt vehement, hee ſhould conduct his armie to the riuer; and that beeing there; hee ſhould diligently obſerue thoſe that bowed themſelues to drinke, which hee might eſteeme for men of valour: but all thoſe that dranke haſtily and with noiſe, ſhould bee marked as men fearefull and affraide of the enemie. *Gedeon* did according as God had commaunded him, and there were found three hundreth men that lifted water to their mouthes with their hands, with feare and trouble: God willed him that he ſhould aſſaile the enemy with thoſe three hundred, promiſing that hee would giue him the victorie. About this time were they incamped vpon the banke of Iordan, ready to paſſe the foord the next morrow. But *Gedeon* was ſore troubled, by reaſon that God had before times tolde him that he ſhould aſſaile the enemy by night: but God willing to deliuer him of his feare, commanded him to take one of his ſouldiers with him, and enter the campe of the Madianites, aſſuring him that he ſhould be both aduiſed and encouraged by themſelues: whereunto hee obeyed, and for his better aſſurance, hee tooke with him one of his ſeruants. Now as hee drew nie a certaine tent, hee perceiued that they that were within the ſame were awake,and that one of them with a loud voice,tolde his companion the dreame which that night he had had; which *Gedeon* ouer-heard,and thus it was. Him ſeemed that hee ſaw a barly cake(ſo loathſome as no man would feed vpon the ſame)which rowled thorow the camp,which firſt ouerthrew the kings tent,& afterwards the tents of all his ſoldiers: alleadging that this viſion ſignified the loſſe of the whole army. Annexing to this his allegation the reaſons that induced him thereunto; namely that of all ſorts of corne,barley is moſt contemptible; and amongſt all the nations of Aſia, there were not this day any people to bee found more diſgraced and contemned then the Iſraelites,and that in this reſpect they reſembled barley. That which at this day ſeemeth to encourage them is *Gedeon*,and the army that is with him:and whereas this cake turned to ouerthrow our tents, I feare me leaſt God hath giuen ſome ſigne of victorie vnto *Gedeon*. *Gedeon*(hauing ouerheard all theſe things) conceiued good hope, and tempted with a valiant heart,and preſently commanded his domeſticall ſeruants to arme themſelues, diſcourſing vnto them the viſion which appeared to their enemy: whereupon they ſpeedily prepared themſelues at his commaundement, ruminating and hammering in their mindes vpon that diſcourſe which hee had declared vnto them. About the latter watch of the night, *Gedeon* led foorth his army,and diuided them into three bands, and in euery band he put a hundreth men: all of theſe bare in their hands empty pots, in which were hidden burning torches, in ſuch ſort as the enemy might not diſcouer them when they ſallied out: Moreouer they bare rams hornes in their right hands,which they vſed in ſtead of trumpets. The aduerſe army tooke vp much ground(by reaſon H I K L M

God cõmandeth Gedeon to chooſe a few men. The victory is to be attributed to God.

Gedeon repaireth to the enemies tents and by them is confirmed by a dreame.

Gedeon with three hũdreth attempteth the fight.

A reaſon that they had a great number of Camels, and were diſtributed by nations) yet notwithſtanding were all of them comprehended in one incloſure. *The yeare of the world, 2654. before Chriſts birth, 1310.*

The Hebrewes hauing had inſtructions from their captaine what they ought to doe, at ſuch time as they approched neere vnto their enemies, and the ſigne of the battell was giuen, they ſounded their hornes, and brake their pots, and with their flaming lights brake into the enemies campe; crying victorie, victorie, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the ſtrength of Gedeon. Hereupon ſuch a trouble and feare ſurpriſed the enemy, as they lay aſleepe (for this accident fell out in the night time, and God diſpoſed all things to this iſſue) that few of them fell by the Hebrews ſword, but they themſelues ſlew one another in great numbers (by reaſon that they were different in language.) For confuſedly encountring one another, they maſſacred all thoſe that encountred B them, ſuppoſing them to be enemies. When the rumour of this ſlaughter, and Gedeons victorie came vnto the eares of the reſt of the Iſraelites, they armed themſelues, and purſued and ouertooke the enemie (being intangled and circumuented in certaine places made vnpaſſable thorow many running brookes) ſo that being inuironed on euery ſide, they were all of them put to the ſword, amongſt which were their two kings *Oreb* and *Zeb*. The reſt of the chieftaines trouping onward with their ſouldiers to the number of eighteene thouſand or thereabouts, encamped not farre from the Iſraelites: But Gedeon was no waies aſtoniſhed hereat, but purſuing them valiantly with his whole armie, and charging them deſperately, he diſcomfited all the reſt of the enemies, and led away captiues thoſe chieftaines which remained, namely, *Zeeb* and *Ezarbon*. There died in this battell of the Madianites and Arabians their allies to the number almoſt of ſixeſcore C thouſand: beſides that the Hebrewes tooke an ineſtimable prey of gold, ſiluer, apparell, Camels and other horſes. But *Gedeon* returning into his countrey, *Ephraim* ſlue the reſt of the kings of the Madianites: neuertheleſſe the tribe of *Ephraim* being diſpleaſed with his happy execution, reſolued to make warre againſt him, accuſing him for that he had not made them priuy of his ſtratageme intended againſt the enemy. But *Gedeon* being a temperate man, and endowed with all kinde of vertue, gaue them this modeſt anſwer, that it was not he that by his owne direction had ſet vpon the enemie, but that it was Gods onely handie worke: notwithſtanding that the victorie was no leſſe theirs, then his or thoſe his followers that atchieued the enterpriſe. And with theſe his words appeaſing their wrath, he no leſſe profited the Hebrewes thereby, then by his valiant actions, by reaſon that he deliuered them from a ciuill warre, whereinto they had D fallen, if his diſcretion had not preuented it. This tribe was puniſhed for this outrage offered to ſo noble a perſonage, as we will declare hereafter in his place. *Gedeon* labouring to diſmiſſe himſelfe of the gouernment, was forced to continue the ſame, and ruled the Iſraelites for the ſpace of fortie yeeres, doing iuſtice to euery one that required the ſame at his hands, and deciding their controuerſies (ſo irreuocable and certaine was that eſteemed which he had decreed.) Finally he died when he was very old, and was buried in the countrey of *Ephraim*.

The Madianites & their confederates kill one another.

The Iſraelites purſue their enemies, and kill Oreb and Zeb. *Iudg. 8.*

Gedeon taketh Zeeb and Ezarbon.

One hundreth and twentie thouſand Madianites with their confederates ſlaine.

The yeare of the world, 2292. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1270.

Gedeon raigned 40. yeeres.

CHAP. IX.

How ſome of GEDEONS *ſucceſſours made warre with the nations round about them.*

E

GEDEON had ſeuenty lawfull ſons begotten on diuers lawfull wiues: he had likewiſe one baſtard by his concubine *Druma*, which he called *Abimelech*, who after the deceaſe of his father, retired himſelfe to Sichem (where his mother was borne) there (aſſiſted with money by his mothers kinred, and backed by them who were men reſolute and addreſſed to all facinorous actions) he returned to his fathers houſe, where he ſlew al his brethren (except *Iothan*, who by good hap ſaued himſelfe by flight) now when as *Abimelech* had once obtained the tyranny, he ruled all things according to his luſt, and neglected the ordinances and preſcript of law, hating all thoſe that in any ſort were maintainers of equity. One day therfore whileſt there was a ſolemne feaſt held at Sichem (whereunto the whole people were vſually wont to reſort) *Iothan* F his brother (who as we ſaid, ſaued himſelfe by flight) climing the mountaine of Garizim, which ouerhangeth the Citie of Sichem, with a loud voice (which might eaſily be ouerheard by the people, and in a generall ſilence of the whole multitude) hee beſought them that they would heare him in a few words, and when as they intentiuely liſtned with a greater and more reuerend ſilence; hee told them in times paſt the trees were accuſtomed articulately to ſpeake after the manner of men, and that (in a certaine aſſembly wherein they were to conſult of their gouernment) they beſought the fig-tree to accept the ſoueraigntie ouer them, which when ſhe refuſed, and

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. *Iudg. 6. 9.*

Abimelech killeth 69. of his brethren.

Iothan by an alluſion vpbraideth the Sichemites of their ingratitude towards Gedeon.

The counſell of the trees in choiſe of a king.

The yeare of the world, 2694. before Christs Nativitie. 1270.

and pleaded in his own behalfe that he was contented with that honour which he reaped by the meanes of the fruit which he bare, & sought not further. The trees surceased not to seeke an other prince, resoluing with themselues to ascribe that honour to the Vine, which in as many words as the Fig-tree refused the same, and no lesse did the Oliue tree: At last they preferred their humble protestation of election to the great Bramble (whose wood is good for firing) hee answered if » you doe vnfainedly require me for your king, repose your selues vnder my shadow; but if you in- » tend treasons against me, there shall a fire issue from me and consume you. These things, said *Iothan*, I report vnto you not to mooue you to laughter, but for that you) hauing receiued many » benefits at the hands of *Gedeon*) suffer *Abimelech*, who in spirit differeth nothing from the fire, to » vsurpe the Princedome after the slaughter of my brethren. When he had spoken after this manner hee departed, and for three yeares space liued hidden amongst the mountaines, flying the power of *Abimelech*. Neither did there many daies ouerpasse, but that the Sichemites (beeing moued with compassion and iust reuenge in respect of the murther which was committed vpon the sonnes of *Gedeon*) banished *Abimelech* out of their Citie, and the whole tribe. Whereupon he resolued to do some mischiefe to both the Citie & Citizens: and for that their vintage was at hand, & they durst not gather the fruit, fearing least they should receiue some iniury at the hands of *Abimelech*. By good happe about that time a certaine Prince called *Gaal* retired thither with a troupe of souldiers and his kinred: him did the Sichemites beseech that he would grant them a conuoy, whilest they had gathered in their haruest: which request of theirs beeing accepted by *Gaal*; they issued out with their forces, being seconded by him and his, and securely brought in their fruits, and feasting one with another in companies, they were so bold as to scoffe at *Abimelech*, and the chiefest of his followers: and the chiefest of those strangers among them that came into their city to their assistance, surprised by Ambuscado diuers of *Abimelechs* people and slew them. But *Zebel* one of the Sichemites and *Abimelechs* host signified vnto him by a messenger, how *Gaal* incited the people against him, inuiting him to lye in wait for him neere about the Citie, promising him that he would bring *Gaal* thither, to the end that hee might easily reuenge him of that iniurie which his enemy had offered him. Which done, hee promised to worke so wisely that he would reconcile him to the peoples fauour againe: & when as *Abimelech* had chosen a place fit to lie in ambush, and *Gaal* with *Zebel* too carelesly liued and walked in the suburbes, at length he sodainly espying certaine armed men, cried out to *Zebel*, that he had discouered the enemie, whereunto *Zebel* replied that they were the shadow of rockes: but *Gaal* drawing more neere vnto them and perceiuing apparantly who they were, answered *Zebel*, that they were no shadowes, but ambushes of men. Whereunto *Zebel* replied, Doest thou not obiect cowardise to *Abimelech*, why therefore shewest thou not thy great valour in fighting with him? *Gaal* confusedly amazed, assailed the souldiers of *Abimelech*, in which conflict certaine of his followers were slaine, and he himselfe fled into the Citie (giuing example vnto the rest to follow him.) Hereupon *Zebel* laboured that *Gaal* might be expulsed out of the Citie, accusing him of his cowardly encountry with the souldiers of *Abimelech*. Now when as the same *Abimelech* had afterwards gotten certen intelligence, that the Sichemites would issue anew to gather their vintage, he laid an ambush neere vnto the Citie. And no sooner were they issued, but that the third part of his troopes surprised and seised the gates to cut them off from their returne, that thought to reenter; the rest ranne after those that were scattered here and there: so that there was a great slaughter on euery side, and the Citie was ruinated euen vnto the very foundations (for they could not withstand the siege) and they sowed salt vpon the ruines thereof. Thus perished all they that were in the Citie of Sichem. But they that escaped thorow the countrey, and had auoided the danger, assembled and fortified themselues vpon a strong rocke, and there incamped and began to defence the same. But as soone as *Abimelech* had notice of their intention, he hasted thither with his forces, and inuironed the place with fagots of drie wood (carrying them thither in his owne person, and encouraging thereby those of his armie to doe the like) so that the rocke was incontinently compassed with wood. Whereunto he set fire round about, and in an instant it flamed and burned vehemently, so as none of them were saued, but all of them perished with their wiues and children, to the number of fifteene hundred men, besides many other of the weaker sort. This calamitie hapned to the Sichemites (in so grieuous a measure that there is not any griefe sufficient to deplore it) were it not that that so horrible misfortune fel vpon them, by reason of their ingratitude they had shewed to so vpright a iudge, and so gracious a benefactor. *Abimelech* alaid the courage of the Israelites by this encounter and conquest of the Sichemites, and gaue sufficient testimonie that he aspired more higher, and that he would neuer

The Sichemites banish Abimelech.

Abimelechs practise against the Sichemites.

Gaal put to flight by Abimelech, is banished out of Sichem.

Sichem taken and sacked and rased to the ground.

The Sichemites flying are burned vpon a rocke.

terminate

A terminate his violence vntill he had vtterly extinguiſhed them. He therefore led foorth his army againſt the Tibeans and their Citie, which he tooke: but in that towne there was a great tower, whither all the people had retired themſelues, and whileſt he prepared himſelfe to beſiege the ſame, and approched likewiſe neere vnto the gates, a certaine woman caſt a peece of a milſtone at him, and hit him on the head: which was the cauſe that *Abimelech* called at that time for his ſquier, commanding him to diſpatch him, to the intent it might not be reported that hee died by the hands of a woman. His ſquier did according as hee had commanded him, and reuenged on *Abimelech* (by putting him to death) the cruelty he had committed againſt his brethren, and the tyranny executed vpon the Sichemites; on whom all theſe misfortunes fell according as *Iothan* had foretold them. As ſoone as *Abimelech* was ſlaine, all the armie was diſperſed,
B and euery one returned vnto his dwelling place: and *Iair* the Galeadite of the tribe of *Manaſſes* tooke vpon him the gouernment. Amongſt other conditions of this man, theſe were of the greateſt note, that he was rich, and had thirty worthy ſonnes, all expert vpon horſe backe, and exerciſed the magiſtracie in the countrey of Galaad: hee (after hee had gouerned the people for the ſpace of twenty yeares) died, when he was very olde, and was honourably intombed in Chamon a Citie of Galaad. From this time forward the policy and eſtate of the Hebrewes grew more and more diſordered, and the lawes began to be neglected: Whence it came to paſſe that the Ammonites and Philiſtines (ſetting light by them) deſtroyed all their countrey with a great army, during which time they occupied all the land on this ſide Iordan, and ſo much were they heartned, as that they preſſed further, and poſſeſſed the better part on the other ſide of the riuer,
C and conquered the ſame. Wherupon the Hebrewes being brought to more moderation by theſe their aduerſities, had their recourſe vnto God by prayers and ſacrifices, requiring him that it might pleaſe him to moderate his wrath, and that hauing regard and reſpect to their ſupplication, he would be pleaſed to ſtay his heauy hand ouer them. This ſubmiſſion of theirs preuailed with God, who inclined himſelfe to aſſiſt them. Whileſt therefore the Ammonites led their armie into Galaad, they of the countrey aroſe to meete and fight with them, beeing diſfurniſhed of a gouernour to conduct them. Now there was a certaine man called *Ieptha*, of great eſtimation, as well for the vertue of his anceſtors, as his owne particular valour (the rather for that he had beene trained and maintained in warlike ſeruice.) To him they ſent a meſſenger, requiring him that he would aſſiſt them; promiſing him, that he ſhould continue in the gouernment during
D the terme of his life. But he was nothing mollified with this their requeſt, but reprochfully obiected againſt them, that they had abandoned him at that time, when as his brothers had done him open wrong: for (by reaſon he was not their brother by the ſame mother, but a ſtranger, begotten on a woman which their father had entertained for his paramour, they had driuen him out of their family, ſetting light by him, by reaſon of his baſe birth) yet notwithſtanding he had liued in Galaad, receiuing all thoſe into wages which came vnto him, of what place ſoeuer they were. But after they had beſought him, and ſworne vnto him that he ſhould continue in the gouernment, hee became their generall in warre, and ſpeedily (prouiding and foreſeeing whatſoeuer was neceſſary, he encamped himſelfe neere vnto Maſpha, and ſent Embaſſadours to the Am-
E monites, accuſing them for inuading a countrey that belonged not vnto them. They contrariwiſe blamed the Iſraelites, for that they were fled like fugitiues from Ægypt, and commanded that the Iſraelites ſhould depart out of Amorrhæa (which was their ancient patrimony.) *Ieptha* anſwered that they had no reaſon to accuſe their anceſtors, in reſpect of Amorrhæa: but rather that they ought to giue them thanks, for that they had permitted them to enioy the countrey of Ammon, by reaſon it was in *Moſes* power to haue commanded the ſame. In a word, they were reſolued not to forſake the countrey which God had both giuen and purchaſed for them, and which they had held in their poſſeſſion for the ſpace of three hundred yeares, alledging that hee would defend the ſame againſt them by dint of ſword: with theſe words diſmiſſed he the Embaſſadours of the Ammonites. Then beſought he God that it might pleaſe him to grant him victo-
F ry: and he made a vow that if hee returned vnto his houſe whole and in ſafetie, hee would offer vp in ſacrifice, that of his which he ſhould firſt meete withall in his returne: whereupon encountring the enemie he defeated him, and purſued him, killing thoſe that fled continually till he came to the Citie of Maniathen. Then entring the countrey of the Ammonites; hee deſtroyed diuers Cities, and led away a great prey, and deliuered and ranſomed diuers ſlaues of that nation, who had endured that ſeruitude for the ſpace of eighteene yeares. But as he returned homeward, hee fell into ſuch an inconuenient, as was no waies anſwerable to his noble actions. For his onely daughter (of the age of eighteene yeares) came out to meete him: whereupon reſoluing and

melting

The yeere of the world, 2694. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1270.

Abimelech taketh Tebez. A woman woundeth Abimelech and his ſquier killeth him. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 19. *Iud. 10.*

The yeare of the world, 2697. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1267.

Thola raigned 23. yeares. After him, Iair 22. yeares.

The yeare of the world, 2710. before Chriſts birth 1245.

The Iſraelites oppreſſed by the Ammonites and Paleſtines.

The yeare of the world, 2742. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1222.

Ieptha is created the Iudge of Iſrael.

The yeare of the world, 2760. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1204.

Ieptha maketh a vow.

He ouercommeth the Ammonites.

The yeare of the world, 2780. before Christs Natiuitie, 1204.

melting himselfe into teares, he began to check her for that so hastily she had issued forth to meet him, by reason he had consecrated the first thing he met withal to God. But this accident was no waies displeasant vnto the Damsel, but that she willingly died, both for the victorie of her father, and the deliuerance of her brethren: shee therefore besought her father that it would please him to grant her two moneths before she should be sacrificed, to the end she might lament her youth with her companions: and that after that terme, her father might acquit himselfe of that vowe which he had made. *Ieptha* granted her the terme and time she had limited, which being expired, he sacrificed his daughter for a burnt offering: which oblation of his was neither conformable to the law, nor agreeable vnto God (by reason he examined not in his vnderstanding before he committed the act, how it would be taken by those that should heare the report thereof.)

Iептha sacrificeth his daughter.

The tribe of *Ephraim* hearing of his victories, would haue sent out men of warre against him (by reason he had not communicated his enterprise against the Ammonites with them, but had onely reserued the prey, and vsurped the honour of the execution to himselfe) whereunto he answered first of all, that being of his kinred, they could not be ignorant that both hee and his were assailed by warre; and had besides that also beene required to giue them their assistance, whereunto they had answered very faintly, and being requested would not be present. Secondly, he told them that that which they vndertooke was both vnlawfull and most wicked, in that not daring to confront or assaile the enemie, they made no bones to set vpon and assault their owne brothers and familiars, threatning them that if they gouerned not themselues, he would (by the assistance of God) be reuenged on them. But these words of his were both neglected & despised, so that he was forced to arme himselfe against them, and with an host of men sent from *Galaad*, he made a great slaughter, partly in pursuing those that fled, partly also in preuenting their passage who fled vnto Iordan: and the number of those that were slaine amounted to forty thousand or thereabouts. But after that *Iephta* had gouerned sixe yeeres he deceased, and was buried in Sebei, in the place where he was borne, and in the countrey of *Galaad*. After his decease, *Apsan* tooke vpon him the gouernment. He was of the tribe of *Iuda*, of the citie of Bethleem, and had sixtie children, thirty males and thirty females, which he left all aliue and married: he died when he was very old, without performing any thing worthy either recitall or memory, during the space of his seuen yeares gouernment: he was buried in his country. *Elon* a Zabulonite his successor differed nothing from him in the same, and during the terme of ten yeeres wherein he gouerned, he atchieued nothing that was worthy commendation. *Abdon* the sonne of *Elon* (of the tribe of *Ephraim* of the Citie of Pharathon) was declared soueraigne Iudge after *Elon*, and is renowned onely for his felicity in his children (by reason that the estate was in peace and security, and that hee exploited nothing worthy glory) hee had fortie sonnes, who had thirty other children, and he rode accompanied with these seuentie, who were all of them expert on horseback. Hee left them all aliue, and died when he was very old, and was magnifically buried in Pharathon.

The Ephraimites are incensed against Iептha. *Iud. 12.*

Almost forty thousand of the Ephraimites slaine. Iептha dieth. Apsan was for seuen yeares space the Iudge in Israel. Elon raigned ten yeares.

The yeare of the world, 2773. before Christs Natiuitie. 1191.

Abdon Iudge.

CHAP. X.

Of SAMPSONS *valour, and how many mischiefes he did vnto the Philistines.*

The Israelites are ouercome by the Palestines. Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 13. al. 10.

AFTER his death, the Philistines had the vpper hand ouer the Israelites, and exacted tribute from them for the space of forty yeares. From that misery were they ransomed after this manner: *Manoach* an excellent man, and one of the chiefest of the tribe of *Dan*, recounted without exception for the onely esteemed Prince amongst them had a wife most famous for her beautie, and excellent amongst all other of that time; yet had hee no children by her; whereat he was very sore displeased: and for this cause hee made his continuall prayers vnto God (departing with his wife to his countrey farme) beseeching him that it might please his maiesty, to grant him some lawfull heire and successour (now the place whither they resorted was situate in a broad Plaine.) Furthermore he loued his wife so exceedingly, that hee almost doted on her, and for this occasion he was extreamely iealous of her. Whilest thus the woman liued solitarily by her selfe, an angell of God appeared vnto her in a vision, promising her a goodly, faire and puissant sonne, who denounced vnto her the pleasant message of the birth of her child, which God by his prouidence would bestow vpon her, who should be goodly and admirable in his forces, and vnder whom also (as soone as hee should attaine to mans estate) the Philistines should endure many ouerthrowes: exhorting her not to cut his haire, commanding likewise

The yeare of the world, 2782. before Christs birth 1181.

The Angell foretelleth Sampsons birth.

A likewiſe that he ſhould taſte no other drink but water (becauſe that God had ſo commanded it:) and after he had finiſhed theſe ſayings, he departed according to the pleaſure of God. As ſoone as her husband returned home againe, ſhe told him all that which the Angell had ſaid vnto her, who was amazed at the beauty and greatneſſe of the yong meſſenger, who appeared vnto her after ſo ſtrange a manner, as *Manoach* was almoſt ſpent with iealouſie and ſuſpicion (which ſuch a paſſion is woont to engender.) But ſhee deſirous to mittigate his diſcontent, and that diſtruſt which he had vainely and vnaduiſedly conceiued; Beſought God that it might pleaſe him once more to ſend his Angell vnto her, to the intent that her husband might ſee him. Whileſt therefore they liued in this ſort out of towne, the Angell preſented himſelfe againe (through the grace of God) and appeared vnto the woman (being apart from her husband.) But ſhe beſought him to abide vntill ſuch time as ſhe had called her husband: which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe went B and fetcht *Manoach*, who notwithſtanding was not deliuered of his ſuſpicion: but required him that he would againe relate vnto him all that which he had ſignified to his wife. The Angell anſwered him, that it ſufficed that ſhe onely knew it: whereupon he asked him what he was, to the end that when his ſonne ſhould bee borne, hee might both giue him preſents, and preſent him thankes. The Angell anſwered, that he had no neede thereof, by reaſon that he had not brought the good newes of the birth of his ſonne for any neceſſity that he had: *Manoach* beſought him to ſtay and receiue ſome token of kindneſſe: but he would not conſent. Finally, being inſtantly preſſed to abide and receiue ſome gift: *Manoach* killed a kid, and commanded his wife to roſte the ſame. And when as all things were in readineſſe, the Angell commanded them to lay the bread and fleſh vpon a rocke without diſhes: which being done, he touched the fleſh with a wand C which he bare in his hand, and ſodainly a flaming fire conſumed both the bread, and fleſh; and the Angell was ſeene to aſcend vp into heauen in the ſmoake as it were in a chariot. *Manoach* was affraid leaſt ſome inconuenient ſhould happen vnto him, by reaſon that they had in that ſort ſeene God: but his wife recomforted him, by reaſon that God had appeared vnto them for their profit ſake. Anon after ſhe became big with childe, and obſerued all that which had beene commanded her, and when the infant was borne ſhe called his name *Sampſon* (which is as much to ſay, as ſtrong) who preſently endowed with an excellent beauty both of mind and body, vſing his haire vnſhorne, and ſobriety in his diet, he ſeemed to make ſhew in himſelfe of ſome propheticall and more then humane forwardneſſe.

The yeere of the world, 2782. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1181.

The Angel appeareth once more vnto Manoach.

Sampſons birth. *Iudg 14.*

It hapned on a day that there was a ſolemnity celebrated in Thamna a Citie of the Phili- D ſtines, whither *Sampſon* reſorted with his father and mother, and was ſurpriſed with the loue of one of the damſels of that place, requiring his father and mother that this maiden might be giuen him in marriage: which they refuſed to doe, alleadging that ſhe was not of the ſame linage that he was of, and that God would prouide him of a match to the good and profit of thoſe of his nation: but in the end he preuailed ſo much, that he eſpouſed the maiden. Now as he ordinarily walked to her parents, it hapned one day, that beeing diſarmed, hee met with a Lyon vpon the way, whom he graſped and ſtrangled with his hands; and hauing ſlaine him, hee caſt the bo- dy of the beaſt into a wood not far diſtant from the high way. Another day, and at another time, returning in like ſort to the damſell, hee found a ſwarme of Bees which went and made their hony and habitation in the breaſt of the ſame beaſt, and hee tooke three hony combes which hee E carried with other preſents vnto his betrothed. After this hee inuited the Thamnites to the celebration of his marriage, who (for that they ſuſpected his forces) vnder colour to doe him honour, choſe out thirty of their ſtrongeſt and valianteſt yong men, whom in words they aſſigned for his companions, but in effect appointed for his guardians; to the end hee might not attempt any commotion at ſuch time as he had drunke deepely: and there was nothing intended but ſport, according as it is the cuſtome in other ſuch like occaſions. To whom *Sampſon* ſaide, I wil propoſe a queſtion vnto you, which if any one of you can reſolue, I wil giue each of you a fine linnen ſhirt, and other veſtments in reward of your prudence. They being very deſirous both to be reputed wiſe, as alſo to gaine the reward which was propoſed, willed him to propound his que- ſtion: which he did in theſe tearmes. He that deuoureth all, and that of himſelfe is vnpleaſant to F be fed vpon, hath brought forth a moſt pleaſant kinde of fruite. They trauelled for the ſpace of three dayes to finde out the ſenſe thereof, but they could not: and therefore they required *Sampſons* beſt beloued, that ſhee would ſound the ſecrets thereof, and diſcloſe the ſame vnto them; which if ſhee failed to performe, they threatned to burne her to death. *Sampſon* at the firſt (notwithſtanding all her flatteries and ſolicitations) denyed to tell it her: at laſt ſhe vrged him ſo inſtantly, and ſhed ſo many teares (telling him that if hee did not expound the queſtion vnto her,

Sampſon teareth a Lyon in pieces with his hands.

Sampſon marrieth one of the daughters of the Philiſtines.

Sampſon propoundeth a riddle to the Thamnites.

The yeare of the world, 2791. before Christs birth 1173.

that ſhe would take it for a certaine ſigne that he hated her: that at laſt he told her what hapned with the Lyon which he had ſlaine, and how in him hee had the three hony combes which hee brought vnto her: and (ſuſpectleſſe of either fraud or guile) he deciphered the whole ſtory vnto her, and ſhee afterwards reported the ſame to thoſe that had beſought her in that behalfe. When as therefore the ſeuenth day was come wherein the queſtion was to bee decided, they aſſembled themſelues together about ſunne-ſet, and ſaid: There is nothing more irkſome to meete withall then a Lyon, neither any thing more pleaſant to taſte, then hony: Whereunto *Sampſon* replyed, that there was not any thing more fraudulent then a woman, for ſhee it is that hath reported my words vnto you. Notwithſtanding all this, he deliuered that which he had promiſed them out of that booty, which he had taken from certaine Aſcalonites, whom he encountred vpon the way. From that time forward hee forſooke this marriage, and the woman (the more to deſpite him) married one of his friends, who had in his behalfe firſt ſollicited the marriage. *Sampſon* (beeing the more incenſed by this iniury) reſolued to reuenge himſelfe both on her, and the whole nation: For which cauſe in the ſommer ſeaſon (when the corne was ready to be reapt) hee tooke three hundreth foxes, to whoſe tayles he faſtned flaming torches, and droue them into the Philiſtines fields of corne, conſuming by this meanes all their harueſt hope. The Philiſtines vnderſtanding that *Sampſon* had done this, and conceiuing the reaſon that induced him to execute this action, ſent their garriſon to Thamna, and burnt this woman aliue with all her kinred, as the authors of that loſſe that had hapned vnto them. After that *Sampſon* had ſlaine diuers Philiſtines in the countrey, hee went and dwelt at Etam (which is a ſtrong rocke in the tribe of *Iuda*.) For which cauſe the Philiſtines aſſailed that tribe, who certified them that there was no reaſon why they ſhould ſuffer for thoſe offences which were committed by *Sampſon*, and that in eſpeciall, becauſe they paied them tribute. The Philiſtines replied, that except they would not be maintainers of this act of iniuſtice, they ſhould deliuer *Sampſon* vnto them. They therefore (deſirous that the Philiſtines ſhould haue no cauſe of quarrell againſt them) came vnto the rocke to the number of three thouſand men, or thereabouts, and blamed *Sampſon* for thoſe actions which hee dared to commit againſt the Philiſtines (a people that might endomage all the nation of the Hebrewes) alledging further that they came to the end to take, ſurpriſe and deliuer him into the Philiſtines hands, praying him to ſubmit himſelfe voluntarily to that their reſolution. *Sampſon* made them ſweare that they would doe him no further iniury, but deliuer him onely vnto their enemies, and that done he deſcended from the rocke, ſurrendring himſelfe to the hands of thoſe of Iuda, who bound him with two cables, and led him away to deliuer him to the Philiſtines. Now being arriued in a certaine place, which before that time had no name, and at this preſent is called the Maxilla, that is to ſay a Iawe (by reaſon of the valour which *Sampſon* ſhewed in that place) and approaching neere the Philiſtines campe; ſhouting and reioycing in their preſence, by reaſon that they had faithfully executed that which they willed them) *Sampſon* brake his bonds, and catching vp the iawe of an Aſſe which hee found at his feete, and marching foorth againſt the Philiſtines, he ſlewe and beate downe to the number almoſt of two thouſand of them, putting all the reſt to flight and confuſion. *Sampſon* (becomming more elate after this execution then he ought to haue beene, and confeſſing not that it was done by the aſſiſtance of God, but attributing the ſame to his owne vertue) gloried, that with the iawe of an Aſſe he had partly ſlaine, and partly conſtrained the enemies both to feare and flie. But being ſeiſed with an exceeding thirſt, hee acknowledged and confeſſed that mans force is of no force, and proteſted that all ought to be aſcribed to God, whom he beſought that he would not be diſpleaſed with that which he had ſpoken, but that it might bee remitted, and himſelfe deliuered from the preſent danger. Whereupon God heard his praiers, and cauſed a pleaſant and aboundant fountaine to iſſue and ſpring from the foote of a rocke: for which cauſe *Sampſon* called the place Maxilla or Iaw, which name continueth euen vnto this day. After this battaile *Sampſon* ſet light by the Philiſtines, and went to Gaza where he ſoiourned in an Inne. The gouernours of the Citie vnderſtanding of his arriuall, ſet men to keepe the gates, to the end hee might not depart without their knowledge. But *Sampſon* (beeing no waies ignorant of that which they intended againſt him) aroſe about midnight and carried away the gates, with the hinges and lockes and all the furniture of the ſame; and laying them on his ſhoulders, carried and caſt them on the mountaine Hebron. Not long after that hee tranſgreſſed the ordinance of his fathers, and corrupted his domeſticall manner of liuing, conforming himſelfe to the faſhions of the Gentiles, which was the ſource and of-ſpring of all his ruine. For hee was ſurpriſed and intangled with the loue of one that was called *Dalila* (which was a common ſtrumpet amongſt the Philiſtines.) To her reſorted the gouernours of the Philiſtines,

Sampſons wife diſcouereth the riddle to the Thamnites.

Sampſon killeth certaine Aſcalonites and his wife marrieth with an other. *Iudg.* 15.

Sampſon burneth the Paleſtines fruite.

Sampſon is deliuered to the Paleſtines

Sampſon with the iaw-bone of an Aſſe killeth a thouſand men.

Sampſon by his prayers cauſeth a fountaine to breake out of a rocke.

Sampſon beareth away the gates of Gaza

G H I K L M

A Philiſtines, and by promiſes wrought ſo much with her, that they wrought her to worke out of him wherein his force conſiſted, and what the cauſe was that he might not bee apprehended by his enemies. Shee (conuerſing with him in drinking and keeping him company) tolde him that ſhee maruailed at his actions, and by ſubtill inſinuations practiſed to vnderſtand the manner and cauſe that made him ſo excellent in vertue. But *Sampſon* (that as yet was ſubtill, ſtaied and well gouerned) in countercheck of her craft anſwered her: that if he were tyed with ſeuen vine branches that were yong and pliant, hee ſhould become the moſt feebleſt amongſt men. Whereupon for that time ſhee contented her ſelfe; and hauing giuen notice thereof to the gouernours of the Philiſtines, ſhee had in her houſe certaine men of warre: then when he was drunke and aſleepe, ſhee bound him as ſtrongly faſt as might bee poſſible, and ſodainly waking him tolde him
B that certaine ſouldiers were at hand to aſſaile him: but *Sampſon* brake the bonds of the vine branches, and addreſſed himſelfe to repulſe the aſſaults of thoſe that lay in waight to offend him. The woman fruſtrate of that hope which ſhe expected, not long time after that (getting a fit opportunitie, in that *Sampſon* conuerſed continually) began grieuouſly to complaine againſt him, for that diſtruſting her loue and conſtancy, hee had concealed that from her which ſhee moſt of all deſired to know, as if ſhe had beene inſufficient to conceale that which might any waies concerne the fortune and ſafety of her beloued: But he deceiued her the ſecond time, and ſaide vnto her, that if hee were tyed with ſeuen cords, hee ſhould loſe his force. Which when ſhee had done, and found a contrary iſſue to her expectation, the third time *Sampſon* told her, that if ſhee pleighted his haire with a fillet, hee ſhould be weakned: and hauing experimented that alſo, ſhee found
C that it was falſe. Finally (for that a great misfortune attended vpon him) ſhee beſought him ſo much, that at laſt hee condeſcended to gratifie her, and ſpake to her after this manner. God hath care ouer mee, and I am by his eſpeciall prouidence bred and brought vp: for this cauſe I nouriſh this haire, for that God hath commanded me not to cut the ſame, becauſe my force ſhall endure and augment as long as theſe lockes ſhall endure and grow. Which when ſhee vnderſtood, ſhee ſhaued off his haire and betraied him to his enemies, whoſe forces at that time he was too feeble to reſiſt, who plucked out his eyes, and led him away bound: but in ſpace of time his haire grewe againe, and at ſuch time as the Philiſtines celebrated a publique feaſt (wherein the Princes and Peeres banquetted and entertained one another in one place, which was a houſe, the couer whereof was ſuſtained with two pillars) *Sampſon* was ſent for, and brought to the feaſt, to
D the end they might mocke at him in the midſt of their feaſts and drunkenneſſe. But hee taking it more grieuouſly then all other the euils which hee indured, that hee might not reuenge himſelfe on thoſe that thus iniuriouſly did iniure him: hee wrought ſo much with the boy that led him, that he approched and tooke hold of the foreſaid pillars, telling him that hee had great neede to repoſe himſelfe, conſidering the trauell that he had ſuſtained. As ſoone therefore as he got holde on them, he ſhooke them in ſuch a ſort, as they were ouerturned, and the houſe fel vpon thoſe that were therein, who died to the number of three thouſand men, with theſe alſo died *Sampſon*, who finiſhed his daies in this ſort, after he had commanded ouer Iſrael for the ſpace of twenty yeeres. He was a man of great vertue, force and magnanimitie: and eſpecially in that which concerneth his end, he meriteth to be admired at, becauſe that euen vnto his latter houre hee was animated a-
E gainſt the Philiſtines. And whereas hee was allured and beſotted by a woman, it ought to bee attributed to humane nature, which is ſo weake that it cannot reſiſt ſinne: otherwiſe in all other things, we ought to yeeld teſtimony of his vertue. His kinſfolke tooke his body and buried it in Saraſa his countrey, by his parents.

The yeare of the world, 2791. before Chriſts birth, 1171.

Dalila the ſtrumpet ſoūdeth Sampſon to finde out wherein his ſtrength conſiſted and is deluded.

Sampſon diſcouereth to Dalila wherein his ſtrength conſiſted, his eies are pulled out and he is led away priſone.

The yeere of the world, 2811. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1153.

Sampſon with three thouſand paleſtins is ſlaine.

Sampſon ruled 20. yeeres.

CHAP. XI.

How the ſonnes of ELI *the high Prieſt were ſlaine in battell by the Paleſtines.*

F AFTER the deceaſe of *Sampſon*, *Eli* the high Prieſt tooke vpon him the gouernment ouer the Iſraelites. During his time there was a great famine, and *Elimelech* vnable to endure the miſerie thereof, came from Bethleem a Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* to inhabite in the countrey of Moab, bringing with him *Naomi* his wife, and *Chelion* and *Maalon* his ſons, whom he had by her. Now when as his affairs had fallen out with as fortunate ſucceſſe as might be deſired, he married his ſonnes to certaine daughters of the Moabites, *Chelion* vnto *Orpha*, and *Maalon* to *Ruth*. Some ten yeares after, *Elimelech* and his ſonnes dyed, the one after the other. By which miſhappe *Naomi* being caſt into great ſorrowe and deſtitute of their companie, whoſe deare familiaritie ſhee had preferred before the loue of her countrey: changing her reſolution

Ruth. 1. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. A famine in the dayes of Eli.

The yeere of the world, 2811. before Christs Nativitie. 1153.

(according to those occurrences that had happened her) shee determined to returne vnto her friends, by reason shee had receiued intelligence that her countrey at that time was in good estate. But her daughters in lawe could no wayes endure to bee separated from her, and will shee nill shee, they would needes accompany her: but shee willing them a more happy marriage then that which they enioyed with her sonnes, and in all other things prosperity, and protesting vnto them that there was no ability in her to doe them good; shee besought them that they would stay in that place, and not (desiring to follow their wretched mother in lawe in an vncertaine euent) to lose the certaine pleasure and peaceable fruition of their countrey. These her perswasions tooke effect with *Orpha*: but *Ruth* (resolued in no sort to forsake her) attended on her mother in law (as an assured and future companion of whatsoeuer fortune should fal vpon her.) Now when as both of them were arriued in Bethleem, *Boos* (*Abimelechs* kinsman) entertained them in his house: and whereas the Citizens called her by the name of *Naamis*, she said vnto them, that it was more seemely for them to call her *Mara* (for *Naomi* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth good hap, and *Mara* is as much to say as bitternesse.) Whereas then it was haruest time, *Ruth* by the permission of her mother, went out into the fields to gleane, and gather corne for her sustenance: and it fortuned that shee met by good hap in the fields with *Boos*, who came thither likewise not long after; who beholding her, inquired and questioned with the chiefe reaper as touching the woman. Now hee had a little before that time vnderstood by her, her whole estate; which he declared vnto his master, who gaue her thankes for the good affection which shee bare vnto her mother in lawe, and of the care shee had of her deceased sonne, whom *Ruth* had married, wishing her in effect all good fortune: and not suffering her to gleane, he permitted her to reape and to gather all that which shee might, commanding his master-reaper that he should no waies let her from taking whatsoeuer shee pleased: giuing order likewise that when the reapers should take their refection, they should giue her both meate and drinke. Now when as *Ruth* had receiued graine at their hands, shee reserued it for her mother in lawe, and came home at night and brought her the sheaues. In like manner *Naomi* had reserued a portion of certaine victualls for her, which in way of honour her neighbours had sent her. Vpon her returne *Ruth* reported vnto her all those words that *Boos* had said vnto her: and *Naomi* gaue her to vnderstand that *Boos* was of her kin, and that it might be that he was mooued by deuotion towards God to haue care of her. Some other daies after, *Ruth* issued againe with *Boos* handmaids to gather her gleanings. And certaine dayes after (and about that time that they threshed barley) *Boos* came and slept on the floore: which when *Naomi* vnderstood, shee bethought her selfe of some subtill practise, whereby shee might make *Ruth* lie with him (presuming that it would bee a very good fortune for the yong woman if they might growe in acquaintance together) for which cause she sent her to sleepe at his feete. *Ruth* (that made it a conscience to contradict her mother in lawe in whatsoeuer shee commanded her) repaired thither, and vpon her first arriuall *Boos* perceiued nothing (because he was fast asleepe:) but when he awaked about midnight, and felt that there was some body that lay fast by him, hee demanded what shee was: whereupon shee told him her name, requesting him as her master, that hee would permit her to repose in that place for that time. But early in the morning before the seruants began to fall to their worke, hee commanded her to arise, and to take as much barley with her as shee could beare, to the end she might returne vnto her mother in lawe, before that any man might perceiue that shee had slept in that place (because it is wisedome to auoide slander, especially at such time when there is occasion offered for a man to speake ill.) Touching the rest (said hee) the matter standeth thus: Thou hast a kinsman (said hee) that is more neere thee in blood then I am; thou must enquire of him, if it bee his pleasure to take thee to his wife: and if hee saith that hee liketh thee, thou must then necessarily submit vnto him: but if hee refuse thee, I will take thee for my wife according as the lawe intendeth. Now when she had reported these newes vnto her mother in law, shee gathered courage and conceiued hope that *Boos* would take care of her. Thereupon *Boos* came into the Citie about noone-daies, and called a councell of the elders, and sent for *Ruth* and his kinsman, to whom in person hee spake thus: Doest thou possesse the heritage of *Abimelech* and his successors? Who when he had publikely declared that hee was seised thereof in right of proximity, according to the ordinance of the lawe: *Boos* replyed. Thou must not (saith hee) onely obserue the lawes in part; but thou must precisely execute them according as they are. For, behold heere a yong woman, whom it behoooueth thee to marry according to the lawe, if thou wilt bee inheritor of his possessions. But hee surrendred vnto *Boos*, not onely the possessions, but also the woman; by reason that *Boos* was allied also to those that were dead, and especially for that the said kinsman had already both wife and children.

Naomi after the decease of her husband & sons departed with Ruth into her owne countrey.

Ruth goeth in to Bethleem.

Ruth 2. Boos friend to Naomi and Ruth.

Ruth 3.

Ruth by her mother in laws perswasion lieth at Boos feete.

Ruth 4.

Boos exhorteth his kinsman to marry Ruth.

G H I K L M

A *Boos* therefore (hauing firſt of all taken witneſſe of all the councell) called for the woman, and willed her to draw neere vnto her kinſman, and to vnlooſe his ſhoe, and ſtrike him on the face (according as the law had ordained) which done, *Boos* eſpouſed *Ruth*, by whom (about a yeere after) he had a ſonne, which *Naomi* brought vp, and by the aduice of the women ſhee called his name *Obed* (becauſe ſhee had nouriſhed him in her age: for *Obed* in the Hebrew tongue ſignifyeth a ſlaue,) *Obed* begate *Ieſſe*, and *Ieſſe* begate *Dauid*, who was king and who left the Realme to his ſucceſſours for one and twentie generations of men. I haue beene enforced to declare theſe things as touching *Ruth*, becauſe I haue an intent to declare the power of God, to whom it is poſſible to raiſe men from obſcuritie to the higheſt tippe and title of dignitie, as he hath choſen *Dauid*, who deſcended from theſe of whom I haue ſpoken.

The yeere of the world, 2811. *before Chriſts Nativity*. 1153.

Boos begetteth Obed Dauids grandfather vpon Ruth. 1. *King*. 2.

The affaires of the Hebrewes were at this time in very poore eſtate, and they armed themB ſelues anew againſt the Philiſtines vpon this occaſion. The high Prieſt *Eli* had two ſonnes, *Ophni* and *Phinees*. They againſt all right and law (offering outrages to men, and vrging impieties againſt God) ſuffered no ſinne to ouer-ſlip them which they committed not: for they tooke preſents (partly in way of honour, partly rauiſhed by force and rapine.) And as touching thoſe women that came vnto the Tabernacle in way of deuotion, they abuſed them, and rauiſhing ſome againſt their wils; and corrupting ſome other by preſents, they ſo lewdly liued, that their life ſeemed to be a true and licentious tyranny: for this cauſe their father was ſore diſpleaſed with them, bnt the people were ſo much the more ouer-burdened with griefe, becauſe as yet they perceiued not that Gods puniſhment ſhould ſo ſodainly fall vpon them. But incontinently after that God had declared to *Eli* and the Prophet *Samuel* (who about that time C was very yong) what miſhappe ſhould fall vpon *Elies* children, hee mourned ouer them, as if they had beene already dead. (But I will firſt of all declare ſomewhat vnto you as concerning the Prophet *Samuel*, and afterwards will I ſpeake of the children of *Eli*, and what inconuenient fell vpon all the Hebrew nation.) *Elcana* was a Leuite of baſe condition, liuing in Ramatha a part of Ephraim: he had married two wiues, the one called *Anna*, the other *Phenanna*: by *Phenanna* he had children; yet notwithſtanding loued he *Anna* very intirely, although ſhee were barren. Now as *Elcana* with his wiues repaired to Silo, where the Tabernacle of God was reſident (as we haue before declared) to the intent to offer ſacrifice in that place: whileſt I ſay, during the feſtiuall he diſtributed the portion of his meate to his wiues and children, *Anna* (beholding the children of his other wife ſitting round about their mother) began to weepe and D lament with her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe was without iſſue and alone. And after that by her griefe ſhee had ouercome all that conſolation which her husband could giue her, ſhee went vnto the Tabernacle to beſeech God that it might pleaſe him to giue her a ſonne, and make her a mother; promiſing that her firſt begotten ſonne ſhould be dedicated vnto the ſeruice of God, and ſhould lead a particular life farre differing from that of other liuing men. And for that ſhee employed long time in making her prayers, the high Prieſt *Eli*, who ſate before the Tabernacle, commanded her to depart from thence, ſuppoſing that ſhee had taſted too much wine: but after that ſhe had tolde him that ſhee drunke nothing but water, and that (being oppreſſed with griefe) ſhee was come into the Tabernacle to beſeech God that it might pleaſe him to grant her children; he exhorted her to be of good courage, promiſing that God had heard her prayers: whereupon E ſhee returned to her husband repleniſhed with good hope, and tooke her repaſt with ioy and gladneſſe. When as then they returned to their owne houſe, ſhe began to waxe big with childe, and at laſt ſhe bare a little yong ſonne, whom ſhe called *Samuel* (that is to ſay, Requeſted at Gods hands.) Afterwards they returned to offer ſacrifice and giue thankes vnto God for the birth of the childe, which God had giuen them, and to bring their tenths; whereupon the woman (remembring her of the vow ſhee had made in his behalfe) deliuered him into the hands of *Eli*, and conſecrated him vnto God to be his Prophet. For which cauſe they ſuffered his haire to grow, and he dranke nothing but water, and *Samuel* was nouriſhed and brought vp in the Temple: *Elcana* had by *Anna* other ſonnes and three daughters. But as touching *Samuel* (incontinently after he had attained to the age of twelue yeeres) he prophecied. On a certaine night therefore F whileſt he ſlept, God called him by his name: and he ſuppoſing that the high Prieſt had wakened him; came vnto him: but he told him that he had not called him. This notwithſtanding, God continued to call him three times: whereat *Eli* being ſore amazed, he ſaid vnto him, *Samuel*, I neither now at this preſent, nor before his time haue ſpoken vnto thee, but it is God that calleth thee, anſwer him therefore, and ſay here I am. Now it chanced that he heard the voice of God once more; and he required him that it might pleaſe him to ſpeake, and he would anſwer, not

Ophni and Phinees the wicked ſons of Eli the high Prieſt. Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 15. al. 12.

Anna the wife of Elcana requireth a ſonne at Gods hand.

The yeere of the world, 2818. *before Chriſts Nativitie*. 1146.

Anna hare Samuel to Elcana her husband.

1. *King*. 3.

failing any waies to doe him ſeruice in that wherein he ſhould command him. Whereunto God G
The yeere of the world, 2818. before Chriſts Nativity. 1146.
anſwered ſaying: Since (ſaith he) thou art here, know that ſo great a calamitie ſhall fall vpon the Iſraelites, that there is not any tongue that may expreſſe the ſame, or man that may beleeue it. The ſonnes of *Eli* ſhall die, and the Prieſthood ſhall bee tranſpored into the family of *Eleazar*: For, *Eli* hath more loued his children then my ſeruice, and more then was expedient for them.

God foreſheweth Samuel of the death of Eli and his ſons. Hedio & Ruffinus, c. 16

Eli inforced the Prophet by imprecations to declare vnto him that, which he had heard. But *Samuel* (for feare he ſhould diſcomfort him) would not diſcloſe the ſame vnto him, which made him the more aſſured of the intended and imminent death of his ſonnes. And becauſe that which *Samuel* prophecied in effect prooued true, his reputation increaſed daily more and more.

1. *Reg.* 4. The Paleſtines kill foure thouſand of the Iſraelites.

In that time the Philiſtines (leading out their army againſt the Iſraelites) incamped neere vnto the City of Amphec, and for that the Hebrewes were negligent to withſtand them, they H
The yeere of the world, 2850. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1814.
paſſed further into the countries thereabout: ſo that in fighting with their enemies, the Philiſtines at laſt got the vpper hand, and ſlew the Hebrewes, and had them in chace for the ſpace of foure miles, purſuing the reſt of thoſe that fled euen vnto their owne tents. Whereupon the Hebrewes grew iealous and affraid of their whole eſtate: and therefore ſent they to the councell of the Elders and the high Prieſt, praying them to bring the Arke of God with them, to the end that hauing it in preſence with them they might ſtrike the battell and ouercome their enemies. But they bethought them not, that he that had pronounced the ſentence of their calamitie againſt them was greater then the Arke which was made for him. The Arke then was brought, and the

The Hebrewes bring the Arke into the battell.

ſons of *Eli* attended it, whom their father had expreſly commanded, that if it ſo fell out that the Arke were taken, they ſhould neuer more come before his preſence, except they would die. Now I
Phinees executed the office of the high Prieſt, by the permiſſion of his father, by reaſon he was very aged.

The Hebrewes becauſe of the preſence of the Arke conceiued very great hope and aſſurance, that they ſhould haue the vpper hand of their enemies, The Philiſtines likewiſe were ſore amazed, fearing the preſence of the ſame: but the iſſues were not anſwerable according to the one or the others expectation. For when they ioyned battell, the victory which the Hebrewes hoped ſhould be theirs, fell vnto the Philiſtines; and the loſſe which the Philiſtines feared, fell vpon the Hebrewes, who at laſt perceiued that they had repoſed their confidence on the Arke all in vaine. For as ſoone as their enemies, and they fought pell mell with them, they turned their backes, and loſt about thirtie thonſand men, amongſt whom the ſonnes of the high Prieſt were ſlaine, and the Arke was taken and carried away by the enemie. K

Ophni and Phinees with thirtie thouſand are ſlaine and the Arke is ſurpriſed by the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

ELI *vnderſtanding of the loſſe of his ſonnes, fell from his ſeate and dyed.*

AS ſoone as the newes of this ouerthrow was brought into Silo, and that it was certainly knowne that the Arke was taken (for a yong Beniamite, who was at the execution, was come to bring tidings thereof) all the Citie was filled with ſorrow: and *Eli* the high Prieſt (who ſate in one of the gates on a high throne) vnderſtanding the lamentation, and iudge- L
ing that ſome diſaſter had befallen his people; ſent to ſeeke out this yong meſſenger, by whom he was aduertiſed of that which had hapned. This accident of his ſonnes and the army he bare with great moderation, becauſe that before that time he had vnderſtood by God what ſhould happen (for thoſe aduerſities which are leaſt ſuſpected doe more grieuouſly oppreſſe vs, at ſuch time as they happen:) But when he knew that the Arke was ſurpriſed, and in the enemies hands, by reaſon that it hapned beyond his expectation, he was in ſuch ſort attainted with griefe, that he ſuffered himſelfe to fall from his throne vpon the ground, where he died: he liued ninety and eight yeeres in all, and had ſpent fortie of them in the gouernment of the people.

Eli vnderſtandeth of the loſſe of his ſonnes, and the ſurpriſall of the Arke.

Eli hearing of the loſſe of the Arke died.

The ſame day died the wife of *Phinees* the ſonne of *Eli*, who had no more power to liue M
when ſhe vnderſtood of the misfortune of her husband: for ſhe was with childe at ſuch time as the meſſage of this his death was brought vnto her, and ſhe brought forth a ſonne in the ſeauenth month, which liued and was called *Ichabod* (which ſignifieth ignominie) by reaſon of the infamy receiued at that time by the army.

Phinees wife bare Ichabod and died.

Eli was the firſt that gouerned among the ſucceſſors of *Ithamar*, one of the ſonnes of *Aaron*:

he

A for before that time the house of *Eleazar* was possessed of the Priesthood (the sonne receiuing it from his father) *Eli* transferred it to *Phinees*, after him *Abiezar* his sonne occupied the place, and left it to his sonne *Boci*, whose sonne called *Ozes* receiued it, after whom *Eli* (of whom we speake at this present) tooke the same, whose posterity retained that dignity till the time of the raigne of *Salomon*: for at that time the posteritie of *Eleazar* were reinstalled.

The yeare of the world, 2850. before Christs birth, 1114.

The genealogy and progeny of Eli the high Priest.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

B

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2 *The victorie of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of* Samuel.
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5 Saul *by Gods commandement was annointed King.*
6 Sauls *victorie against the Ammonites.*
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11 Dauids *single fight with* Golias, *and the slaughter of the Palestines that succeeded.*
12 Saul *admiring* Dauids *fortitude, giueth him his daughter in marriage.*
D 13 *How the King sought* Dauids *death.*
14 *How* Dauid *oftentimes hardly escaped from the Kings treasons, yet hauing him twice in his power how he would not hurt him.*
15 *The Hebrewes are ouercome in a great battell by the Palestines, wherein* Saul *the King, and his sonnes fighting valiantly are slaine.*

CHAP. I.

How the Palestines compelled by pestilence and famine, sent backe the Arke of couenant vnto the Hebrewes.

E

AFTER that the Philistines had gotten the victory ouer the Hebrewes, and taken the sacred Arke (as we haue before this declared) they brought it with other their spoiles vnto the City of Azot, and placed it in maner of a trophee in the Temple of Dagon their Idoll. But on the next day after (when early in the morning they came and entred into the Temple to adore their god) they found him fallen from that base or pillar that sustained him, and lay along vpon the ground, his face vpward before the Arke; whereat being sore mooued, they tooke and fastned him in his former place: and when as they came very oftentimes thither, and alwaies found him prostrate, and adoring before the Arke, a great feare and perturF bation inuaded the whole people. At length a grieuous plague, not onely ranged in the Citie of Azot, but also seised on all the inhabitants of the countrey. For the people beeing sodainly taken with the flixe, died in great torment, and some of them vomited vp their bowels, beeing corrupted and corroded with the disease. Besides this, the whole land swarmed with mice, who destroying all things, neither spared the corne, nor any other fruit. The Azotians being thus ouerpressed with these calamities, & vnable any longer to indure the same, vnderstood that the Arke

1. King. 5. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1.

The sacred Arke is caried into the Temple of Dagon.

They of Azot are horribly plagued for taking away the Arke.

Mice deuoure the fruite of the countrey of Azot.

was

The yeare of the world, 2850. before Christs birth, 1114.

was the cauſe thereof, and that neither the victorie, neither the ſurpriſall of the ſame, had any wayes procured either their good or profit. They therefore ſent vnto the Aſcalonites, requiring them that they would receiue the Arke into their Citie, who (willingly condeſcending to their embaſſage and demand) receiued the Arke, and were preſently plagued with the ſame ſickneſſes and miſhaps which the Azotians had ſuffered. For together with the Arke the calamities alſo were tranſlated, for which cauſe it was likewiſe ſent from this place into another, with whom it remained but a little while: for the inhabitants of that place beeing afflicted by the ſame grieuances which the other indured, ſent it to the neighbour Cities, ſo that after this ſort the Arke was conuaied to fiue Cities of the Paleſtines: (exacting as it were by thoſe plagues a tribute in euery one of them of violated religion) who wearied with ſo many euils, and made examples vnto others not to entertaine the Arke, which ſo grieuouſly recompenced thoſe that receiued the ſame, perceiued that there was no other way left them but to finde out ſome good meanes to rid themſelues of the ſame. When as therefore the Princes of the fiue Cities, of *Geth, Accaron, Aſcalon, Gaza,* and *Azot,* were aſſembled, they conſulted amongſt themſelues what were beſt to be done, and firſt of all they reſolued to ſend backe the Arke vnto thoſe to whom it appertained, whoſe captiuitie God did reuenge in that with it many plagues entred into the ſame Region, and ceaſed not to waſte both their men and their countrey. There were ſome that ſaid that this reſolution was vnſeemely to be executed, denying that theſe things ſhould be imputed to the captiuitie of the Arke (whoſe power if it were ſo great as they intended, or if God had any wayes care of the ſame; hee would neuer haue permitted it to haue fallen into the hands of men of a contrarie religion) perſwading them to digeſt theſe misfortunes with an equall minde, and ſo to thinke that all theſe things were nothing elſe but the effects of nature, which in certaine periods of times is wont to ingenerate in mens bodies, in the earth, and in plants, (and in other things ſubiect to her power) theſe kinds of alterations and mutations. But the counſell of thoſe men, that had approoued their vnderſtanding and wiſedome in times paſt, was preferred before their opinion. For the aſſiſtants ſuppoſed that in this, deliberation, as alſo their opinion and counſell was moſt conuenient. They therefore aduiſed that the Arke ſhould be ſent backe and not retained, and that the fiue Cities ſhould dedicate fiue golden ſtatuaes in teſtimonie of their gratitude, becauſe they had beene preſerued by his fauour from that plague, from which by humane remedies it was impoſſible to eſcape: they annexed alſo ſo many golden mice vnto them, like vnto thoſe that ſpoiled their country. All theſe locked in a cheſt and laid vpon the Arke, they commanded that a new Cart ſhould be built, and that they ſhould yoake and tie to the ſame certaine kine that had new calued, locking vp their calues from them, leaſt they ſhould be an impediment to their dammes, and (to the intent that through the deſire to ſee their yong) they ſhould haſte the faſter. That done, that driuing the charriot and them, they ſhould leaue them in a place that had three waies, and ſuffer them to draw that way that them liſted: and if they tooke the way of the Hebrewes, and ſhould trauell towards their countrey, they then ſhould aſſure themſelues that it was the Arke which was the cauſe of their euils; but if they drew another way, let them (ſaid they) be driuen backe againe, being moſt aſſured that the Arke hath no ſuch vertue in it. This counſell was approoued by euery one of the aſſembly, and preſently effected: ſo hauing prepared all thoſe things whereof we haue ſpoken, they brought the chariot into a high way that extended three waies, and leauing it in that place they returned backe againe.

1. *King.* 6.

Conſultation about the Arke.

The concluſion of the counſaile as touching the ſacred Arke.

CHAP. II.

The victorie of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of SAMVEL.

The yeere of the world, 2851. before the birth of Chriſt, 1113.

NOW when the kine entred and kept the right beaten way, and trauailed therein no otherwaies then if ſome men had led them, the gouernours of the Philiſtines followed after them, deſirous to vnderſtād whither they would trauel, and in what place they would reſt both themſelues and the charriot. There is a borough in the tribe of Iuda called Bethſama, towards which they drew: and although they had a very faire Plaine before them, yet would they not trauell any further, but reſted the charriot in that place. The inhabitants came vnto this ſpectacle, and greatly reioyced thereat: for although it was ſommer time (wherein euery one buſied himſelfe in gathering in the fruits of the field) yet ſo it was, that whē they perceiued the Ark, they were ſo tranſported with the pleaſure that they had, that they laid aſide the work which they had in hand, and ran preſently vnto the chariot. Then taking downe the Arke and the Cofer (wherein the

The Sacred Arke cōmeth to Bethſama. The gratulation of the Bethſamites vpon the arriuall of the Arke.

A the ſtatuaes of gold, and golden rats were, they laid them vpon a certaine rocke in the fielde; and after they had ſolemnly ſacrificed and royally feaſted together, they offered vp both the chariot and kine for a burnt offering vnto God. Which when the Princes of the Paleſtines perceiued, they returned backe againe into their owne countrey. But Gods indignation and diſpleaſure was whetted againſt the Bethſamites: ſo that ſeauentie of them were ſlaine, by reaſon they had touched the Arke, & with prophane hands (not being Prieſts) attempted to ſuſtaine it. For which cauſe the inhabitants thereabouts lamented their loſſe, and mourned for that their countrimen were extinguiſhed by no fatall death, but by a puniſhment and plague ſent from God, lamenting in particular euery one of their alliance. And ſuppoſing that they were vnworthy that the Arke ſhould remaine with them, they ſent meſſengers to the gouernours and the reſt of the He-

B brewes, to let them vnderſtand that they had recouered the Arke out of the hands of the Philiſtines; who being made priuy to euery accident, placed the ſame in Cariathiarim a Citie bordering vpon the Bethſamites. In that place there dwelt a man of the race of the Leuites called *Aminidab* (who had the honour and reputation of a good man, and was renowned for his good and godly life) to his houſe directed they the Arke, as to a place agreeable vnto God, becauſe there dwelled in the ſame a man of ſo much vertue. His ſonnes had the charge of the Arke, and continued in that ſeruice for the ſpace of twenty yeares; during which time it remained in Cariathiarim, after it had onely remained 4. moneths with the Philiſtines. During the time that the Arke was in the Citie of Cariathiarim, all the people conuerted themſelues vnto God with prayers and ſacrifices, ſhewing great deuotion and forwardneſſe in his ſeruice. The Prophet

C *Samuel* perceiuing this their readines in courage, and ſuppoſing he had got a fit occaſion to exhort them vnto libertie, and thoſe profits which conſequently follow the ſame; and applying his ſpeech vnto the opportunitie, time & affaires, ſpake vnto thē ſuch words as ſounded to this effect. Yee men of Iſrael, ſince at this preſent the Philiſtines ceaſe not to moleſt you, and God beginneth to ſhew himſelfe merciful and fauourable vnto you: it behooueth you, not onely to be touched with a deſire to recouer your liberty, but alſo to endeuour your ſelues to purchaſe the ſame in effect. Beware therefore leaſt thorow your owne manners you make your ſelues vnworthie therof, and let each one of you endeuour to follow iuſtice; and expulſing all ſinne out of your mindes, conuert your ſelues in all puritie vnto God, and perſeuere conſtantly in his ſeruice. For in doing theſe things, you ſhall ſhortly obtaine all fēlicitie, and eſpecially purchaſe vnto your

D ſelues a new libertie, and an aſſured victory againſt your enemies; which neither by armes, neither by the ſtrength of your bodies, neither by the multitude of your armies, you were able to obtaine: for God hath not propoſed rewards for theſe things, but for vertue and iuſtice, who (truſt me) will not deceiue your expectation, nor faile in the execution of his promiſes. When he had ſpoken after this manner, all the people teſtified their conſent in good words, ſhewing the pleaſure they had conceiued by his diſcourſe, promiſing to doe that which ſhould be well liking and agreeable vnto God. Whereupon *Samuel* aſſembled them the ſecond time in the city of Maſpha (which word ſignifieth conſpicuous) there erected they an altar and ſacrificed vnto God, and after they had faſted for a daies ſpace, they publikely addreſſed them to call vpon the name of God. The Philiſtines in the mean ſpace, who were aſſembled together in the ſame place,

E had an inkling of that which the Hebrewes did, and being certified of this aſſembly came with a great armie and many forces, intending to intrap the Hebrewes, who neither expected or were prepared for them. This ſodaine attempt of theirs ſore diſmaied and troubled the Hebrewes: ſo that they repairing and running vnto *Samuel*, tolde him that their hearts failed them thorow feare, and their minds were troubled thorow the remembrance of thoſe precedent loſſes which they had receiued: For which cauſe they ought to hold themſelues in quiet, for feare leaſt the enemy ſhould inforce his power againſt them. Whileſt (ſaid they) thou haſt led vs hither to pray, ſacrifice, & offer vp our vowes vnto God, they are encamped neer vnto vs, being ready to ſurpriſe vs that are naked and diſarmed: we haue no other hope therfore of our ſecuritie, but that proceedeth from thee and God; who being moued by thy prayer, may giue vs meanes to eſcape from

F their hands. *Samuel* in way of anſwer wiſhed them to be of good cheere, promiſing them that God would yeeld them ſome teſtimonie of his aſſiſtance: whereupon ſacrificing a ſucking lambe for the people, he beſought God that it might pleaſe him to ſtretch forth his right hand for them in this battell againſt the Philiſtines, and that he would not permit them to fall this ſecond time into the enemies hands. To theſe prayers of his, God liſtned with intentiue eares, and accepted their humble hearts and dutifull obſeruance, ſmiling vpon their offering, and promiſing them both force, and victorie. Both before the ſacrifice was wholly conſumed with flame, and the ce-

remonies

The yeere of the world, 2871, before the birth of Chriſt, 1113.

Ruffinus writeth that God ſtrooke 70. of the greateſt, and 50000. of the common ſort, as it is. 2 *Kin.* 6. 1 *Kin.* 7.

The Arke is transferred into Cariathiarim.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 2.

The puniſhment of the Iſraelites.

Samuels oration to the people.

Samuels exhortation to the people as touching their repentance.

The yeere of the world, 2871, before Chriſts Nativitie. 1093.

The praiers ſupplications and faſts of the Iſraelites in Maſpha.

What things in warfare are to be obſerued againſt the enemy.

Samuel comforted the people.

Samuels ſacrifice & praier.

The yeere of the world, 2871. before Christs Natiuitie, 1093.

remonies performed; the enemies arranged their battels in the Israelites sight, supposing that the day was already theirs, in that they had intercepted the Iewes who were vnprepared for the fight (who were not onely disappointed, but also assembled in that place to no such end.) But the matter fell out farre contrarie to that which they expected (and had they beene foretold the same, they had scarcely beleeued it.) For first of all by Gods commandement the earth trembled vnder their feete, and with vncertaine pase they knocked their heads the one against the other; some likewise were sodainly swallowed vp by the earth-quake: at length astonished by often flashes, and hauing both their eyes and hands halfe blasted and burned by the fierie lightnings that fell (so that they could not wield nor mannage their weapons) they reposed all their hope and confidence in flight. But *Samuel*, seeing them in this sort dismaied, sodainly set vpon them, and killing many of them, he ceased not to pursue the rest as farre as a place called Corræus, where he fixed and erected a stone or trophee, as a marke both of his owne victorie, and the enemies flight, and called the same the strong rocke; as a witnesse of the force that God had giuen him against the Philistines: who after they had receiued this ouerthrow, sallied not out any more against the Israelites. But remembring themselues of their feare and those accidents that fell vpon them, they remained in peace, offering no further inuasion: for the confidence which the Philistines had before that time conceiued and gotten against the Hebrewes, transiated it selfe and remained with the Hebrewes euer after this victorie. And *Samuel* led forth his armie against them, and slew a great number of them, and for euer abased their pride, taking from them that countrey which before times they by conquest had cut off from the inheritance of the Iewes, which countrey extendeth it selfe from the frontire of Geth, to the Citie of Accaron: and the rest of the Chanaanites at that time had peace with the Israelites.

The sacrifice deuoured by celestial flame a token of Gods assistance.

A horrible earth-quake among the enemies.

Samuels victorie ouer the enemie.

Samuel recouereth those lands which the Israelites had lost.

CHAP. III.

SAMVEL *weakned by reason of his olde age cannot any longer gouerne the estate, and committeth it to the administration of his sonnes.*

NOVV when the Prophet *Samuel* had reduced and brought the people to a good forme of gouernment, he assigned them a Citie whither they might appeale, and decide those differents that might fall out amongst them: and as touching himselfe, he trauelled twice euery yeere from citie to citie, to administer iustice vnto them, and continued the maintenance of this policie for a long time. But as soone as he perceiued himselfe to be ouerburdened with yeeres, and vnapt to execute his ordinary offices, he reserued the gouernment and superintendence of the people to his sonnes, the elder of whom was called *Ioel* and the yonger *Abia*; and he commanded that the one of them should make his seate of iustice in Bethel, and that the other should giue audience at Bersaba, diuiding the people, and attributing each part to his particular Iudge. In these was there a manifest example and infallible testimonie, that children are not alwaies borne like vnto their fathers: but that sometimes of euill parents there are good children bred, as contrariwise at that time of a good father there were euill sonnes begotten. For forsaking the instructions of their father, they followed a quite contrarie course, and oppressed iustice thorow corruptions and rewards; and, swallowed vp and surfeited in delights and pleasures, they both contemned the will of God, and the instructions of their father, who had no other care, then that the people should studie to liue well, and vprightly.

Samuel prescribeth lawes and disposeth the iudgement seat in seuerall cities. Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 3. 1. *King.* 8.

Samuel committeth the gouernment and care of the commonweale to his two sonnes Ioel & Abia.

CHAP. IIII.

How the people being displeased with the manners and gouernment of the sonnes of SAMVEL *demanded a King.*

VVHEN as therefore the people perceiued, that the sonnes of the Prophet had committed so many outrages against their lawes and policie, they were verie sore displeased, and had recourse vnto their father where he dwelled in the Citie of Ramatha; where reckoning vp vnto him the misdemeanors of his sonnes, and how thorow the multitude of his yeares, he was vnfit according to his accustomed manner to administer the affaires of the common weale, they earnestly intreated and besought him, that hee would nominate and elect some King ouer them, who might both command their nation and Empire, and exact due punish-

ment

The Israelites report vnto Samuel the lewd behauiour of his sons, and beseech him to nominate a king that may raigne ouer them.

A ment on the Paleſtines, for their many and too oftentimes offered iniuries. This reſolution of the people grieuouſly tormented *Samuels* minde, who by reaſon of his innated and vpright iuſtice miſliked of the kingly authority, as a ſtile and ſtate too imperious: for he greatly delighted himſelfe in the Ariſtocracie or gouernment of the elders, deeming no eſtate more conducible, or auailable for the ſecuritie and proſperitie of the people, then that was. And ſo did this matter diſtemper and diſtract this man, as by reaſon of his care he could neither taſte food, nor entertaine ſleep: but all the night long toſſed and tumbled in his bed, during thoſe times complotting and imagining many things in his mind. Whileſt theſe his indiſpoſitions continued, God appeared vnto him and comforted him, willing him not to be aggrieued at that which the people had required: but that he ſhould ſuppoſe that this iniurie, not onely concerned him, but God himſelfe whom they diſclaimed alſo for their king and ſole gouernour ouer them. The effect wherof they
B had complotted, from the day that they departed out of Ægypt: but ere it be long (ſaid he) they ſhall repent themſelues, yet ſhall not their repentance vndoe that which ſhall be done; and it ſhall appeare by thoſe counſailes they haue taken, that they haue bin contemners & ingrateful toward me by their owne confeſſion, and towards thee alſo which haſt beene their Prophet. I will therefore that you chooſe them a king, and ſuch a one as I ſhall nominate vnto thee, after thou haſt aduertiſed them what euils they ſhall endure (at ſuch time as they ſhall haue a King) & haſt publikely declared vnto them, what inconuenients follow the change which ſo vehemently and vnhappily they purſue. Whē *Samuel* vnderſtood theſe ſayings, he aſſembled the people about the break of day, and proteſted publikely vnto them, that he would eſtabliſh them a King. But ſaith he, before I ſhall effect that which you requeſt, I muſt expoſe and declare vnto you what eſtate you ſhal
C liue in, being vnder the ſubiection of royaltie; and how many and grieuous euils you ſhall be preſſed withall, by thoſe Kings that ſhall gouerne you. Know therefore firſt of all, that they will take your children from you, and make ſome of them coachmen, and otherſome their horſemen and archers of their guard, others their poſts and tribunes and centurions; ſome likewiſe their handicraftſmen, and armorers, and chariot-makers, and ſmiths, and forgers of other ſorts of weapons, beſides husbandmen of his fields, and plowers, and diggers of his vineyards: neither is there any thing which they ſhal not be compelled to do after the maner of bondſlaues, that are bought with money. They ſhall take your daughters alſo, and make them their perfumers, cookes and bakers; and they ſhall employ them in all ſeruile offices, wherunto their chambermaides are to be imploied either by ſtripes or torture. They ſhall take from you your ſubſtance, and giue it to their Eu-
D nuches, and guard. They ſhall take your flocks, and diſtribute them amongſt their ſeruants: In a word, you & all yours ſhall ſerue one king, and ſhal be of no better reckoning then the ſlaues of his houſhold. When you ſhall endure theſe paines, then ſhall you call to remembrance al theſe things which I haue told you, and with repentance you ſhal beſeech God, that he will haue mercy vpon you, and giue you a ſpeedy deliuerance from the ſeruitude of your kings: but he ſhall not reſpect your prayers, but neglecting and repulſing them, ſhal ſuffer you to beare the penalty of your euill counſell. Although theſe future inconueniences were foretold them, yet did the people neglect and ſet light by them: and not ſuffering that ſiniſter opinion which before that time they had conceiued in their minds, to be altred or fruſtrated in them, they inſiſted with all obſtinacy; requiring (without any care of future miſhaps) that they might haue a king created ouer them, be-
E cauſe (as they ſaid) it was neceſſarie that they ſhould haue a king that might wage warre with them, to reuenge them on their enemies, and repreſſe their aduerſaries forces, and that there was no abſurditie in it, but that they might be gouerned in the ſame ſort as their neighbours were. *Samuel* perceiuing that his perſwaſions could preuaile nothing at all with them, and that they could not be diuerted from that reſolution wherein they perſiſted, he ſpake thus: Goe your waies for this time euery one of you vnto your houſes, and I will cauſe you to be aſſembled when the cauſe requireth, and when God ſhall haue informed me what king he will giue you.

The yeare of the world, 2871, before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1093.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 1. & Samuel is diſcomforted thorow the peoples demand.

Sumuel is comforted by God.

God cõmandeth Samuel to create a king.

Samuel expreſſeth vnto the Iſraelites thoſe inconueniences they ſhall ſuffer vnder a king.

cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc

The people obſtinately perſeuereth in craning a king.

CHAP. V.

F

SAVL *by the commandement of God is declared King.*

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1804.

THERE was a certaine man of the tribe of *Beniamin*, noble in birth, and commendable in manners called *Cis*, who had a yõng ſonne faire in face, great in body; hauing a ſpirit and iudgement farre more excellent then were the lineaments and perfections of his body, whoſe name was *Saul*. This *Cis* hauing faire Aſſes, wherein he tooke more pleaſure then

1. *King.* 9.

in

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Nativitie, 1084.

in any other kinde of cattell, had loſt certaine of them which were ſtraied from the reſt of his flocke: whereupon he ſent his ſon accompanied with a ſeruant to ſearch and ſeeke them out; who hauing trauerſed and trauelled in queſt of them thorow all his fathers tribe, iourned thorow the reſt of the tribes, without any hope or inkling of them: for which cauſe hee determined to returne home againe, for feare leaſt his father ſhould conceiue ſome care and griefe in his abſence. Whileſt then he arriued neere vnto the Citie of Ramatha, the ſeruant that followed him, certified him that there dwelt a Prophet in that place, to whoſe foreſight the knowledge of the truth was ſubiect, towards whom hee counſailed him to addreſſe himſelfe, with aſſurance and confidence, that by him hee ſhould vnderſtand what was become of his Aſſes. *Saul* replied, that he had no meanes left to recompence the Prophet, by reaſon they had conſumed all the money they had brought foorth with them in their iourney. His ſeruant told him that he had as yet the fourth part of a ſicle, which they might giue him: but they were both of them deceiued, in that they were ignorant that the Prophet was not to be bribed. When as therefore they drew neere vnto the gates of the Citie, they met with certen maidens that went out to fetch water, of whom they demanded where the Prophet dwelt: who gaue them directions, telling them that they were to make haſte before that he were ſet downe to ſupper, by reaſon he at that time entertained diuers gueſts, and he himſelfe was firſt wont to ſit downe at the vpper end of the table. *Samuel* had inuited this company, by reaſon that all the day long hee had inſtantly beſought God, that hee would declare vnto him, who it was that ſhould bee eſtabliſhed, and God alſo gaue him to vnderſtand that he would informe him the next day after, and that about the ſame houre he would ſend a young man vnto him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. For this cauſe *Samuel* ſat in his houſe expecting the aſſignation: which being come, he came downe vnder pretence to go to ſupper, and in the way he met with *Saul*. At that very inſtant God ſignified vnto *Samuel*, that it was he whom he ſhould elect Prince and gouernour ouer the people.

Saul seeketh the Asses that were lost.

Saul asketh where the Prophet dwelleth.

God certifieth Samuel whom he ſhould create king.

Saul addreſſing himſelfe vnto *Samuel*, beſought him that he would ſhew him the Prophets lodging, by reaſon that he was a ſtranger and knew it not. *Samuel* told him that he himſelfe was the man to whom hee ſpake, and led him to the banquet; aſſuring him that his Aſſes (in ſearch of whom he had trauelled ſo long) were in ſafetie, and that all mens goods were at his command. *Saul* anſwered: My Lord, I am too baſe to hope or expect ſo much; and further, my familie is the leaſt of all the families: you therefore ieſt and mocke at me, in ſpeaking of ſuch things as ſurpaſſe my condition. The Prophet tooke him by the hand, and brought both him and his ſeruant to the table, and placed him aboue all thoſe that were inuited, who were to the number of ſeuentie. *Samuel* commanded that the royall portion ſhould bee ſet before *Saul*: and when the houre of bed time came, all the reſt aroſe and departed to their houſes, but *Saul* and his ſeruant lodged that night with the Prophet: and as ſoone as it was day, *Samuel* awaked *Saul*, and departing with him out of towne, he commanded him to ſend his ſeruant before, and to remaine himſelfe with him behind, becauſe he had certaine things to impart vnto him in priuate. Hereupon *Saul* ſent away his ſeruant, and *Samuel* taking a cruet with oyle, poured the ſame vpon the young mans head, and embracing him ſaid: Bee thou king elected by God againſt the Philiſtines, and for the defence of the Hebrewes. Thou ſhalt haue this ſigne which I now ſhall informe thee of, of thy future honour. When thou ſhalt be parted from hence, thou ſhalt ouertake three men in the way, who trauell to Bethel to adore and ſacrifice vnto God: the firſt of which, thou ſhalt ſee bearing three loaues, the ſecond ſhall beare a goate, and the third ſhall follow carrying a glaſſe of wine. Theſe ſhall embrace thee and careſſe thee: they ſhall giue thee two loaues, and thou ſhalt receiue them. And from thence ſhalt thou depart vnto that monument that beareth the name of Rachel, where thou ſhalt meete with a meſſenger, that ſhall certifie thee that the Aſſes are found. From thence comming vnto Gabatha, thou ſhalt finde the Prophets aſſembled in their congregation, and being rauiſhed by the Spirit of God, thou ſhalt prophecy amongſt them: ſo that whoſoeuer ſhall behold thee, ſhall be rauiſhed in admiration, and ſhall ſay: Whence commeth it to paſſe, that the ſonne of *Cis* hath attained to ſo good fortune? and when thou haſt had theſe ſignes, know that God ſhall be with thee: ſalute thy father and thy kinſmen in my behalfe. Hereafter thou ſhalt repaire and be ſent vnto me vnto Galgal, to offer ſacrifices of thankeſgiuing vnto God. Hauing in this manner told and foretold him that which is foreſpoken, he gaue him licence to depart, and all theſe things hapned vnto *Saul*, according as the Prophet *Samuel* had prophecied vnto him. When *Saul* was arriued at *Abners* houſe, who was his vncle (whom he loued aboue all the reſt of his other familiars:) *Abner* queſtioned with him about his voiage, and as touching thoſe things which had chanced vnto him: and *Saul* hid nothing from him, but

Saul commeth vnto Samuel.

Samuel certifieth Saul how he ſhall enioy the kingdome

Samuel conducteth Saul vnto the banquet.

1 *King.* 10. Samuel annointed Saul king.

Samuel in way of confirmation telleth Saul what ſhall befortune him in his iourney.

A but point by point informed him of all that which had hapned vnto him, during his being and aboad with the Prophet *Samuel*, and how he had declared vnto him the recouerie of his Asses: but as touching the royaltie, and those things that concerned the same, hee concealed them; supposing that if it should be made knowne, it would not be beleeued; but that he should reape hate thereby. For although he were both his friend and coozen; yet thought he it more secure and conuenient for him to burie the same in silence: reputing (as I suppose) in himselfe the infirmitie of mans nature, that no man is constant in loue, but although by manifest assistance from God, felicitie fall vpon any man, yet other men doe grieue and repine that any one should be preferred before them.

The yeare of the world, 2810. before Christs birth 1014.

Saul concealed his royall dignitie.

The inconstancie of mans loue.

After this, *Samuel* assembled the people in the Citie of Maspha, where he framed his speech in such sort, as he certified of those things which he had receiued from God, namely, that he ha-

Samuels oration to the people as concerning Saul.

B uing procured their libertie, and brought their enemies in subiection vnder them; next how they were forgetfull of so many benefites, and had degraded God of his royaltie; as if they were ignorant, that the greatest good that might happen vnto men, is to be gouerned by him that is the soueraigne good; how they had determined to haue a man to their King, who according to his pleasure & appetite, or according to the vnbridled bent of his passion, would vse them like slaues made subiect vnto him, and would vsurpe vpon their goods without forbearing any thing whatsoeuer; that men are not so studious to maintaine their handie workes and labours, as God, who hath an inestimable care of those whom he hath created. Notwithstanding (saith he) since you haue thus determined, and are after this manner resolued, and that the outrage which you haue enterprised against God, preuaileth with you, set your selues all of you in order according

C to your tribes and families, and let each of you cast your lots. To this the people condescended, and the lot fell on the tribe of *Beniamin*, which being cast the second time, light on the family of *Metri*, and afterwards being approoued by the people, it fell to *Sauls* lot, who was the sonne of *Cis*, to haue the kingdome. The yong man, who before that time knew what should happen, had stept aside, to the intent (as I suppose) that it might not seeme that he had desired this dignity; and such moderation and temperance shewed he in this matter, that although it so fell out; that diuers cannot conceale the ioy they conceiue, if any face of felicitie smile vpon them; but manifest the same vnto all men: yet notwithstanding he not onely was voide of vaine appearance (although he were to be King and Lord of so many worthy people) but that which is more, he stole away from the presence of those men ouer whom he should command, and so handled all things

Lots cast throw euery tribe and family.

Sauls modesty and temperance in vndertaking the gouernment.

D that he made them seeke after him, and trauell to finde him out. Whilest therefore they carefully sought, & knew not what was become of *Saul*, the Prophet praied God that he would shew them where he was, & that he would bring him into their presence: when as therfore he was enformed by God in what place he remained; *Samuel* sent out certaine messengers to conduct him thither, and assoone as he came amongst them, *Samuel* set & placed him in the midst of the people: now was hee more high then any of the companie by the shoulders; and had a kingly and goodly shape and appearance: then spake the Prophet after this manner. God hath giuen you this man to be your king, behold how he surpasseth you all, and shewes himself worthy to be your Prince. But as soone as the people had cried God saue the king; the Prophet, who had reduced into wri-

Saul hideth himselfe from the presence of the people.

Saul of a high stature.

Saul saluted by the people for their king.

E tings all those mischiefes that should befall them, read the same vnto them in the hearing of the King, and put the booke into the Tabernacle of God for a perpetuall testimony vnto posterity of those things which in future ages should succeed, according as he had fore-prophecied: which done, *Samuel* dismissed the people, and returned to the City of Ramath, which was his countrey. But *Saul* departing vnto Gabatha, diuers worthy men gaue their attendance on him, and did him the honor that appertained vnto a king. But diuers seditious and loose companions, who set him at noughts, both mocked them, and those things which they did, neither brought they any presents vnto *Saul*, neither seemed they either in affection, or in word, any waies to respect their King. A moneth after his instalment, there fell a war betwixt him and *Naas* King of the Ammonites, which was the originall of that honour which was generally attributed vnto him by the

Diuers attend on Saul, other some contemne him. Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5. 1 *King.* 11.

whole multitude: this *Naas* had offered diuers outrages vnto those Iewes that dwell on the other

F side of Iordan. For he had trauersed the riuer with a great & huge army leuied against them; and had ouercome diuers of their Cities. For at that time he vsed force & violence against them: and to the intent that they might not rebell, neither deliuer thēselues from his subiection, he vsed this subtilty & preuention to cut of all colour & occasion from them, of opposition. For to those that surrendred themselues, and subscribed to his mercy, and to those that were taken captiues, or conquered in the wars, he plucked out their right eyes: and this did he to that intent, that when they

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Natiuitie, 1084.

Sauls warre against the Ammonites.

Naas king of the Ammonites offereth vniust conditions of peace to the Galaadites.

The Embassadours of the Galaadites to the Israelites.

Saul promiseth assistance to the Iabesites.

should defend themselues, they should haue their left eyes couered with their bucklers, and by that meanes be made vnapt to enter battell. The king of the Ammonites hauing after this manner dealt with those on the other side of Iordan, he led his armie towards the Galaadites, and encamped neere vnto their chiefe Citie called Iabes, to which he sent Heraulds to summon the inhabitants to surrender the same, vnder these conditions: either to suffer their right eyes to be pulled out, or else by enduring the siege, to see the finall ouerthrow both of themselues, and of their City: wishing them to make choice of which they list, whether they would lose a little part of their bodie, or hazard both their fortunes and liues at once. The Galaadites, terrified with this so doubtfull and dreadfull an election, neither durst returne an hostile or peaceable answer, but asked truce for seuen daies, to the end that sending their messengers to their kinsfolke, they might craue their aide: which if they could obtaine they would warre; and otherwise they promised to submit themselues vnto the enemy, vnder what condition soeuer were best pleasing vnto him. *Naas*, that neither cared for the Galaadites, neither for their answer, granted them that time of truce which they demanded, and permitted them likewise to craue assistance at all their hands, who were their associates. Whereupon they presently sent messengers from citie to citie, and certified the Israelites of all that which *Naas* had done vnto them, and the extremitie whereunto they were reduced. The Israelites hauing before time vnderstood in what estate they of Iabes were, had grieuously lamented and conceiued great displeasure thereat; but the feare that afflicted them, suffered them to assist their friends in no other manner then by commiseration: yet as soone as their messengers arriued in the Citie where *Saul* was, and that they had recounted vnto him the dangers wherewith the Iabesites were oppressed; the people were as in times past mooued with compassion. For they lamented the miserie of their Parents: but as touching *Saul*, he returning from the fields into the Citie, perceiued the inhabitants drowned in their teares, and enquiring of them for what cause they were so confused and abashed, hee was certified of that, which the messengers had reported: and on the instant he was rauished by a diuine motion, and sent the Embassadours backe againe to those that sent them, promising that within three daies he would come and succour them, and that he would haue the vpper hand of the enemie before sunne-rise, to the end that the rising sunne might behold them victorious, and deliuered from all feare. Meane while he commanded some of them to make stay with him, to the intent they might guide and direct him in his way.

CHAP. VI.

The combate and victorie of SAVL *against the Ammonites.*

Sauls serious exhortation & command for warre.

SAVL desirous to incite the people to issue out and make warre vpon the Ammonites, to the intent vnder a penaltie he might assemble them with more readinesse, he houghed his owne oxen, and threatned all those whom he met withall to doe the like vnto theirs, except the next day they presented themselues with their armes vpon the banke of Iordan to follow the King, and the Prophet *Samuel*, and march vnto the place whither by them they should be conducted.

1. *King.* 11.

Ten Schæni or cables length of Nilus so called by the cords that drew the ships vp Nilus, make 37. Italian miles.

Saul kils the Ammonites, and Naas their king.

Saul made his name famous amongst the Hebrewes.

Saul is praised by the people.

The feare of this penaltie published among the tribes, made them gather to head about the same time, so that all the assemblies of the people were mustered in the Citie of Bala. In this suruey besides those of the tribe of *Iuda*, there were numbred seuen hundreth thousand men, and of the tribe of *Iuda* in particular, there were seuentie thousand. Hauing therefore passed Iordan and marched some ten cables length of Nilus (which is about some three leagues) all the night time, before the sunne rise, he attained the place whither he intented to conduct them, and diuiding his armie into three parts, he assailed the enemie on euery side, that suspected no such encounter: and fighting valiantly against them, he slew diuers, and amongst the rest *Nahas* King of the Ammonites. This victorie made *Sauls* name famous amongst all the Hebrewes, so that he was wonderfully praised and honoured for his valour: so that if before that time any one had contemned him, at that time they changed their opinions and honoured him, and accounted him the worthiest of them all. For he was not satisfied to redeeme and deliuer those of *Iabes*, but he entred the Countrey of the Ammonites also, and forraged the same with his armie, and vtterly ouerthrew them: and after he had obtained a great booty and prey, both he and his victoriously and magnifically returned to their dwelling places. The people highly pleased with this noble action atchieued by *Saul*, reioyced because they had chosen them so noble a King, and exclaimed against those that said, that it would be discommodious and vnprofitable for their

common

A common-weale, saying, Where are now these murmurers, let them be put to death: with other such like words, that a people besotted with some good successe, is wont to speake and inforce against them that set light by the authors and inducers of the same. *Saul* receiued great content and comfort through this good liking and allowance of the people: yet notwithstanding he swore that no one of their tribe should be put to death that day, because it would not seeme conuenient nor agreeable, that the victorie which was giuen them by God, should be mixed with the blood of their brethren; but rather that it was more decent and comely that the time should be spent in feast and iollitie. Hereupon *Samuel* told them, that it behooued them to confirme the kingdome to *Saul* by a second election: and to that end, they assembled together in the Citie of Galgal, according as he had commanded them: and there in the sight of all the people *Samuel* annointed *Saul* the second time with the consecrated oyle, and proclaimed him king

B anew. Thus was the Aristocracie and gouernment of the better sort amongst the Hebrewes, turned into a Monarchie. For vnder *Moses* and his disciple Iesus, who gouerned the Empyre, and armie at that time, the nobilitie and elected worthy men ruled the State. After whose death for the space of eighteene whole yeeres, the people was without gouernment, the common-weale not long after reassumed her pristine policie, and the gouernment was giuen vnto him, which was esteemed the most valiant in warre, and the most vpright in doing of Iustice. All which time for this cause hath beene called the time of the Iudges.

The yeare of the world, 2880. before Christs birth 1084.

Sauls lenitie against his aduersaries.

Saul once more annointed king by Samuel.

The distinct gouernments of the Hebrewes.

After this the Prophet *Samuel* assembled the people, and spake vnto them after this manner: I coniure you by that great God that hath giuen life to those two brothers (I meane *Moses* and *Aaron*) and that hath deliuered your forefathers from the Ægyptians, & their tyranny, that with-

C out any affection either of feare or shame, or instigation of any other passion, you truely testifie whether I haue committed any sinister or wicked act, either for profit sake, or for auarice, or fauor. Reproue me, If I haue taken away any mans calfe, or sheepe, or any other thing whatsoeuer, but that which I might lawfully take for my reliefe and sustenance, and at such hands as willingly offered me the same; or if I haue drawn any mans beasts to my vse, or vsed his cattell to my profit and his hinderance: in these and such like, if I haue offended any man, let him now accuse me in the presence of the King. All of them cryed out with one voyce, that no such default had beene committed by him, but that he had gouerned their nation in holinesse and iustice. After that the people had thus publikely testified in the behalfe of *Samuel*; hee said vnto them: Since you haue liberally and freely protested, that you haue no cause of wrong to vrge or inforce against me, heare

D I pray you, that wherewith I can iustly accuse you. You haue grieuously offended against the maiestie of God, in that you haue required a King at his hands: you should haue rather remembred, that your old father *Iacob* accompanied onely with his 70. sons came into Ægypt, constrained thereunto by famine, and that in that countrey diuers thousands of persons issued from his loynes, whom the Ægyptians kept in captiuity, offering them extreame outrages: And when as your fathers called vpon God, how he wonderfully deliuered thē from the necessities wherin they were, without giuing them any king, contenting themselues with two brothers *Moses* and *Aaron*; who brought and conducted you into this countrey which you possesse at this present. And although you participated these benefits by the hands of God, yet notwithstanding you haue not forborne both to forget religion, and neglect pietie. This notwithstanding, at such time as you

E haue bin conquered by your enemies, he hath set you free; gracing you first of all with the ouerthrow of the Assyrians and their forces: secondly, giuing you victory ouer the Ammonites, and Moabites: and finally ouer the Philistines. Now these great exploits were performed by you, not vnder the conduct of a king, but by the direction of *Ieptha* and *Gedeon*: what folly therefore hath bewitched you to make you flie from God, and to seeke to liue vnder the subiection of a King? But I haue named such a one vnto you, whom God hath chosen to be your gouernour. Notwithstanding, to the intent that I may giue you a manifest testimony, that Gods wrath is whetted against you, because you haue desired to haue a king; I will striue to expresse it vnto you, by visible signes done by God himselfe, I will therfore require of God, that he will make you see in this place, and in the heart of sommer such a storme, that there is not any one of you, that hath euer seene the

F like thereof: Scarce had he spoken the words, but that sodainly there fell great store of lightning, thunder and haile, in approbation of that which the Prophet had said: so that amazed and transported with feare, all of them confessed that they had offended. They notwithstanding professed that their errour was of ignorance, not of obstinacie, and besought the Prophet that with a good and fatherly affection, hee would beseech God to appease his wrath towards them, and forgiue them their offences at that present, which to their other grieuous negligences they had

Samuels iustification of himselfe in the presence of the people.

Samuel expostulateth with the people, and obiecteth their sins and ingratitude.

A huge tempest falleth, vpon Samuels prayer.

The yeere of the world, 1880. before Christs Nativitie. 1084.

annexed,and whereby they had transgressed his holy will. All which *Samuel* promised them to G
do,and besought God that it would please him to pardon them the errour which they had com-
mittted in that behalfe,and that it would please him to be appeased by his praiers.Besides this,he
exhorted them to liue vprightly, and to keepe in their continuall remembrance what euils had
hapned vnto them, for that they had forsaken the way of vertue; and what wonders God had
done, and what lawes he had giuen by *Moses*, all which they ought to meditate on, if they de-
sired to be in safetie, and liue happily with their king. But if they should contemne the same, he
foretold them that both themselues and their kings should be grieuously punished. *Samuel* ha-
uing prophecied these things vnto the Hebrewes, dismissed them to their owne dwellings, after
he had confirmed the kingdome to *Saul* the second time.

An exhortation to the consideration of Gods assistance and benefits bestowed on the Israelites.

CHAP. VII. H

The Palestines,assailing the Hebrewes,are ouercome in battell.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 6.

BVT when the king had mustered his men, and chosen out three thousand of the choisest
souldiers,he appointed two thousand of them for the guard of his Person, and with them
went and dwelt at Bethel. The rest he gaue in charge to his sonne *Ionathan*,and sent them
into Gaba to attend and guard him there; who,followed by them,valiantly ouercame a garrison
of the Philistines neere vnto Gebal. For the Philistines of Gaba hauing gotten the vpper hand
ouer the Iewes, had taken their armes from them, and seised and fortified both with men and
munition the strongest Cities of their countrey; prohibiting them to beare armes, and in gene- I
rall from the vse of any yron: by reason of which inhibition,if their husbandmen had at any time
neede of any yron worke, as of plough-shares, mattockes, or any such other instrument fit for
manuring or tillage of their lands, they were inforced to fetch it, and get it forged amongst the
Philistines.

Saul elected two thousand for his owne guard & one thousand for Ionathans.

Saul ouercommeth the Philistines.

Now when the Philistines had gotten some intelligence that their garrison was after this man-
ner defeated,they were wonderfully mooued, and supposing amongst themselues that the iniurie
and outrage was in no sort to be suffered,they armed themselues against the Iewes,and went out
embattailed with three hundreth thousand footmen,thirty thousand charriots,and sixe thousand
horse,encamping with their whole host neere vnto the Citie of Machmas.Which when *Saul* the
king of the Hebrewes vnderstood,he marched toward the Citie of Galgal: and as hee trauailed K
thorow the countrey, he animated and encouraged the people to recouer their libertie, proclai-
ming warre against the Philistines; whose forces he so little feared,as he mocked thereat,saying,
that they deserued not to be feared for their multitudes, nor any danger which might accrew
by their encountry.But when *Sauls* souldiers were certified of the true number of their enemies,
they were wholly discomforted,so that some of them hid themselues in dennes and places vnder
the earth,othersome fled on the other side of Iordan into the countrey of the Gadites and Rube-
nites.But *Saul* sent for the Prophet,resoluing to consult with him vpon the estate of the war,who
gaue him answer, that he should attend in the same place where he was, and that he should pre-
pare beasts for sacrifice, because that within seuen dayes he would come vnto him & sacrifice on
the seuenth day: which done,he might encounter the enemie.According to this direction of the
Prophet he expected, yet obserued he not intirely all that which *Samuel* had inioyned him. For L
when he perceiued that he was somewhat slacke in comming,and that his souldiers waxed weary,
he tooke the beasts that were prepared for the sacrifice, and offered a burnt offering: but after-
wards vnderstanding that *Samuel* was arriued, hee went out to meete him,and doe him honour.
Samuel told him,that he had done amisse, by reason he had neglected that which was comman-
ded him,presuming before his arriuall (who was sent thither by the conduct and will of God) to
offer praiers and sacrifices for the people: in which action of his, he both discouered his rashnes,
and disorder in sacrificing. *Saul* excused himselfe, alledging that he had staied during the terme
of seuen dayes which were appointed him: vrging further, that necessitie, and the depart of his
souldiours, together with the feare of the aduerse army which were in Machmas, and the intel- M
ligence hee had receiued that *Samuel* was gone to Galgal, had induced him to offer sacrifice:
Samuel replyed,saying, Thou hadst done more aduisedly, if thou hadst obeyed, and not con-
temned God by thine ouerhaste,whose minister and Prophet I am: for by thine obedience thou
mightest both haue gotten an assurance and continuance of thy kingdome to thy selfe, and suc-
cession to thy posterity.This said,being displeased with that which had hapned,he returned back

The Israelites dismaid at the report of the army of the Philistines.

Saul sacrificeth contrary to God and the Prophets direction.

Samuel accuseth Saul.

to

A to his owne houſe, and *Saul* with ſixe hundreth ſouldiers (onely accompanied with his ſonne *Ionathan*) came vnto the Citie of Gabeon. The greater part of theſe men were diſarmed, by reaſon that the countrey was intirely deſtitute of iron; and workmen that were expert and skilfull in forging and making armour: for the Philiſtines permitted them not to haue any, as wee haue declared a little before. Theſe diuiding their army into three battels, inuaded the countrey of the Hebrewes by ſo many wayes, deſtroying and forraging all things, both in the ſight of King *Saul*, and of his ſonne, who neither could inhibite their incurſions, nor by reaſon of their multitudes make head againſt them. Both he therefore and his ſonne, and *Achias* the high Prieſt, ſate them downe vpon a hillocke, and ſeeing the countrey ſpoyled round about them, they were much diſmaied. But *Sauls* ſonne conſpired and concluded with his eſquire and harneſſe-bearer, to enter ſecretly
B into the enemies campe, and raiſe an vprore and alarum in the ſame; who willingly promiſing and offering him his ſeruice to aduenture with him in all occaſions and places, with the hazzard of his life: they both of them deſcended from the mountaine, and marched directly towards the enemies campe, who had pitched their tents on a high pointed rocke, which extended it ſelfe in length with three angles, and was each way begirt with a banke, as it were a wall and fortificati-
on againſt the incurſion of their enemies. For which cauſe they kept their watch ſomewhat too careleſly, becauſe the place was fortified by nature: ſo that no man might aſcend, or aſſaile them, but with diſaduantage. When as therefore they had gotten neere vnto the campe, *Ionathan* incouraged his companion, and animated him to aſſaile the enemy after this manner. If (ſaith he)
C they eſpie vs, and will vs to aſcend, let vs take this ſummons of theirs for an aſſured token of victory: but if they hold their peace, and call vs not, let vs returne backe againe.

As therefore they approched the enemies hoſt about the beginning and brie of day, the Philiſtines ſaid the one vnto the other: The Hebrewes creepe out of their caues and dens. Then cried they out to *Ionathan*, and his harneſſe-bearer, ſaying: Come hither, come hither vnto vs, to the end wee may plague you according to your audacious enterpriſe. *Sauls* ſonne quickly taking hold of theſe their words, and eſteeming them for an ominous and aſſured token of victorie, departed with his eſquire from the place where they were firſt diſcouered, anſwering them that he would ſhortly viſit them. So withdrawing himſelfe on the other ſide of the rock, which by reaſon of the ſituation thereof was left vnguarded, ouercomming the difficultie of the place with great labour; at laſt they attained the place where the enemy was, whom they found aſleepe, and aſſai-
D ling them ſlue twentie of them, and filled the whole armie with terror and amazedneſſe: ſo that caſting away their weapons they fled amaine: ſome other being ignorant which were either their friends or foes, inuaded one another as enemies. For imagining with themſelues that onely two Hebrewes durſt neuer aſcend and enter their campe, they addreſſed themſelues to their mutuall murther and ſlaughter: ſo that ſome of them were ſlaine, others fled to eſcape the ſword, and fell headlong downe the rockes. But when as the Kings eſpials had told him what confuſion and diſorder was befallen in the campe of the Philiſtines, *Saul* demanded whether any of his company were abſent: and hearing that his ſonne and his harneſſe-bearer were miſſing, he commanded the high Prieſt, that attired in his pontificall ornaments, hee ſhould prophecy that which ſhould ſucceede: who aſſuring him that he ſhould obtaine the victorie ouer his enemies, hee ſallied out
E and aſſaulted the Philiſtines, and ranne vpon them, who were thus confuſed and diſordered, and whetted the one againſt the other. To him there flocked in great multitudes ſuch, as before times were fled into dens and places vnder ground, as ſoone as they heard that the victory inclined on *Sauls* ſide: ſo that gathering together to the number of ten thouſand Hebrewes, hee purſued his ſcattered enemies thorow all the countrey. But afterward, a great inconuenient hapned vnto *Saul*, proceeding from the ioy hee had conceiued by this victorie (for commonly ſuch as are bleſſed by ſuch good fortunes, are not maſters of their owne affections and reaſons) or rather proceeding from his ignorance. For intending to ſatiate himſelfe with reuenge for all thoſe iniuries hee had receiued from the Philiſtines, hee publiſhed an imprecation or curſe amongſt the Hebrewes againſt any one whomſoeuer, that intermitting the chaſe and ſlaughter ſhould take ſu-
F ſtenance before night, purpoſing vntill darke night neither to giue ouer purſuite or ſlaughter. This execration thus publiſhed by *Saul*, it chanced that his ſonne that had not as yet heard of the imprecation of his father, nor the generall ratification and allowance of the ſame by the people, falling into a certaine groue belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, wherein were many ſwarmes of Bees, he by chance light vpon an hony combe, and preſſing the hony thereout, afterwards did eate the ſame. Afterwards hauing intelligence that his father had vnder a grieuous penaltie of execration, forbidden any man to taſte any ſort of meate before ſunne-ſet, hee gaue ouer eating further:

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1084.

Hedio & Ruffinus.

Galgala.

The Paleſtins ſpoile the countrey of the Hebrewes

1 King. 14.

Ionathan with his harneſſe bearer doe priuily enter the enemies campe.

Ionathan ſlaieth a certaine number in the enemies campe, the reſt inuade one another, and are put to flight.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Saul hearing that there was a tumult in the Paleſtines campe, ſallieth out vpon the

Sauls edict vnwittingly broken by Ionathan.

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Nativity. 1804.

ther: yet ſaid hee, that his father had done amiſſe therein in publiſhing that prohibition, by reaſon that if they had receiued ſuſtenance, they might with greater force and forwardneſſe purſue the enemy that fled, and ouertake and ſlaughter them in great number. Killing therefore many thouſands of the Paleſtines partie, about the euening they began to ranſacke and ſpoile the campe of the Philiſtines, and bore away from thence great ſpoyles, and a wonderfull number of cattell, part of which were ſlaine and eaten with the blood, contrarie to law. Which when the Scribes had certified and ſignified to the King, how the people had offended againſt God, by ſlaughtering the beaſts, and eating the fleſh of them, before it was either waſht or purified from the blood: *Saul* commanded that a great ſtone ſhould be rowled into the midſt of the place, and commanded the people to kill and ſacrifice their beaſts vpon the ſame: and that they ſhould forbeare to eate the fleſh with the blood, becauſe it was not agreeable vnto God. All which was performed according as the King had commanded; and *Saul* erected an Altar in that place, on which he offred a burnt ſacrifice vnto God. This was the firſt Altar that he erected. But *Saul* being deſirous incontinently to aſſaile the enemies campe, and ſacke all that was therein before the day ſpring, whileſt his men of warre diligently followed him, and ſhewed great forwardnes in the execution of his command: the king asked counſell of the high Prieſt *Achitob*, whether God would giue him the victorie, and permit thoſe that ſhould enter the enemies campe, to returne from thence with victorie. The high Prieſt certified him that God returned him no anſwer: which when he vnderſtood; it is not without cauſe, ſaid he, that God is thus ſilent, who heretofore was wont to giue a willing anſwer in that which we ought to doe: but there muſt needes be ſome hidden ſinne in vs, that breeding an offence in him, procureth him to be ſilent. But I ſweare by the ſame God, that although mine owne ſonne *Ionathan* had committed that ſinne; to the end I may appeaſe God, I will with no leſſe ſeueritie execute him, then any one ſtranger that is neither by alliance nor affinity tied vnto me. Now when the people cried out and encouraged him to the performance of that he had ſpoken, he preſently aſſembled them in one place, and he ſtanding with his ſonne apart, began by caſting lots to finde out him that was faultie. Now when the lot fell vpon *Ionathan*, he asked him what he had committed, and what crime in his owne conſcience he was guilty of. To whom he anſwered, I know no other thing, but that yeſterday beeing in purſuite of the enemy, and ignorant of thine edict, I taſted of a hony combe: but *Saul* ſwore that he would ſlay him, ſetting more by his oath, then either by kinred, nature, or affection. Hee nothing aſtoniſhed with his preſent perill, with a generous and dreadleſſe minde, preſented himſelfe with this reply: O father (ſaid he) I intreat no fauour at thy hands: for I will willingly ſubmit to that death, which may diſcharge thee of thy vow, the more contentedly becauſe I haue ſeene ſo famous a victorie: For I ſhall die throughly contented to ſee the inſolencie of the Paleſtines ouermaſtred by the power of the Hebrewes. This valour and courage of the yong man mooued the whole multitude to remorſe and commiſeration: ſo that they ſwore all of them that they would not ſuffer that *Ionathan*, who was the author of ſo famous a victorie, ſhould be ſlaine: and therefore reſcued they the yong man from his diſpleaſed father, and made vowes vnto God to the end he might pardon him that fault. *Saul* after he had ſlaine about ſixtie thouſand of his enemies, returned with victory to his owne home, and raigned afterwards very happily, and ouercame by force the Ammonites, Philiſtines, Moabites, Idumeans, Amalechites, and King *Oba* that dwelt neere about him. He had three ſonnes, *Ionathan, Ioſuah, and Melchi*, and two daughters, *Merob*, and *Michol*. The Generall of his army was *Abner* the ſonne of his vncle called *Neer*: for *Ner* and *Cis Sauls* father, were brothers and ſonnes of *Abiel*. Hee was very rich both in horſe and charriots, and againſt whatſoeuer enemy he marched forth, he alwaies returned with victorie: ſo that he reduced the affaires of the Hebrewes to a happy eſtate, and ſo much increaſed their power, that they were feared by all thoſe nations that neighboured vpon them. But the chiefeſt of the youth, that either preuailed in ſtrength, or exceeded in beautie, he choſe to be of his guard.

The Hebrews feede on bloody fleſh.

Saul trieth by lot who hath diſpleaſed God.

Saul intendeth to kil his owne ſonne, being prepared and reſolute to die.

The Iſraelites reſcue Ionathan from his diſpleaſed father.

Oba or Soba.

Saul alwaies conquerour.

G H I K L

CHAP. VIII.

M

SAVLS *victorie againſt the Amalechites.*

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 8. 1. *King.* 15.

BVT *Samuel* comming vnto *Saul*, told him that hee was ſent vnto him by God, to admoniſh him how hee had choſen him aboue the reſt, and preferred him to the kingdome: and for that cauſe that it behooued him to bee obedient vnto him in all things, becauſe he ruled the people; but God both kings, kingdomes, and all things. Thus therefore (ſaid hee) doth

A doth God command thee. Since the Amalechites offered many iniuries vnto the Hebrews in the desart, whilest in their departure out of Ægypt, they trauelled into that region which they now inhabite; it behooueth thee to punish them by a most iust warre: and hauing ouercome them, that thou vtterly extinguish their memorie, without regard either of sexe or yeeres; and this reuenge shalt thou execute vpon them, in repaiment of those iniuries they in times past offered to our forefathers. Neither shalt thou spare either beast or horse, or flocke, to apply them to thy profit or particular vse: but thou shalt consecrate all vnto God, and according as *Moses* commanded it, deface the name of the Amalechites from off the earth. All these things did *Saul* promise to performe, and supposing obedience consisted in this, not onely in the acting, but also the speedie execution of that which was enioyned him, he presently assembled all his forces to-

B gither, and mustring his souldiers at Galgal, he found about fortie thousand, besides the tribe of *Iuda*, which of it selfe affoorded and allowed thirtie thousand chosen men: with these did *Saul* enter the countrey of the Amalechites, and laid diuers ambushes neere vnto a riuer, not onely to affiict them with open and hostile warre, but also to enclose and surprise them at vnwares, and kill them amidst their hie waies: He charged them therefore, and put them to flight, and discomfited their whole armie, pursuing them that fled. Which execution of his, hauing that answerable successe (according as God had promised him before) he marched onwards, and besieged the Cities of the Amalechites, and ouercame some of them by batterie, some by mines and countermures raised on the outside: othersome by famine and thirst, and diuers other waies. And in those Cities which he ouercame, he neither spared women nor children, neither supposing

C their murther to be cruell, neither inhumane: first, for that he executed it vpon his enemie; next for that he did nothing but according to Gods commandement, towards whom his disobedience might redound to his vtter ouerthrow. He tooke *Agag* prisoner also, who was the King of the Amalechites, whose beautie and personage seemed vnto him so well proportioned and perfect, that he wondered therat, and thought him worthy to be kept aliue; and that not by Gods commandement, but ouercome by his owne affection, vsurping vpon an vngranted priuiledge of mercie to his owne preiudice: For God so hated the Amalechites, that he spared not their infants, who ought in naturall compassion to haue beene more pitied then the rest. But *Saul* kept aliue the king of his enemies, and the author of all the Hebrewes euils, setting more by his beauty then Gods commandement. This sinne of his the people presently imitated: for they spa-

D red both horse and other kind of cattell, and made prey of them, notwithstanding that God had charged them to reserue nothing. They caried away with them all other mooueables and riches, and onely consumed those things which were of smallest value by fire. This victorie had *Saul* ouer those people that dwell betwixt Pelusium, which is a Citie on the borders of Ægypt, vnto the red sea. But he medled not with the Sichemites, which inhabite in the middest of the Madianites, whom before the battell he had commanded to retire themselues, least they should partake the calamities of the Amalechites: for in that they were allied vnto them, by reason of *Raguel*, *Moses* father in law; the Hebrewes had cause to procure their safetie. *Saul* hauing obtained this victorie, and reioycing at his good successe, returned to his own home, as full of content, as if he had pretermitted nothing of that, which God had commanded him by the Prophet *Samuel*,

E before his war with the Amalechites, but as if he had precisely obserued all that which was enioyned him. But God was sore displeased, both for that the king of the Amalechites was preserued, and for that the people had made prey of their cattell: for both these actions of theirs were expressly against Gods permission. For it was not to be tolerated, no not in a mortall King, that they should neglect and contemne his lawes and decrees, by whose onely meanes they were furthered and fauoured in their victorie. For which cause God told the Prophet *Samuel*, that he repented him in that he had chosen *Saul* for their king, considering that he infringed his commandements, and gouerned himselfe according to his owne appetites. When *Samuel* heard these words, he was sore troubled, and besought God all the night long, that he would appease his wrath and displeasure conceiued against *Saul*: but notwithstanding all the importunities, and

F praiers which the Prophet made for him, God would in no sort be reconciled, because it was inconuenient that the sinnes, which were committed by *Saul*, should be remitted by *Samuels* submission and intercession. For sinne neuer more augmenteth and increaseth, then when such as are offenced are too remisse in their punishments: for whilest they would be reputed both for good and mercifull, they themselues both vnwares, and vnwittingly, become the authors of sin. When as therefore God had denied the Prophet his request, and it manifestly appeared that no praiers or supplication might appease him; as soone as it was day, *Samuel* repaired to *Saul*, who

The yeare of the world, 1882. before christs birth 2081.

Samuel by Gods commandement addresseth Saul to make war vpon the Amalechites.

Saul mustring his people, findeth in the tribe of Iuda onely thirtie thousand men

Saul raseth the cities of the Amalechites.

Saul taketh Agag the king of the Amalechites prisoner, and keepeth him aliue, contrarie to Gods commandement.

The people contrarie to that which God had ordained driue away the horse and cattell of the Amalechites.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. God displeased with Sauls disobedience.

Samuel striueth to reconcile Saul vnto God.

Too much indulgence and lenitie confirmeth the wicked in their vngodlinesse.

at

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativitie, 1081.

at that time remained in Galgal. Now as soone as the king perceiued him, he ranne vnto him G
and embraced him, saying: I giue God thankes for the victorie, and all those things which he
commanded me, I haue performed. But *Samuel* replied and said: How commeth it then to passe,
that I heare this bleating of sheepe, and bellowing of beasts thorow the army? *Saul* answered,
that the people had reserued that cattell for sacrifice, and that besides them, all the nation of the
Amalechites was exterminated according as God had commanded, and that there was not any
one remaining, but that he onely had reserued the King, whom he would cause to be presented
before him, to the end they might consult together what should be done with him. Hereunto
the Prophet answered: that God tooke no pleasure in sacrifices, but such as were good and iust,
and such (said he) are they that are according to his will and commandement; since no action
may be reputed good, but in respect of the reference it hath to Gods will: for God refuseth not
him that sacrificeth not, but him that disobeyeth him. For he willingly accepteth not those sa- H
crifices that are offered vnto him by those that submit not themselues vnto him, and offer not vn-
to him the true and onely offerings; yea, though they present diuers and many great sacrifices,
and bring him sundry Iewels of gold and siluer, but reiecteth such things, and respecteth them
not as pledges of pietie, but testimonies of wickednesse: But he taketh pleasure in those onely
that obserue that which he hath pronounced and commanded, making choise rather to die, then
any waies to infringe the same: not seeking that sacrifices should be offered vnto him; but if they
be offered, although of small and no value, yet are they more acceptable vnto him in pouertie
and obedience, then all those which the richest hand, or strongest fortune can offoord him any
waies. Know thou therefore (said he) that thou hast incurd Gods displeasure, in that thou hast I
contemned and neglected his commandements: for how canst thou thinke that he will regard
thy sacrifices with a gracious eye, which hee himselfe hath adiudged to vtter perdition and
ruine? except thou thinke that to offer such things vnto GOD, be in effect no lesse then to
seeke out death: Be assured therefore of the losse both of thy kingdome, and power, which
hath in such sort transported thee, that thou hast contemned God, who bestowed the same vpon
thee. But *Saul* confessed that he had sinned and done amisse, in that he had not obeyed the
words of the Prophet; yet alleadged he that he was compelled to doe the same, in that he durst
not restraine the souldier, who was whet and kindled vpon the prey: but (said he) be fauoura-
ble and mercifull vnto me, for hereafter I will take heede least I fall into the like sinne: and he
besought him that he would stay with him so long whilest he might offer a peace offering in his
behalfe. But he that foresaw and knew that God would be mooued by no sacrifice, began to K
depart.

Samuel chideth Saul.

The contempt of God wherein it consists.

A pleasing and acceptable sacrifice vnto God.

Samuel telleth Saul of Gods displeasure and the losse of his kingdome.

Saul confesseth his sinne, and craueth pardon: which notwithstanding is denied him.

CHAP. IX.

SAMVEL *proclaimed* DAVID *King*.

BVT *Saul* willing to retaine *Samuel*, tooke hold of his garment, and for that the Prophet
hastily withdrew himselfe, he tore away a part thereof, by reason that *Samuel* violently
withdrew himselfe from him. To whom the Prophet said, that in like sort his kingdome
should be rent from him, and that another who was more honest and vpright, should take posses- L
sion thereof: for God continued in his determination intended against him, because that to
change and varie opinion is humane passion and not diuine puissance. *Saul* answered, that he had
grieuously sinned, but it was impossible for him to recall that which was done: he notwithstan-
ding besought him, that in the presence of the people he would as yet doe him honour, at such
time as he should walke with him, and cast himselfe before the presence of God: which *Samuel*
condescended vnto, and went with him to adore God. After this, *Agag* the king of the Ama-
lechites was brought before *Samuel*, who heard him lament and complaine that death was very
bitter and tedious; to whom he answered in this manner following. As thou hast caused diuers
mothers amongst the Hebrewes to weepe and lament the losse of their children; so shalt thou
cause thy mothers sorrow and torment for thy death: which said, he presently commanded that M
he should be put to death in Galgal: as for himselfe he returned backe againe to the citie of Ra-
math. But the king perceiuing in himself into how many mischiefes he had fallen by his offences
committed against God, departed to his chiefe city called Gaba (which name signifieth a hillock)
and from that day forwards he neuermore came into the Prophet *Samuel* presence, who was
heartily sorry for his fal: But God commanded him to giue ouer his care, & that taking with him
the sacred oyle he should repaire to the city of Bethleem to *Iesse* the son of *Obed*, & that there he
should

Saul striuing to stay Samuel renteth his garment.

Hegio & Rufinus chap. 10.

The king of the Amalechites is slain by Samuels commaund. 1. Kin. 15.

God sendeth Samuel to Bethleem to annoint Dauid king.

A should annoint one of his sons for king according as he had commanded him : and when as the Prophet said that he was afraid, least *Saul* getting notice thereof, should either by treason or open force seeke to slay him, being encouraged and assured in his attempt, he came to the forenamed towne. In that place was he saluted with great concourse of people, and each of them inquired of him to what intent he repaired thither : who answered them that he came to offer sacrifice vnto God. Now when the oblations were performed, he inuited *Iesse* and his sonnes to banquet with him; and beholding the eldest of them to be faire and well proportioned, he coniectured by his stature and seemelines, that it should be he that was to be elected king; but in this matter he attained not the scope of Gods prouidence. For demanding whether he should annoynt that young man, whom in admiration he thought so worthy of the kingdome: it was answered him that men saw not in such manner as God doth. For thou (said he) beholding the beauty of the young man,

B supposest him worthy of the kingdome: but I prize not royaltie and gouernment of estate, by the beauties of the body, but by the vertues of the soule : and him require I that is perfectly furnished herewith, and hath his mind beautified with pietie, iustice, obedience and fortitude. Vpon these words *Samuel* commanded *Iesse* to bring all his other sonnes into his presence, who presented him with fiue others, the eldest of which was called *Eliab*, the second *Aminidab*, the third *Sala*, the fourth *Nathaneel*, the fift *Rael*, and the sixt *Asam*. Now when the Prophet beheld these likewise no lesse beautifull men then was the eldest, he asked of God which of them hee should choose for king; he answered him that he should choose neither of them: for which cause he en-

C quired of *Iesse* whether he had any other sons besides them: who told him that he had one which was called *Dauid*, who had the care and custody of his flockes. Him did the Prophet sodainly command him to send for, alledging that it was impossible for them to sit downe to the banket, except he were present. Now when *Dauid* was arriued according as his father had commanded him. *Samuel* seeing him faire in colour, quicke in eye, and otherwaies answerable to his naturall ornaments : This is he (said he in priuate to himselfe) who is accepted and elected by God to be our king. This said, hee sat downe at the table, and made the young man sit aboue him, and both *Iesse* his father, and his other brethren. Afterwards taking the cruet of oyle in the presence of the said *Dauid*, he annointed him, and tolde him in his eare, how God had chosen him to bee king, and exhorted him to study iustice, and to be obedient to that which should bee commanded him, assuring him by that meanes, that his kingdome should be of long continuance, his family and stocke should be famous and renowned, and that he should ouercome the Philistins, and

D conquer those nations against whom he should fight, & obtaine glorious renowne in his life time, and leaue the same to his successors as an inheritance. *Samuel* hauing made this exhortation departed from him, and the spirit of God abandoned *Saul*, and entred into *Dauid*, so as hee began to prophecy, by meanes of a diuine spirit wherewith he was seised : whereas on the other side, *Saul* was tormented with strange passions of the euill spirit, whereby he fell into strange suffocations, and strangelings : so as his Physitians could not inuent any remedy for him, but gaue counsell that search should be made, if a man might bee found that were expert and cunning in singing and playing on the harpe, to the end that when the euill spirit should assault and trouble him, he might stand at his head, and both with voyce and instrument sing sacred hymnes before him. And when as the king had giuen present and speedy command, that such a one should bee

E sought after, one of those that were assistant told him that hee had seene in Bethleem a sonne of *Iesses*, a young man of excellent feature, and besides his other good parts and bringing vp, very cunning both in song and playing on the Harpe : and besides that, addrest enough and toward in feates of armes. He therefore sent messengers to *Iesse* to command him to withdraw *Dauid* from the folds, and to send him vnto him, because that hauing heard report of his beautie and valour, he was desirous to see him. This command of his did *Iesse* obey, and sent his sonne with presents vnto *Saul* the king, who greatly reioyced vpon his arriuall, and made him his pentioner, and honoured him diuers wayes. For he was refreshed by him, and was his onely Phisitian against the vexation of euill spirits, at such time as they seised and possessed him : for by reciting and singing

F Psalmes vpon his Harpe, he restored the king to his right mind : he therefore requested *Iesse* that he would suffer him to liue with him, and attend vpon him, because hee was so much delighted with his presence, whereunto he condescended, permitting him to dwell with the king.

The yeare of the world, 2883. before Christs Natiuitie. 1081.

God respecteth not the beauties of the body, but the perfections of the mind.

Iesses sonnes being goodly in personage, were not to be preferred to the soueraintie.

Samuel annoynteth Dauid king.

Gods spirit forsaking Saul descenderh on Dauid, who beginneth to prophecie.

Saul maketh Dauid one of his pentioners or guard.

CHAP.

Chap. X.

A ſecond expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.

The yeare of the world, 2883. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1081.

NOt long time after this, the Philiſtines aſſembled themſelues, and gathered together great companies of men of warre, with whom they aſſailed the Iſraelites, and ſubdued all that which is betweene Sucoth and Azeca, where they encamped. *Saul* on the other ſide led foorth his army againſt them, and encamping himſelfe vpon a certen mountaine, he conſtrained the Philiſtines to diſlodge from their firſt campe, and intrench themſelues vpon an other mountaine right ouer againſt that where he pitched his tents. The campes being thus ſeparated the one from the other, there was a valley that extended it ſelfe betweene both the armies: Into this there deſcended a certaine man called *Goliah*, a Gittite, of huge ſtature, beeing foure cubites and a ſpan length in height, hauing his limmes couered with huge and mightie armour: for his curets which he bare on his backe weighed fiue thouſand ſicles; his helmet and pouldrons were of braſſe, made fit to couer his maſſie members; his ſpeare which he bare in his hand was no light lance, but he bare it on his ſhoulder, and the head thereof weighed 600. ſicles, and after him there followed diuers men bearing armes. Now when he came betwixt both the armies, hee ſtood vp and cried with a loud voice, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Saul*, and the Hebrews in theſe tearmes: Hebrewes, what neede you to hazzard the doubtfull fortune of warre? Single me out an aduerſarie, and let vs determine by our two hazards on whoſe ſide the victory & conqueſt ſhall fall: ſo that whoſeſoeuer ſouldier ſhall be ouercome, let his party be adiudged ſubiect to their ſides whohaue the victory: for it were better that ſome one among you, then the whole army ſhould be brought in hazard. When he had ſpoken thus, he returned backe to his owne camp. The next day he came foorth againe and vſed the ſame words, and thus for forty dayes ſpace ceaſed he not to defie the Hebrewes in ſuch like words, and vnder the ſame conditions: ſo that both *Saul* and all his army were diſpleaſed, and kept themſelues alwaies ready and arranged in battell, although the fight was begunne on neither ſide. During the time that *Saul* addreſſed himſelfe to this expedition, he ſent *Dauid* backe againe to *Ieſſe* his father (contenting himſelfe with his other three brothers, who at that time ſerued vnder his royall ſtandard) where hee intended his intermitted care of keeping his flocks: But whilſt the war was rather protracted then performed, whither his father had ſent him to carry victuals to his brothers, and to know how their affaires went in the armie, and whileſt that *Dauid* deuiſed with his brothers, as touching thoſe things which his father had committed to his charge: he heard the Philiſtine blaſpheming and railing vpon the Hebrew army, and was therewith ſo greatly mooued, that turning himſelfe vnto his brothers, he told them that he was ready and addreſſed to fight hand to hand againſt that enemie. But *Eliah* the elder brother reproued him for ſo ſpeaking, telling him that he was more hardy then became his age, and that he knew not what concerned thoſe matters, willing him to returne vnto his father, and intend his flocks. *Dauid* for the reuerence he bare vnto his brother departed from thence, and meeting with certaine ſoldiers, ſaid vnto them, that he had a will to encounter that proud chalenger: which they preſently ſignified vnto *Saul*, who incontinently ſent to ſeek him out. Now when he came before his preſence, he asked him what he intended to doe: O king (ſaid he) let not thy courage be abated, nor thy feare ouermaſter thee. For I am hee that will abate the pride of this enemy, and encounter and enter combate with him: and how great and high ſoeuer he be, how elate and fierce ſoeuer he ſhew himſelfe, I will ſubdue him, and turne his terrour to deriſion: and ſo much the more ſhall thy glory, and the honour of thy army be enhaunced, by how much ſo great and expert a man at armes ſhall bee ſubdued by a young man, and an vnexperienced ſouldier. *Saul* amazed at his hardineſſe, and great courage; yet notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting him by reaſon of his yeares; told him that hee was too feeble, to encounter a man ſo expert in feates of armes: whereunto *Dauid* made this anſwer. That which I promiſe you (my ſoueraigne) is vnder the aſſurance which I haue in God, which heretofore I haue prooued, and the ſuccour which at other times I haue receiued at his hands. For whiles I fed my fathers flocks, I redeemed a lambe that was rauiſhed out of my fold, out of the lions iawes; and catching the wilde beaſt by the taile, that with open mouth aſſaulted and ſought to deuoure me, I beate him to the ground, and ſlue him. Neither with leſſe ſucceſſe inuaded I a Beare that ſet vpon my flocke; and as light doe I ſet by this monſter alſo: who vomiting out his ſlanderous raylings both againſt God, and men, ſhall neither eſcape the diuine arme of iuſtice which he ſo wickedly prouoketh, neither flie from my hands, who am prepared to encounter him.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 11.

1. *King.* 17.

An other expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.

Goliah a man of prodigious ſtature amongſt the Paleſtines.

Goliah challegeth a ſingle combate at the Hebrewes hands.

Saul ſendeth Dauid backe againe to his father.

Dauid deſireth to fight with Goliah.

Dauid redeemed a lambe from the iawes of a lion and ſlue him.

Dauid killed a Beare.

So

A So much preuailed this forward readineſſe in the young man, that the king beſeeching Gods aſſiſtance to ſecond his courage, furniſhed him with a royall armour, a ſword and a helmet, and ſent him foorth to the battell. But *Dauid* feeling the weight of his armour, and ſeeming rather to be loaded then defenced with the ſame, ſaid vnto him: Let theſe armes (O King) ſerue to incloſe and defence thy body, who art able to beare them; and ſuffer me I beſeech thee, who am thy ſeruant, to fight according to mine owne fantaſie. He therefore laid by his armour, and tooke a ſtaffe in his hand, and fiue ſtones which he gathered on the bankes of the torrent, which he put in his ſcrip, his ſling he bore in his right hand: and being thus armed, he marched forward to encounter his enemie. Now when the Barbarian ſaw him thus furniſhed, he ſo much contemned him, that in way of ſcorne he asked him whether he thought him to be a dogge, that hee thus came foorth to fight with him, with weapons fitte to ſcare dogges. Nay (ſaid *Dauid*) I eſteeme
B thee worſer then a dogge: which ſo much peruerted *Goliahs* patience, that he curſed the name of his God, thundring out threates, that he would caſt out his carcaſſe to be deuoured by the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But *Dauid* anſwered, Thou commeſt againſt me with thy ſword, thy iauelin, and curets: but contrariwiſe, I march out againſt thee vnder the warrantiſe and protection of God, who ſhall deſtroy thee by my hand, and with thee thy whole army, for this day will I take thy head from thy ſhoulders, and caſt the reſt of thy body to the dogs whom thou reſembleſt, and all men ſhall know that God is the Prince of the Hebrewes, and that our armes and forces are the cares that it pleaſeth him to haue of vs, and that all other furniture of warre is vnprofitable, except it be aſſiſted by God. The waight of the Philiſtines armes hindred him from marching readily: ſo that he marched foote by foote towards *Dauid*, contemning him,
C and truſting that he ſhould kill him eaſily, both for that he was diſarmed, as alſo becauſe hee was young, and tender in yeares.

The yeare of the world, 2883. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1081.

Dauid laying aſide thoſe armes wherewith he was furniſhed to fight with Goliah, marcheth forward with his ſling againſt the enemy.

Dauid drawing neere his enemie is contemned.

Dauids talke with Goliah before the combate.

CHAP. XI.

The ſingle combate betwixt DAVID *and* GOLIAH, *and the ſlaughter of the Philiſtines that followed after.*

DAVID ſet forward to make head againſt the enemy, beeing aſſiſted by a companion whom he ſaw not, which was God; drawing therefore one of the ſtones, which he had gathered on the bankes of the torrent, out of his ſcrip, and hauing fitted it to his ſling, hee
D forced it againſt *Goliah*, and gaue him ſuch a ſtroke on the forehead, that hee pierced him to the very braine: ſo that *Goliah* fell downe ſodainly dead, and he running vpon him as hee lay ſprawling on the earth, cut off his head with his owne ſword: for hee himſelfe had none. As ſoone as he was ſtrooken downe, diſcomfiture and flight ſeiſed all the army of the Philiſtines: for ſeeing the moſt eſteemed warriour amongſt them ouerthrowne and ſlaine, they began to ſuſpect the generall iſſue of their warre, and reſolued to retire from thence; ſo they tooke their flight in diſorder and confuſion, ſuppoſing by that meanes to deliuer themſelues out of dangers. But *Saul* and the whole armie of the Hebrewes ſallied out againſt them, with great ſhouts and cries; and in the purſuite made a great ſlaughter of them, and draue them to the borders of Geth and the gates of Aſcalon. In this battell there died on the Philiſtines ſide aboue thirty thouſand, and
E the reſt that were hurt and wounded, were twice as many. *Saul* returning backe into his campe pillaged and burnt their tents: but *Dauid* bore *Goliahs* head into his pauillion, and hung his ſword in the Tabernacle, and conſecrated the ſame vnto God. But *Saul* afterward conceiued a priuie hatred againſt *Dauid*, vpon this occaſion which enſueth: For whereas hee returned triumphant like a conquerour with an armie, and the women and maidens ſinging and dauncing to their cymbals and timbrels, in way of honour came out to meete him: The women ſung, that *Saul* had ſlaine diuers thouſands of the Philiſtines; and the virgins anſwered, that *Dauid* had ſlain diuers ten thouſands. Which when *Saul* vnderſtood, and ſaw that the leſſer teſtimonie of thouſands was referred to him, and that the ten thouſands were attributed to *Dauid*, he ſuppoſed that after ſo glorious a renowne, there wanted nothing for *Dauid*, except to be king. For which cauſe
F he began to feare and ſuſpect him: ſo that by reaſon of the feare he had of him, hee thought that he was too neere his owne perſon, and therefore from beeing one of the chiefeſt in authoritie about him, which was to bee one of his chiefe commanders and guard, hee made him captaine ouer a thouſand, rather reſpecting his owne ſecuritie, then the others honour; to the intent that beeing often charged by incurſions of the enemie, hee might by ſome diſaſter bee depriued of his life. But *Dauid* hauing in all places the aſſiſtance of almightie God, returned alwaies with

Thirty thouſand of the Paleſtines, ſlaine.

1. *Kin.* 18. Saul priuily hateth Dauid.

Saul from one of his chiefe nobles maketh Dauid a tribune, to the end that being often drawne out by the enemy he might be ſlain

The yeare of the world, 2881. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1081.

Sauls daughter in loue with Dauid.

Saul subtilly obiecteth Dauid to slaughter vnder a colourable condition of slaughtering the Palestines

Saul vnder couenant of 600 Philistins heads promiseth Dauid his daughter.

with good successe and happy issue: so that for the excellency of his valour, the people intirely G
loued him: and *Sauls* daughter also, that was about that time marriageable, began to bee inamoured with him, and so great and apparant was her affection towards *Dauid*, as the certaine notice thereof came vnto her fathers eares, who was sore displeased therewith; yet hoping by that meanes the sooner to intrappe him, he gaue eare thereto with some shew of allowance, and told them who discouered their loues vnto him, that he would willingly giue him his daughter to wife, vnder pretence that the enioying of her might be the meanes of his vtter ouerthrow: For (said he) I am content to giue him my daughter in marriage, vnder that condition, that hee bring me sixe hundreth enemies heads; and he desirous to get so high and famous a reward, and in like sort to obtaine honor, by an act both so dangerous and admirable, will vndertake the execution thereof, and shall be slaine by the hands of the Philistines, and that intention which I haue conceiued against him, shall succeede according to mine owne hearts desire: for I shall be H
deliuered of him, in sending him out of the world, not by my meanes, but by other mens hands. Further, he charged his Courtiers to sound and seeke out *Dauids* resolution, and how he was affectioned towards marriage: who beganne to deuise with him, telling him that the king bare him a most intire fauor, and that the people admitted him, and how they should procure him the marriage of the kings daughter. Whereunto *Dauid* replied: Thinke you it to be a small matter to be son in law vnto the king? for my selfe I esteeme otherwise, considering in especial mine own base condition, who haue neither reputation nor any honourable quality. When *Sauls* seruants had related vnto him what answer *Dauid* had made them: Tell him (said he) that I neither want goods nor presents (for that were to expose my daughter to sale, and not to match her with a husband.) I seeke for a sonne in law that hath valour, and that is adorned with all vertue, such as I
is manifest and apparant in thee: and my desire is, that for the dower of my daughter, thou giue me neither gold nor siluer, nor any other valuable wealth out of thy fathers house; but the punishment of the Philistines, and sixe hundreth of their heads, which shall be the most desired and accepted dower thou canst present me with. My daughter also requesteth aboue all the dowers, that may accrew vnto her by order of law, to be maried to such a man that is so ennobled and famous by the ouerthrow of his enemies.

When these words were reported vnto *Dauid*, hee was very ioyfull, thinking that *Saul* spake sincerely of this affinitie: and without delay, or taking counsell or deliberation, whether the thing were easie or impossible for him to execute, he incontinently departed with his company to goe and find out the enemy, and execute the condition, vnder which the marriage was promised him. For it was God that made all things easie and possible to *Dauid*: for after he had slaine K
diuers of them, and cut off sixe hundred of their heads, hee returned and presented them to the king, and in consideration thereof, required the performance of his marriage.

CHAP. XII.

SAVL *admiring* DAVIDS *fortitude, giueth him his daughter to wife.*

1. *Reg.* 19. Saul marrieth Michol to Dauid.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. Saul resolueth to kill Dauid.

Ionathã loues Dauid, and sheweth him his fathers determination, and counselleth him to haue care of his safety, and stand on his guard.

BVT *Saul* that could not flie from his promise (for feare least it should bee a great dishonour for him to be found a lier, or to haue promised *Dauid* his daughter vnder colour, either to murther him, or to draw him to the execution of things that were impossible) L
deliuered his daughter *Michol* vnto him. But his intention was not to continue long in that mind. For perceiuing that *Dauid* was gracious in Gods sight, and in good reputation amongst the people, he was afraid of him: and being vnable to conceale his feare he had conceiued, to bee depriued of two things of such consequence, as were his kingdome and life, hee resolued to kill *Dauid*; giuing commission to his sonne *Ionathan*, and diuers other of his seruants to execute the same. But *Ionathan* amazed to see this change in his father, who in stead of the singular good liking he had of *Dauid* in times past, sought to hurt *Dauid*, not in any slight sort, but by indangering his life: and on the other side being singularly affected towards him, and respecting of his vertue, he communicated the secret and deliberation of his father with him, counselling him to haue M
care of himselfe, and to flie vpon the next morrow, and that in the meane while he would go and salute his father, and as soone as the occasion presented it selfe, hee would speake and conferre with him, to know the cause of his conceiued displeasure against him, to the intent he might pacifie the same: supposing it to bee a matter vnreasonable, that hee should be depriued of life to whom the people were so much indebted, and who in particular was his esteemed and vowed friend:

A friend: yea in respect of his former merits, although he were found guiltie of many hainous offences, yet ought hee to obtaine a deserued pardon. I will tell thee afterwards (said he) what my fathers resolution is. *Dauid* gaue credit to his holesome counsaile, and retired himselfe from the presence of the King. *The yeare of the world, 2883, before Christs Nativitie, 1281.*

CHAP. XIII.

How the King practised to murther DAVID.

B THE next day after, *Ionathan* came vnto *Saul*, and finding him merry and well disposed, he began to speake vnto him to this effect, as concerning *Dauid*. In what fault (O Father) either great or small haue you found *Dauid* guilty, that you haue ordained and commanded him to be done to death? who is such a man as for the conseruation of your own person, hath bin very profitable, and besides that hath preiudiced the estate of the Philistines, and inhanced the honour of the people of the Hebrewes, and hath deliuered them from that disgrace and mockery, wherewith they haue beene curbed for the space of forty yeeres: so that he only hath dared, and opposed himselfe against the proud defies of the enemy; and since that time hath brought so many of the Philistines heads as was commanded him, in recompence whereof hee hath had my sister to wife: so that his death should be a great displeasure vnto vs, not onely by reason of the vertue wherewith he is endowed, but also through occasion of his alliance with vs in blood and consanguinitie. For by his death your daughter shall partake part of the iniurie, by reason that shee shall suffer the incommodity of widdowhood, before she hath tasted the fruits and commodities of marriage. Weight these things, and pacifie your displeasure, & do no wrong vnto such a man, who first of all hath beene the author of your so good and great fortunes, as is the conseruation of your person at such time, as you were possessed and tormented with euill spirits: and hath brought to passe that your furies are alayed: and secondly, hath reuenged you of your enemies. For it is a thing vnworthy either your maiestie or the name of a man, to forget good deserts. With these words was *Saul* pacified, so that he swore vnto his sonne that he would not iniure *Dauid*: for his iust perswasions and arguments were more stronger, then the choler and feare of the king. *Ionathan* sent to seeke out *Dauid*, and told him these good and happy tidings from his father, and brought him vnto him, where he liued and remained in sort as he did before time.

C D

Ionathan reckoneth vp vnto his father the good deserts of Dauid praying him to pacifie his displeasure conceiued against him.

Ionathan certifieth Dauid how he hath pacified his father.

CHAP. XIIII.

How hardly DAVID *escaped the ambushes that were often laid for him by the King; yet hauing him twice at aduantage and in his power, would not murther him.*

ABOVT the same time, whilest the Philistines led forth their armie anew against the Hebrewes, *Saul* sent out *Dauid* against them accompanied with his forces, who encountring them slew a great number of them, and returned vnto the king with a great victorie. But *Saul* entertained him not, both as he deserued, and the happy exploit atchieued by him did merit; but despited and enuied his good actions and honourable deserts, as if *Dauids* happy successe had bin *Sauls* disaduantage and preiudice. But at such time as the euill spirit returned anew and both seised and vexed him, he lodged him in his owne chamber where he lay, and hauing at that time a iauelin in his hand, he commanded him to play on his harp and to sing hymnes. Now whilest *Dauid* executed that his commandement, *Saul* stretching out his arme threw his dart at him; but *Dauid* foreseeing it, auoided the stroke, and fled into his owne house, where he soiourned all the day long. Now when the night was come, the king sent out certaine of his seruants to watch his house for feare least he should escape, to the end that the next day being drawne and appearing in iudgement, he might be condemned and put to death. But *Michol Dauids* wife and *Sauls* daughter, hauing intelligence of her fathers intention, ran vnto her husband, telling him in how great perill both he and shee were, who without his presence neither could nor would liue any longer. Beware (said he) least the sunne finde thee in this place, for he shall no more behold thee here hereafter. Flie therefore whilest the present night offereth thee opportunitie, which God doth lengthen for thy safetie sake: for be assured that if thou be surprised in this place, my father will make thee die a miserable death. This said, shee let him downe by a window, and so saued him; and incontinently after, shee prepared his bed, and trimmed it as if he lay sicke

E F

Dauid hath a great victory against the Palestines.

Saul darteth his Iauelin at Dauid.

The yeare of the world, 2883 before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1081.

therein, and vnder the couering thereof shee laid the liuer of a new slaughtered Kid: and when her father had sent the next morning to apprehend *Dauid*, shee answered that he had beene sicke all the night long: then discouering the bed that was couered, shee gaue them to vnderstand that *Dauid* was laid therein, making them touch the couerlet vnder which the liuer stirred, and made them beleeue that the liuer that lay there was *Dauid*, who panted and breathed very hardly. G

Michol perswadeth the kings seruants that Dauid is sicke.

Which being signified vnto *Saul*, hee commanded that he should be brought vnto him in that estate wherein he was, because hee was resolued to put him to death. But when *Sauls* messengers were arriued and returned thither, and had discouered the bed, they perceiued *Michols* subtiltie, and went and certified the King thereof: who reprooued her very grieuously for that shee had saued his aduersarie, and deceiued her father. But she defended her selfe with words full of good apparance, saying, that *Dauid* had threatned to kill her; and how for that cause, and by the impulsion of feare, shee was drawne and induced to aide and saue him. For which cause shee ought to be pardoned, since by constraint and not of set purpose shee had furthered his escape. For (said shee) I thinke that you seeke not so greedily after the death of your enemie, as to preferre the same before the safety and security of your daughter. On these perswasions *Saul* pardoned his daughter. H

Michol excuseth her selfe for deliuering Dauid.

Dauid deliuered from this perill came vnto the Prophet *Samul* to *Ramatha*, and told him what ambushes the King had laid for him, and how hardly hee had escaped death by the stroke of his Iauelin; whereas in all things that concerned *Saul*, hee had alwaies shewed himselfe obedient: againe how hee had neuer ceased to warre vpon his enemies, and had by Gods assistance beene fortunate in all things, which was the cause that *Saul* was so displeased with him. The Prophet, I

Dauid expresseth to Samuel how the King was affected towards him.

informed of *Sauls* iniustice, forsooke the Citie of Ramath, and led *Dauid* to a certaine place called Galbaath where he remained with him. But as soone as *Saul* was informed that *Dauid* was retired and accompanied with the Prophet, he sent out certaine souldiers to lay hands on him, and bring him vnto him: who repairing to *Samuel*, and finding the congregation of the Prophets, were seized with the spirit of God and began to prophecie. Which when *Saul* vnderstood, hee sent out others, who had the like encounter with the first. For which cause he sent out others, and seeing the third company prophecy likewise, he was in the end so much despited, that hee came thither in his owne person. And when he drew neere the place before that *Samuel* saw him, hee made him prophecie; so that *Saul* comming towards him, was seized by aboundance of the spirit: so that he was rauished out of himselfe, and hauing despoyled himselfe of his raiment, hee lay prostrate all the day and the night long in the presence both of *Samuel* and *Dauid*. *Dauid* departed from thence, and went vnto *Ionathan*, to whom he complained of those ambushes which his father had laid to intrap him, in telling him that notwithstanding he had neuer committed either iniurie or fault against his father, yet did he earnestly pursue him to put him to death. *Ionathan* perswaded him that he should neither rashly suspect these things, nor be ouer-credulous in those reports which perhaps might be brought vnto him, but that he should trust him onely; who was assured that his father intended no euill against him: For if he had he would haue told him, who is neuer wont to act any thing without his counsell. But *Dauid* sware vnto him that it was so, and besought him that he would beleeue his vnfained assertions, whereby he might the more easily procure his securitie, least contemning his words, and supposing them to be fained and friuolous, he should by his death be ascertained of the sight and truth thereof: For he assured him that his father for that cause did not communicate his counsailes with him, because hee was assured of the loue and friendship that was betweene them. *Ionathan* sore aggrieued, that *Dauid* was so perswaded, and *Sauls* intention was such, asked him what hee desired at his hands, or wherein hee might shew him friendship. *Dauid* said vnto him, I know that thou wilt further me in what thou maist, and refuse mee in nothing. Now to morrow is the first day of the moneth, in which I was accustomed to dine at the kings table, and if thou thinkest good I will depart out of the Citie into the field, where I will lie hidden: if he aske for me, thou shalt say I am gone into the countrey of Bethleem where my tribe solemnizeth a feast; thou shalt certifie him also that thou hast giuen me leaue. And if he say God speed him, which is an ordinary wish that friends vse to such as go a iourney, know that he hath no hidden rancor, nor secret malice conceiued against me; but if he answer otherwise, it shal be an assured testimony that he complotteth some mischiefe against me, and this shalt thou ascertaine me of, as both becommeth my present calamity, and our mutuall friendship, which by vowed oath thou being my Lord, hast plighted with me who am thy seruant: And if thou thinke me vnworthy of this fauour and iniurious towards thy father, without expecting the sentence of his iustice, kill me now at this present with thine owne sword. These his last words so grieuously

Saul sent armed souldiers to apprehend Dauid, who began to prophecie, and he himselfe likewise comming thither prophecieth. 1. *King* 20.

Dauid complaineth vnto Ionathan of his fathers iniuries. Ionathan excuseth his father.

Dauid desired Ionathan to sound his father how he was affected towards him.

K L M

A grieuously strooke *Ionathan* to the heart, that he promised him to accomplish his request, assuring him to certifie him if he any waies could perceiue that his father was ill affected towards him; and to the intent he might the better be beleeued, he caused him to walke foorth with him into the cleare and open ayre, and there sware vnto him that he would not pretermit any thing that might tend to the conseruation of *Dauid*. For (said he) that God that filleth and moderateth all things in this wide spred Vniuerse, and who, before I speake, knoweth my mind: he I say, shall beare witnesse of that accord which shall be ratified betweene thee and me, that I will not cease to sound my father till such time as I know and haue conceiued his intention, and that I haue entred into his secrets to know what sicknes his soule is seized with; and that when as I shall apprehend the same, I will not conceale it from thee, but giue thee notice thereof, be it that he bee appeased or displeased against thee. The same God knoweth how incessantly I beseech him to be
B assistant vnto thee, as also he is at this present: and that hee abandon thee neuer, but make thee Lord ouer thine enemies, yea though it were my father, or my selfe. Onely remember mee in this point, that after my death (if I chance to die before thee) thou take care of my children, and be as fauorable towards them, as I am affected to theeward at this present. After he had sworne this oath, he dismissed *Dauid*; willing him to conceale himselfe in a certaine place of the Plaine, where he ordinarily exercised himselfe: For that as soone as he vnderstood his fathers mind, he would returne thither with his Page, and if (saith hee) hauing shot three shafts at the marke, I shall command my Page to gather them, and bring them backe againe to me, for that they are right before him, know thou that thou art to expect no euill from my father: but if thou heareſt mee speake to the contrary, thinke thou that my father is incensed and misaffected towards thee;
C yet howsoeuer it happen, I will doe my best, that nothing shal befall thee otherwaies then we expect and wish. Be thou therefore mindfull of these things at such time as thou shalt obtaine thy happy daies, and be thou fauourable vnto my children. *Dauid* being confirmed by *Ionathans* promises, retired himselfe to the appointed place. The next day after, which was the solemnitie of the new moone, after the king was purified according to the custome, he sate downe to take his repast: Now when his sonne *Ionathan* was set on his right side, and *Abner* the Generall of his Armie on the left, *Saul* perceiued *Dauids* place was void, and spake not a word, supposing that hee was absent from that company by reason he was not purified since hee had the company of his wife: but seeing the second day of the new Moone that he was absent likewise, he asked his sonne *Ionathan* why *Iesses* sonne both the day before, and at that instant, was not present at that feast;
D who answered him that he was gone into his country (prosecuting the storie, according as it had beene concluded betweene them) alleadging that his tribe celebrated a feast, and that he had permitted him to assist the same. Further (said he) he inuited me to the banquet, and if it stand with your pleasure, I will assist the feast, for you know how entirely I loue the man. At this time knew *Ionathan* the displeasure his father had conceiued against *Dauid*, and perceiued most apparantly how hainously he was affected: for *Saul* could not conceale his choler, but began to raile vpon his sonne, calling him rebell and his enemie, and companion and confederate with *Dauid*, telling him that he shewed reuerence neither to him, nor to his mother, since he was so minded: and that he would not beleeue, but that as long as *Dauid* liued, their royall estate should be alwaies in continuall disturbance: Hee commanded him therefore to bring him before him, to the end that he
E might doe iustice vpon him. *Ionathan* replyed, What euill hath *Dauid* committed, for which he should be punished? Hereupon *Saul* not onely expressed his choller in words and disgraces, but taking hold of a Iauelin, he assaulted him and would haue slaine him: but he missed his purpose, by reason he was retained by his friends. At that time did *Ionathan* cleerely discouer the hatred that *Saul* bare towards *Dauid*, and how instantly and seriously he sought his ruine, since welny for *Dauids* sake he had slaine his owne and eldest sonne. Then did *Ionathan* withdraw himselfe from the banquet, seeing with how little profit hee had pleaded, and so much was hee grieued that hee ceased not to weepe, and the rather since welny his father had vnkindly slaine him: And seeing that *Dauid* was adiudged to die, hee passed all the night long without sleepe, and about the day spring hee departed out of the Citie to the appointed field, making a shew that hee walked out
F to take his exercise; but indeed it was to discouer vnto his friend the intent which his father had according as it was couenanted betweene them. After that *Ionathan* had done that which he had promised, and sent backe his Page into the Citie, he came vnto *Dauid* both to see and speake with him in priuate: who as soone as he perceiued him, cast himselfe prostrate at *Ionathans* feet, calling him the conseruer and maintainer of his life. But *Ionathan* lifted him vp from the earth, so that both of them embracing one another, and intermixing their mutuall kisses for a long time,

The yeere of the world, 2882. before Christs Natiuitie. 1082.

Ionathan confirmeth his friendship towards Dauid with an oath.

Ionathan giueth Dauid certen signes whereby he should know whether his father were displeased with him.

Saul questioneth about Dauids absence. Ionathan by his answer asſaieth to know his fathers mind.

Saul discouereth his hainous hate against Dauid.

Ionathan excusing Dauid to his father is almost slain with a Iauelin by him.

Ionathan flieth from the banquet.

Ionathan and Dauid meete in the field. Hedio & Rufinus chap. 13. 1. *Kin.* 21.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativitie. 1081.

lamented their yeares with warme teares, and their vnfortunate friendſhip with bitter ſighes: they bewailed likewiſe their future ſeparation no leſſe grieuous vnto them, then death it ſelfe. Finally, ſcarcely giuing any truce to their aboundant teares, and exhorting one another to haue in perpetuall remembrance their plighted faiths and promiſes, they departed one from the other. G

Dauid commeth to Naban or Nob to Achimelech the high Prieſt.

Dauid flying from the king and the war which he made againſt him, retyred himſelfe to the city of Nob to *Achimelech* the prieſt: who ſeeing *Dauid* come alone vnto him without either friend or ſeruant, was amazed; and deſired to know the cauſe why he thus wandred without any attendance. *Dauid* told him that the king had ſent him about ſome ſecret execution, which might not be communicated vnto him, although he were deſirous to know it: and as touching my ſeruants (ſaid he) I haue commanded them to attend mee in this place. He further required him, that he would giue him ſuch things as were neceſſarie for his voyage that he had to make, wherin he might performe the part of a friend, in ſuccouring him at ſuch time as he had neede of him. H

Dauid receiuing Goliahs ſword, flieth to Geth. to Achis king of the Paleſtins.

Which when he had condeſcended vnto, he requeſted him to giue him ſome armes, either ſword or iauelin (now in this place was there preſent one of *Sauls* ſeruants that was called *Doeg*, a Syrian by nation, and the paſtor of the kings mulets.) The Prieſt anſwered him, that he had no ſuch thing by him except it were *Goliahs* ſword, which he himſelfe had hanged in the Tabernacle & dedicated vnto God, at ſuch time as he ſlew the Philiſtine. *Dauid* hauing gotten it, fled out of the countrey of the Hebrewes, and went vnto Geth, a countrey of the Philiſtines, wherein *Achis* was king. There being knowne by the kings ſeruants, he was diſcouered and noted to bee that *Dauid*, that had ſlaine many thouſand Philiſtines. *Dauid* fearing to bee put to death by him, and ſuſpecting leaſt hee ſhould fall into the ſame danger which hee had eſcaped by flying from *Saul*, counterfeited himſelfe to be fooliſh and mad: ſo that the ſome frothed and iſſued out of his mouth; and counterfeited in all things ſo cunningly, that hee made the king of Geth beleeue moſt ſtedfaſtly that he was beſotted and frenzie in his ſickneſſe. For which cauſe the king was wroth with his ſeruants in that they had brought him a mad man, and commanded them with al expedition that might be, to driue him out of his countrey. Hauing in this ſort eſcaped out of the countrey of the Geths, he tranſported himſelfe into the tribe of *Iuda*, and beeing in the caue of *Adullam*, he ſent vnto his brothers to let them vnderſtand that he was there, who came vnto him with all their linage: and diuers others that either were in need or ſtood in feare of *Saul*, reſorted vnto him, ſaying, that they were ready to performe whatſoeuer he ſhould command them: all which amounted to the number of foure hundreth or thereabouts. *Dauid* therfore being thus aſſured, by reaſon of the ſuccours and forces that came vnto him, diſlodged from thence & went to the king of the Moabites, beſeeching him that he would be pleaſed to entertaine his father and mother in that countrey, vntill ſuch time as hee vnderſtood what ſhould be the iſſue or end of his affaires. The King vouchſafed him this fauour, and did them great honour all the time they were in his countrey. And as touching *Dauid*, he hauing receiued inſtructions by the commandement of the Prophet to abandon the deſart, and to ſoiourne in the tribe of *Iuda*: he obeied him; ſo that comming to Saron, hee made his aboade in that place. But when *Saul* had vnderſtood that *Dauid* had beene ſeene with a number of men, hee fell into an extraordinarie feare and trouble of minde: for knowing both the vnderſtanding and courage of the man, he thought inwardly with himſelfe that hee would attempt no action that was not great, and ſuch a one as might not onely endanger his kingdome, or at leaſtwiſe breede him much difficultie and labour. For which cauſe, aſſembling his friends and captaines, and thoſe of his tribe in Gaba where hee kept his royall court, there ſitting in a place called Aror, where all his honourable and ciuill magiſtrates, with the reſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers enuironed him round about, he ſpake vnto them after this manner. Beloued friends, I know that you can beare witneſſe of my bountie, and how I haue aduanced ſome of you to honours, ſigniories and poſſeſſions, and haue preferred you to the chiefeſt dignities and prerogatiues amongſt the people. Now would I know of you whether you hope or expect from the ſonne of *Ieſſe* greater bounty and larger benefits, then I haue beſtowed vpon you: I know that all of you are confederated with him, and that my ſonne *Ionathan* likewiſe is of the ſame faction, and hath perſwaded you to follow and fauour him. For I am not ignorant both of the oathes and couenants that are paſt twixt him and *Dauid*, and am well aſſured that hee is both a counſeller and aſſiſter vnto him in whatſoeuer hee vndertaketh againſt me: yet are none of you touched with theſe cares; but intending your owne quiet, you expect the euent of theſe matters. I K L M

Dauid counterfeits madnes, to eſcape the fury of Achis. 1. *King.* 22.

Dauid repairing to the king of the Moabits, cõmitteth his father & mother to his protection.

Dauid commeth to Sarõ.

Saul feareth Dauid.

Sauls oration to his captaines, friends and eſtates, againſt Dauid.

When the King had ſpoken thus, there were none of the aſſiſtants that replyed: onely *Doeg* the

A the Syrian maſter of the kings mulets, aroſe and ſaid: That he had ſeene *Dauid* in the Citie of Nob, who reſorted to the high Prieſt *Achimelech*, to aske counſel of him as touching his affaires; that there he had receiued thoſe things that were needfull to furniſh him in his voyage, and *Goliahs* ſword likewiſe; and how he was ſafely conducted towards the place whither he pretended to goe. Hereupon *Saul* ſent for the high Prieſt and all his kinred, and ſpake thus vnto him. What wrong or diſpleaſure haue I done thee, that thou haſt entertained the ſonne of *Ieſſe*? and haſt deliuered him victuals and armes; to him, I ſay, that ſeeketh but the meanes to poſſeſſe himſelfe of my kingdome? What anſwer haſt thou made him as touching thoſe demands he preſented thee, in regard of his future fortunes? for thou haſt not beene ignorant that he fled from me, and what hatred he beares againſt both me and my family. The high Prieſt denied none of theſe
B things, but freely confeſſed that he had deliuered him ſuch things as were reported, but not with an intent to gratifie *Dauid*, but the king: for I entertained him (ſaid he) not as thine enemy, but as thy faithfull miniſter and tribune; nay which is more, as thy ſonne in law, and ſuch a one as was tyed vnto thee by neere alliance. For who would haue thought, that he, who was intituled to ſo much honour by thee, ſhould be thine enemy: nay rather, who would not eſteeme him for thy fauourite and neereſt friend? And whereas he asked counſell of me as touching Gods will, this is not the firſt time, I haue anſwered him, but oft and many other times haue I aduiſed him. And where as he ſaid, that he was ſent by thee about ſome haſtie and ſecret buſineſſe, ſhould I haue refuſed him thoſe ſupplies which he required at my hands, I might haue bin iudged rather to haue done iniurie to thy maieſtie then to him. For which cauſe thou art not to ſuſpect or thinke euill
C of me; or if thou haſt receiued any aduertiſement, that *Dauid* at this time intendeth ſome trouble and innouation againſt thee, oughteſt thou to think that by reaſon of the curteſie I haue ſhewed him, that I either fauour him or maintaine him againſt thee: for what I beſtowed, I imployed as on thy friend, thy ſonne in law and thy tribune; and whatſoeuer curteſie he receiued from me, it was done vnto thee. Notwithſtanding all theſe iuſt allegations, yet could *Saul* be no waies induced to beleeue them: but contrariwiſe, his vehement feare made him ſuſpect the true iuſtifications of *Achimelech*: ſo that he commanded certaine armed men that were about him, that they ſhould put both him and all his family to the ſword. But when they held it no leſſe then ſacriledge, to violate by violent death ſuch as were men conſecrated vnto God: *Saul* commanded *Doeg* the Syrian to perpetrate the ſlaughter, who ioyning to himſelfe certaine other ſacrilegious
D and impious men, he murthered *Achimelech* and all his race, who were in number three hundreth, thirtie and fiue men. He further ſent to Nob the citie of the Prieſts, and put all of them vnto the ſword, neither ſparing woman nor childe, nor hauing reſpect vnto any other age, but conſumed the whole Citie with fire, onely one ſonne of *Achimelech* eſcaped, who was called *Abiathar*. All which befortuned according as God had foretold the high Prieſt *Eli*, ſaying, that by reaſon of the tranſgreſſion of his two ſonnes, his poſteritie ſhould be extinguiſhed.

This cruell and malicious act perpetrated by king *Saul* (in extinguiſhing all the race of the ſacerdotall order, without compaſſion either of Infants, or reuerence of old age: this deſtruction of his of that Citie, which God had choſen to bee the countrey and common nurſe of the Prieſts and Prophets, and which he elected to be a receptacle and refuge of all that ſort of men)
E manifeſtly expreſſeth and declareth vnto all men, how depraued and corrupt the minds of men are. For ſo long as they are humble, and limited by a baſe and priuate eſtate, becauſe they neither dare nor can haue libertie to giue ſcope to their vnbridled natures: they ſeeme to be good and iuſt men; and make ſhew of a wonderfull ſtudie of iuſtice, accompanying the ſame with pietie, and are perſwaded that God is preſent in all our actions: finally, that he beholdeth all our cogitations. But no ſooner haue they attained to power and empire, laying aſide their former and reformed manners, and taking vpon them as it were in a ſtage play, both a new habite and another perſonage, but they are deuoured in all audaciouſneſſe and inſolencie, and contempt of both diuine and humane lawes. And when as to ouercome their enuie they had moſt neede of pietie and iuſtice; and when as not onely all their actions, but alſo their wils are expoſed to all
F mens eyes: then moſt of all, as if either God diſſembled, or feared their power, they exerciſe their tyrannies vpon their ſubiects; and whatſoeuer they decree, either through vaine feare, hatred or vnreaſonable fauour, that ſuppoſe they both to be ratified by men, and allowed by God: being altogether depriued of either reſpect or reaſon of thoſe things that are to come. For whatſoeuer they be that ſpend their many and vnexhauſted labours in their ſeruice, thoſe doe they firſt preferre: and afterwards when they haue loaden them with the burthen of dignities, they through enuie not onely depriue of thoſe dignities, but through ſlander alſo doe oftentimes oppreſſe

The yeare of the world, 2883. before Chriſts birth, 1081.

Doeg telleth Saul how he ſaw Dauid in Noba with Achimelech.

Saul reproueth Achimelech for furniſhing Dauid with victuals and armes.

Achimelechs Apologie to Sauls accuſation of treaſon.

The vniuſt ſlaughter of Achimelech with his whole family.

Noba the citie of the Prieſts is burnt and all the inhabitants ſlaine.

Sup. li. 5 ca. 11
1. Kin. 2. & 3.

A manifeſt exemplification of that prouerbe, Honours change manners.

Note diligently.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativity. 1081.

oppreſſe them, not conſidering how deſeruedly they oppreſſe, but onely giuing credit without G proofe to raſh and ſcandalous detractions, executing and ſatiating their rage, not on thoſe they ought to puniſh, but thoſe that may moſt eaſily be depreſſed and ouerthrowne. The manifeſt example hereof appeareth vnto vs in *Saul* the ſonne of *Cis*: who after the gouernment of the nobility was extinct, and the ſupreame magiſtracie of Iudges was diſannulled, beeing the firſt created King of the Hebrewes, onely for that hee ſuſpected *Achimelech*, he ſlew three hundreth prieſts and prophets, and after he had ſlaine them deſtroyed their citie with fire; and as much as in him lay, depriued the high Temple of God, not only of prieſts but ſacred miniſters; and after ſo hideous a ſlaughter, neither ſpared their countrey nor any of their offspring to be left aliue. But *Abiathar Achimelechs* ſonne, who onely eſcaped with life amidſt all his ſlaughtered family, flying vnto *Dauid*, declared vnto him both the ouerthrow of his family and the death of his father. *Dauid* anſwered him, that hee expected no leſſe then that which hapned, at ſuch time as hee eſpied H *Doeg* there, who as his minde gaue him would not faile to reprooue and ſcandale *Achimelech* to *Saul*: yet tooke he it on him that the misfortune hapned vnto his friend by his meanes: he therefore praied him to remaine with him, becauſe he could not be concealed or ſecured in any place better then with himſelfe.

Abiathar eſcaping from Sauls hands, telleth Dauid of the ſlaughter of Achimelech his father, and of the prieſts.

About the ſame time, *Dauid* vnderſtanding that the Philiſtines made a road into the countrey of Cilla, and preied the ſame, determined to aſſault them, if after the Prophet had asked counſell of God, hee ſhould bee by the oracle animated to the performance thereof: which accordingly falling out, hee ſallied out accompanied by his friends, and ſet vpon the Philiſtines, and made a great ſlaughter of them, and recouered a very rich prey, and gaue conuoy to the Cillans, till I ſuch time as they had ſafely gathered in and houſed all their corne and fruite. The rumour of this his exploite was preſently brought vnto *Saul*: for this noble act and happy execution was not onely not ſhut within the limits of the place wherein it was performed, but the renowne thereof was diſperſed euery where both in other mens eares as alſo in the Kings, and both the action and the author thereof were highly commended. *Saul* was very ioyfull to heare that *Dauid* was in Cilla, and ſaid thus: God hath deliuered him into my hands, by inforcing him to ſhut vp himſelfe within a citie incloſed with wals, gates, and bares: whereupon he ſodainly gaue commandement that all the people ſhould march againſt Cilla, and beſiege the ſame, and ſurpriſe or kill *Dauid*.

Dauid defendeth Cilla againſt the incurſions of the Paleſtines. 1. *Kin.* 23.

Saul ſeeketh to beſiege Dauid in Cilla.

But *Dauid* hauing intelligence hereof, and aduertiſed by God that if hee ſtaied among the Cillans, they would deliuer him into the hands of *Saul*, hee tooke with him his foure hun- K dreth men, and retired himſelfe from the Citie into the deſart, and encamped on a defenced hill called Engaddi: ſo that the King being aduertiſed that he was fled from the Cillans, ceaſed to iſſue out in armes againſt him. From thence *Dauid* departed to a certaine place of the Ziphians, where *Ionathan Sauls* ſonne met with him, and after hee had embraced him, hee exhorted him to bee of good cheere, and to conceiue an aſſured hope of future good fortune, and not to giue place to his preſent miſeries, by reaſon that he ſhould obtaine the kingdome, and ſhould haue the whole power of the Hebrewes ſubiected vnto him; but that ſuch things were not wont to happen, except they were accompanied with great trauailes: and after they had once more renued the oath of mutuall and laſting amitie and faith betweene them, during all the time of their L liues, calling God to witneſſe with imprecations againſt him, that ſhould contradict or in any ſort change thoſe conuentions; *Ionathan* left *Dauid* ſomewhat eaſed in heart, and disburdened of his conceiued feare, and that done, returned to his owne home. But the Ziphians intending to gratifie *Saul*, tolde him that *Dauid* was amongſt them, and promiſed him to deliuer him priſoner into his hands, if ſo be hee would iſſue out againſt him: inſomuch as if hee would ſeize all the ſtreights of the countrey, it ſhould bee impoſſible for him to flie into any other place. The king praiſed their forwardneſſe, and promiſed them to requite their loyalty, and to remunerate them ſhortly for this their good affection, and withall ſent out certaine men to ſeeke out *Dauid* and to beake ouer the forreſt, promiſing them that ſhortly hee would follow after them. Thus did the gouernours & princes of the Ziphians offer themſelues vnto the king to ſearch out M and apprehend him, expreſſing their affection therein, not onely in outward ſhew, but alſo with their whole power labouring what they might, that ſurpriſing him they might deliuer him to the Kings hands. But their iniuſt deſire had as infortunate ſucceſſe: who beeing to incurre no perill by concealing him from purſuite, promiſed to betray into the kings hands through adulation and auarice, a man that was both vertuous, and wrongfully perſecuted to death by his enemies. For *Dauid* beeing made priuie to their malice, and aſcertained of the Kings approach, leauing

Dauid admoniſhed by God flieth from his danger.

Dauid came with his army to Cæna or Ziphia, where Ionathan commeth vnto him, comforteth him and renueth his couenant.

The Ziphians certifie Saul of Dauids abode in their countrey.

Dauid hearing of the Kings comming, flieth to aue himſelfe.

thoſe

A thoſe narrow ſtraights wherin they then incamped, eſcaped to a certaine rock which is ſituate in the deſarts of Simon: Neither deſiſted *Saul* to purſue him; for knowing by the way that he had ouercome the ſtraights, he came to the other ſide of the rock, & *Dauid* had ſurely both bin taken and circumuented, had not the king been reuoked by fearfull tidings, which aſſured him that the Paleſtines had forcibly entred and ſpoiled his kingdome. For he thought it more conuenient to reuenge himſelfe on thoſe his hoſtile and ſworne enemies, and to giue ſuccour to his country and people, being ready to be ſpoiled and waſted, then vnder deſire to lay hands on a priuate enemie, to betray both his country and ſubiects to their ſwords; and thus was *Dauid* ſaued beyond all expectation, and retired himſelfe to the ſtraights of Engaddi. But after that *Saul* had repulſed the Paleſtines, certaine newes was brought him that *Dauid* dwelt in the ſtraights of Engaddi: where-
B upon, preſently taking with him three thouſand of the choiſeſt men in all his army, hee led them ſpeedily to the forenamed place, and being not far from thence, he perceiued neere vnto the high way, a deepe, hollow, large, long and open caue, whereas *Dauid* with his foure hundred men might be hidden, and deſcended himſelfe alone into the caue to disburthen the neceſſities of nature. This was preſently diſcouered by one of *Dauids* followers, who told him that GOD had preſented him a fit opportunity to reuenge him on his enemy, and counſelled him to cut off *Sauls* head, and to diſcharge himſelfe thereby of much trouble and torment; who ariſing and finding him out, onely cut off the lap of the veſture wherewith *Saul* was attired, and preſently thereupon repented himſelfe, ſaying, that it were a wicked deed in him to kill his Lord, whom God by elec-
C tion had raiſed to the eſtate of Maieſty and Empire. For (ſaid he) although he be vniuſt toward me, yet ought I not to be iniurious towards him.

But when *Saul* was iſſued out of the caue, *Dauid* went out after, and cried with a loud voice, beſeeching *Saul* that he would giue him audience: who turning back vnto him, he caſt himſelfe proſtrate before his feet, and humbled him on his face according to the cuſtome, and ſpake after this manner; How vnworthy is it for thee, O King, that opening thy eares to ſcandalous backbiters, and giuing truſt and credit to vaine and looſe men, thou ſuſpecteſt thy moſt tried friends, whom thou rather oughteſt to iudge by their ſincere and vpright actions: for words may be either falſe or true, but the mind may bee diſcouered by none more apparant arguments then by mens actions: as at this preſent thou maiſt iudge, whether thou haſt raſhly beleeued them, that make mee
" guilty before thy Maieſtie of that crime, that was neuer yet ſo much thought vpon, and haue ſo
D " much exaſperated thee againſt me, that day & night thou thinkeſt on nothing more then my de-
" ſtruction: Seeſt thou not now how vaine thy opinion is, whereby they perſwade thee, that I am
" an enemy of thy houſe, and earneſtly deſirous of thy death. Or with what eies thinkeſt thou doth
" God behold thy cruelty, who requireſt his death, who hauing occaſion and opportunity offered
" him to be reuenged on thee, ſpareth thy life, whoſe life were it in thy hands were aſſuredly loſt:
" for as eaſily might I haue cut off thy head as this lap of thy garment (and therewithall, in confir-
" mation of his words, he ſhewed it him) yet did I forbeare this iuſt reuenge, yet contrariwiſe art
" not thou afraid to exerciſe thy vniuſt tyrannies againſt me. But God ſhal beare witnes hereof, and
" ſhal approue which of vs both are of more peaceable behauiors. *Saul* amazed to ſee how ſtrange-
ly his life had bin preſerued, and rauiſhed to conſider the naturall mildneſſe and moderation in
E *Dauid*, began to weep, & *Dauid* wept alſo: but *Saul* ſaid that he had greater cauſe to lament then he. For, ſaid he, by thy meanes haue I receiued many benefits, and thou at my hands haſt been repaied with infinite iniuries. This day haſt thou teſtified that thou retaineſt the ancient iuſtice of thy progenitors, who commanded that their enemies ſhould be diſmiſſed with life, at ſuch time as they were ſurpriſed in the deſart: now am I thorowly perſwaded that God hath reſerued the kingdom for thee, & that the Empire of all the Hebrews attendeth thee. Aſſure thou me therfore by an oth, that thou wilt not exterminate my race, neither remember thee of thoſe iniuries I haue done vnto thee, but that ſparing my poſterity, thou warrantiſe and keep them vnder thy protection. *Dauid* ſware vnto him according as hee had required, and ſuffered him to returne into his Realme, and both he and his companies retired themſelues to the ſtraights of Maſpha. About the
F ſame time died *Samuel* the prophet, a man who by his merit was in great eſtimation amongſt the Hebrews, the famous teſtimony of whoſe vertue, and the peoples obſeruation towards him, was expreſſed in this, in that they celebrated his funerall, and ſet out his ſepulcher with great pompe: and when they had performed his rites, they buried him in *Ramath* his Countrey, and lamented him many daies, not after the manner of a common or forraine miſery, but as if each one of them had in particular a preiudice and loſſe to lament for. For, he was a man that was naturally framed to all iuſtice and goodneſſe, and for theſe his vertues moſt acceptable vnto God. Hee

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1081.

Saul purſueth Dauid, and hauing circumuented him, had take him, had not he receiued newes that reuoked him.

Dauid cut off the lappe of Sauls garment

Dauid vpbraideth Saul for his ſubtilties to ſeeke his death who was innocent.

Saul acknowledgeth his malice & Dauids innocency, and requeſteth him that when he hath obtained the kingdome, he would be fauourable to his family.

Samuels death and buriall. 1. *King.* 25.

gouerned

The yeare of the world, 2883 before the Nativitie of Christ, 1081.

gouerned the people after the death of *Eli* the high Prieſt, firſt in his owne perſon for the ſpace of twelue yeares, and afterwards during the raigne of *Saul* eighteene yeeres, whoſe death hapned (as I ſaid) about this time. But in thoſe places where *Dauid* at that time remained, there was a certen Ziphian in a towne called Emma, a man very rich, and Lord of much cattell. For he had a troupe of three thouſand ſheepe, and a heard of a thouſand Goats. On theſe did *Dauid* command his people to commit no waſte; neither thorow deſire, nor neceſſitie, nor hope of concealement, they ſhould doe him any hurt. Charging them moreouer, that they ſhould offer no wrong vnto any man, becauſe that to violate and take another mans goods, was both vnlawfull and wicked, and contrary to Gods commandement. He inſtructed them in this ſort, imagining with himſelfe, that he ſhould gratifie a good man, and ſuch a one as deſerued to be in like ſort fauoured: but *Nabal* (for ſuch was his name) was a rude and curriſh perſon, leading his life in hunting. Yet had he a wife that was good, wiſe and faire.

Nabals flocks ſpared by Dauid.

To this *Nabal* did *Dauid* ſend tenne of his ſeruants about the time of his ſheepe-ſhearing, both to ſalute him, as alſo to wiſh him all good, and to beſeech God, that for diuers yeares he would grant him grace to doe the like. Meane while he requeſted him, that hee would impart vnto him ſomewhat of that which was in his power, when as his ſheepheards could informe him, that hauing long time remained in the deſart, wee haue, ſaid they, beene ſo farre off from doing your flocks any harme, as we haue rather ſeemed to be their ſheepheards and keepers: they promiſed him likewiſe, that whatſoeuer curteſie he ſhould ſhew vnto *Dauid*, he ſhould beſtow it on a mindfull and thankfull perſonage. Thus ſpake the meſſengers vnto *Nabal*: but hee anſwered them very diſcourteouſly, and rudely, demanding of them what that *Dauid* was; and beeing informed that he was the ſonne of *Ieſſe*: Now, (ſaid he) theſe fugitiues and ſlaues forſaking their Maſters, liue proudly and inſolently.

Dauids embaſſage to Nabal to require reliefe, and his curriſh anſwer.

Dauid, hearing of this report, was grieuouſly diſpleaſed, and commanded foure hundred of his men to take vp their weapons and follow him, commanding two hundred to keepe the baggage (for at that time he had ſixe hundreth) and in this equipage marched hee forward againſt *Nabal*, ſwearing, that that very night he would vtterly exterminate and root out all his race, and ranſacke all his riches. Neither was he only diſpleaſed for that *Nabal* was ingratefull towards them, without reſpect of that humanity which they had ſhewed towards him, and his; but alſo, forthat without any cauſe of iniury offered, he had iniured and outraged him in words.

Dauid ſallieth out againſt Nabal with 400. armed men.

In the meane while, certaine ſheepheards that attended *Nabals* cattell, told their Miſtreſſe their Maſters wife, that *Dauid* hauing ſent vnto her husband to requite ſome ſmall courteſie, had not onely obtained nothing, but alſo receiued inſupportable iniuries, whereas till that day he had ſuffered his flocks to be vntouched: telling her that that inſolency of their Lord, might breede them all much woe and miſery. Which when *Abigal* heard (for ſo was the woman called) ſhe loded diuers Aſſes with all ſorts of preſents (without making any motion to her husband, who was ſo drunke that he was inſenſible) and went towards *Dauid*. As therefore ſhe deſcended the ſtraights of the mountaine, *Dauid* encountred her, marching towards *Nabal*, accompanied with foure hundred men: As ſoone as *Abigal* perceiued him, ſhe leaped from her Steed, and falling vpon her face, ſhe proſtrated her ſelfe before him, beſeeching him to forget *Nabals* words, knowing that *Nabals* nature was anſwerable to his name. For in the Hebrew tongue *Nabal* ſignifieth folly: ſhe excuſed her ſelfe likewiſe, ſaying, that ſhe ſaw none of them that were ſent vnto her husband. For which cauſe ſhe ſaid, I beſeech thee grant me pardon, and giue God thanks, that by my means he hath hindered you from polluting your hands in innocent blood: for if thou remaine pure and innocent from bloudſhed, he ſhall exact a puniſhment at their hands that haue hurt thee. For thoſe misfortunes that attend on *Nabal*, ſhall fall on the heads of thine enemies: onely be thou fauourable vnto me in accepting theſe my humble preſents, and for my ſake remit that wrath which thou haſt iuſtly conceiued againſt my husband: for clemency and humanity becommeth him whom the Fates haue deſtinated a kingdome. *Dauid* accepting her preſents, gaue her an anſwer after this manner. Woman, ſaid he, GOD of his goodneſſe hath this day brought thee hither, otherwiſe, thou haddeſt not liued, or ſeene the next morning. For I haue ſworne, that this night I would ouerthrow thy houſe, and leaue none aliue of that vngratefull mans family, who hath ſo contumeliouſly abuſed both me and mine: but now God hath put thee in mind wiſely to preuent and pacifie my wrath.

Abigal Nabals wife, appeaſeth Dauid with preſents.

Nabal ſignifieth a foole.

As touching *Nabal*, although at this preſent hee bee exempted by thy meanes from puniſhment, yet ſhall hee not eſcape, but he ſhall loſe his life: for his manners vpon an other occaſion ſhall be the cauſe of his ruine. This ſaid, he diſmiſſed *Abigal*: who returning to her houſe, and finding

Dauids prophecy of Nabal.

A ding her hus husband amidſt his other companions, loden and ouerwhelmed in wine, told him nothing at that time of that which had hapned: but the next day when he was ſober, certifying him thereof, he loſt all his forces, and his body became mortified through the griefe he conceiued at her words. ſo that ſome tenne daies after and no more, he departed out of this life. Which when *Dauid* vnderſtood, he ſaid that he was deſeruedly puniſhed by God, becauſe that his owne wickedneſſe was the cauſe of his puniſhment, and that he was afflicted, and yet his hands who receiued the iniurie were vndiſtained with blood: and by this example he learnt, that no wicked man can eſcape Gods iudgement, and that all humane affaires are not raſhly diſpoſed, as if neglected by God, but that the good are rewarded with goodneſſe, and the wicked puniſhed according to their wickedneſſe. He afterwards ſent meſſengers to his wife, and cauſed her to come vnto him, to the intent he might marrie her, and take her to his wife. Shee anſwered the meſſen-

B gers, that ſhe thought her ſelfe vnworthie to lie at his feete: notwithſtanding ſhe repaired vnto him with all her furniture and meanes whatſoeuer, and was married to *Dauid*, hauing obtained that degree of honour, both in that ſhe was modeſt and iuſt, as alſo for that ſhe was beautifull. Now *Dauid* had a wife before her, whom he had married out of the Citie of Abeſar.

As touching *Michol* the daughter of *Saul*, and other-whiles his wife, *Saul* gaue her to wife at Liſſa to the ſonne of *Phalti* of the Citie of Gethla. After this, certaine Ziphians comming vnto *Saul*, told him that *Dauid* was returned againe into their countrey, and that if it pleaſed him to aſſiſt them, they might eaſily apprehend him. Whereupon *Saul* iſſued with three thouſand armed men, and being ſurpriſed by night, he incamped in a certaine place called Sicelleg.

When *Dauid* was certified that *Saul* was iſſued forth againſt him, he ſent out certaine Spies,

C whom he gaue in charge to bring him intelligence into what place at that time *Saul* was retired, who aſcertaining him that he was at Sicelleg; he watched all that night without the knowledge of any of his followers, and went into *Sauls* campe, attended onely by *Abiſai* his ſiſter *Saruias* ſonne, and *Achimelech* the Chittite.

Now whilſt *Saul* was aſleepe, and both his generall *Abner* withall his ſouldiers wholly deuoured in drowſineſſe, *Dauid* entred into the kings campe: and although he knew the kings pauilion, by reaſon of his Iauelin that ſtood at the doore therof, yet ſlew he him not, neither permitted he *Abiſai*, who was both willing and addreſſed to execute the ſlaughter, to performe it. But this he ſaid, that although the king were euill, yet notwithſtanding it were a ſtrange and vndecent thing for him, to ſlay him who was Gods elected: for that it was Gods right to take reuenge on him,

D who had giuen the kingdome: and thus reſtrained he the others vnbridled furie. Yet to the intent he might certifie the King, that hauing the opportunitie to ſlay him, he had ſpared his life; he bare away with him his Iauelin, and the pitcher of water that ſtood by *Saul* whilſt he ſlept, without the witting or knowledge of any of the campe: ſo much were they deuoured and onerhaled with ſleepe. He therefore departed thence in all aſſurance, hauing executed all that which either the time or his courage would permit him to doe. But after he had paſſed the riuer, and had attained the top of a mountaine, from whence he might be eaſily heard, he cried out to *Sauls* ſouldiers, and their generall *Abner* ſo ſtrongly, that he awaked them from their ſleepe; and calling vpon *Abner* as well as the common ſort of ſouldiers, the generall asked who it was that called him? to whom *Dauid* anſwered, It is I, the ſonne of *Ieſſe*, your fugitiue: but, ſaid he, how

E commeth it to paſſe, that thou who art ſo great, and in chiefeſt authoritie about the king, haſt ſo ſmall reſpect and guard of his perſon? Thy ſleepe is more pleaſant vnto thee then thy watch for his conſeruation. Aſſuredly this act of thine deſerueth a capitall puniſhment, becauſe thou neither haſt diſcouered me, nor any others before we entred the campe, or approched the king. Seeke for the kings Iauelin and his pitcher of water, and thou ſhalt perceiue in what great danger he hath beene euen in the midſt of you, without any notice or diſcouery of yours.

Saul perceiuing that it was *Dauids* voice, and conceiued how that being in his hands (whom he had ſurpriſed in the depth of ſleep, through the negligence of his guard) he had not ſlaine him, but pardoned him his life, although it iuſtly lay in his power to take his head from him: he ſaid, that he gaue him thankes, and acknowledged his life from him; exhorting him to be aſſured, and

F without ſuſpect of any euill to returne home vnto his houſe, becauſe he was perſwaded, that he loued not himſelfe ſo much, as he was intirely affected by *Dauid*; notwithſtanding that he had purſued him, and for a long time paſt had chaſed him like a fugitiue, conſtraining him alſo by diuers afflictions and great torments of ſpirit, to be abandoned from his deereſt parents & friends: yea from *Dauid* himſelf, who might haue preſerued him, and who had giuen him diuers demonſtrations of his good will towards him, and by whom he had beene oftentimes preſerued; whom notwith-

The yeare of the world, 2889. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1075.

Nabal conceiueth ſo much ſorrow and feare for his immodeſty againſt Dauid that he dieth Apoplectique.

An example of Gods prouidence, that no ſinne can eſcape vnpuniſhed.

Dauid marrieth Abigal Nabals wife.

Saul marrieth his daughter Michol to an other husbād. *1. Kin 26.*

The Ziphians once more labour to betray Dauid in their countrey.

Dauid once more attended by two, entering into Sauls campe, ſtole away his dart and his pitcher of water.

Dauid vpbraideth Abner king Sauls generall, for ſuffering his kings Iauelin and pitcher of water to be taken from him.

Saul praiſeth Dauid, and willeth him to be of good courage, and exhorteth him to returne to his owne houſe.

notwithstanding he ceased not to pursue vnto the death, who contrariwise desired nothing more G
then his life. Hereupon *Dauid* willed him to send some one of his seruants to bring backe his Iauelin and pitcher of water: protesting that God should be Iudge of both their natures, manners and actions, who knew that that day also hee had spared his enemie, whom if he had so thought good, he might haue extinguished.

The yeere of the world, 2889. before Christs Natiuitie, 1075.

Saul hauing this second time escaped from *Dauids* hands, returned to his royall house. But *Dauid*, fearing least if he soiourned in that place he should be intrapped by *Saul*, thought good to retire himselfe into the countrey of the Philistines and soiourne there. So that accompanied with sixe hundred men which he had with him, he transported himselfe to *Achis* king of Geth, one of their fiue Cities; who receiued him with all his people, & gaue him a place to dwell in: so that he aboad in Geth, hauing with him his two wiues, *Achinaas* and *Abigal*. Which when *Saul* vnderstood, he made no more account to send or sally out against him, because that two seuerall H
times he had bin in danger of his life, at such time as he pursued him to intrap him. *Dauid* held it not conuenient to remaine in the Citie of Geth, and therefore requested the king of the Philistines, that sith he had curteously entertained him, it might please him likewise to do him the fauour to assigne him a certaine place in his countrey, where he might make his habitation, because he feared to be chargeable to him, if so be he remained in the citie. *Achis* assigned to him a village called Siceleg, which *Dauid* after he obtained the kingdome, loued and honoured, holding that for his owne demaine, as his owne children and heires did after him. But hereof will we speake in another place. The time that *Dauid* liued amongst the Philistines and in the towne of Siceleg, were foure moneths and twentie daies; during which time, by seuerall and secret excur-
sions against the bordering Sarrites and Amalechites, he spoiled their countrey and returned I
backe againe with a great bootie of oxen and camels: yet brought he thence no bondmen, least *Achis* by their meanes should haue intelligence of his enterprise. He sent likewise a part of the prey vnto the king, and when he demanded from whom he had taken the same, he answered that he had taken it from the Iewes that dwelt Southward and in the Plaine, perswading him that he had done no losse: so that *Achis* conceiued an opinion, that since *Dauid* warred against his owne nation all the time of his aboad with him, he would be a faithfull seruant vnto him. About the same time, the Philistines hauing determined to lead forth their armie against the Israelites, sent out to their allies, requiring them to assist them in that warre, and to make their *Rendeuous* at Renga, to the intent that being there assembled, they might dislodge and assaile the Israelites. Amongst their other auxiliarie companies, *Achis* had requested *Dauid* to assist him, with his sixe K
hundred souldiers: which he promised him willingly to performe, telling him that the opportunitie was now come wherein he might requite his curtesie, and the hospitalitie he had shewed him. *Achis* promised him that after the victorie, when as all things had succeeded according as he desired, he would preferre *Dauid* to the guard of his person; thinking by the promise of this honour and trust, he might augment *Dauids* forwardnesse and affection towards him.

Dauid declareth his innocency to Saul. 1. *King* 27.
Saul desisteth to persecute Dauid.
Dauid with sixe hundred men and his two wiues went into Palestine to Achis king of Gitta.
Dauid requireth a certain place at the kings hands to make his habitation in.
The king giueth him Siceleg.
Dauid spoiled the Sarrites & Amalechites, and giueth part of the prey to the king, perswading him that he tooke it from the Iewes that inhabited the South plaine.

CHAP. XV.

The Philistines renew their warre against the Hebrewes, and obtaine the victorie: and SAVL *with his sonnes, are slaine in the battell.*

L

The yeere of the world, 2890 before Christs Natiuitie, 1074.

BVT *Saul* about this time had banished all Diuiners and Inchanters, and in generall, all such as were tellers of fortunes, reseruing none within his countrey, but the Prophets. When as therfore he vnderstood that the Palestines were already vp in armes, and strongly encamped neere to the Citie of Sonna, situate in the Plaine, he marched forward and made head against them with all his forces. And as soone as he drew neere to the mountaine of Gelboa, he incamped right ouer against the enemie. Now when his armie discouered their great forces, they were much discomforted, and no sooner beheld it but were amazed. Being therfore sore troubled herewith, he sought counsell at Gods hands as touching the euent of the battell: and seeing he returned him no answer, his heart more & more failed him, in that he manifestly perceiued M
what sinister successe would betide him, if God should not assist him in the conflict. He therefore commanded that they should search him out some Pythonissa or cunning enchantresse, who inuocated and raised the spirits of the dead, to the end that by her means he might know if his wars should haue that successe which he pretended (for the Diuiners which gaue answer by the belly, which the Greekes call Engastrimythes, declare their aduentures to those that aske them.) And when

Saul banisheth all diuiners and enchanters out of his kingdome.
Saul hearing the Philistines made head against him, asked counsel of God,

A when as by the report of a certaine familiar friend of his, he was aduertiſed that there was ſuch a one at Endor, vnwitting to his whole armie, and laying aſide his royall habites, and attended onely by two, whom he eſteemed for his moſt faithfull ſeruants, he repaired to Endor to this woman, requiring her to diuine and raiſe vp the ſpirit of him whom he ſhould name. The woman denied, and ſaid, that ſhe ought not to contradict the kings edict, who had driuen out of his Realme all ſuch ſort of Soothſayers, telling him that he did not well, that hauing receiued no wrong at her hands, he ſhould thus ſound her, and ſeeke to bring her in lapſe of the kings lawes, and cauſe her to be puniſhed. But *Saul* ſwore vnto her, that no man ſhould know thereof, and that he would not diſcouer her diuination to others: briefely, that ſhee ſhould incurre no danger thereby.

The yeare of the world, 2890. before Chriſts birth 1074.

Saul repaireth to Endor to aske counſell of a Sorcereſſe.

B After then that by his oathes and proteſtations he had perſwaded her, that ſhe ſhould haue no cauſe to feare, he commanded her to raiſe the ſpirit of *Samuel*. Shee not knowing what *Samuel* was, called him from hell, and he ſuddainly appeared. But when ſhe perceiued that it was an honourable man, and of diuine ſemblance, ſhe was ſore troubled; and being wholly diſcomforted with this viſion, ſhe turned and ſaid vnto the king: Art not thou *Saul*? for *Samuel* had certified her no leſſe. *Saul* confeſſed that it was he, and asked her for what cauſe ſhe ſeemed to be ſo much troubled: She anſwered, that ſhe ſaw a man aſcend that reſembled God. *Saul* commanded her to declare vnto him his ſhape, habite and age: and ſhe gaue him to vnderſtand that he was a reuerend old man, attired in the veſtment of a high prieſt. By theſe markes *Saul* knew that it was *Samuel*: whereupon, proſtrating himſelfe on the earth, he adored and ſaluted him. The ſpirit of *Samuel* asked him for what cauſe he had troubled and raiſed him. To whom he complained and lamented that he was inforced thereunto by neceſſitie: for that a grieuous hoſt of his enemies were at hand, and that voide of counſell he was forſaken by God, hauing from him no prediction, either by prophecie or dreame: for which cauſe, ſaid he, I made my recourſe vnto thee, who haſt alwaies had care both of me and my fortunes. But *Samuel*, foreſeeing that the kings death was hard at hand, anſwered him that it was in vaine for him to queſtion with him, as touching thoſe things that ſhould happen, ſince thou knoweſt that thou art forſaken by God. Know therefore, ſaid he, that *Dauid* ſhall poſſeſſe the kingdome, and that it is he that ſhall eſtabliſh the eſtate by armes: but as concerning thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt loſe both thy kingdome and thy life, becauſe thou haſt diſobeyed GOD in thy warre againſt the Amalechites, and haſt not obſerued his commandements, according as I foretold thee at ſuch time as I was aliue. Know therefore, that thy people and hoſt ſhall be diſcomfited by the enemie, and that both thou and thy ſonnes ſhall be to morrow ſlaine in the battell, and be with me. When *Saul* vnderſtood theſe things, he became ſpeechleſſe, through the ſorrow wherewith he was ſeaſed, and fell downe on the pauement, either for that his forces failed him through ſuddaine griefe, or for his want of meat; becauſe that neither that night, nor the day before, he had vouchſafed his body any refection or ſuſtenance.

Saul commandeth the witch to raiſe Samuels ghoſt.

Saul complaineth him of his miſeries to Samuel, and asketh his aduiſe.

Samuels ghoſt certifieth Saul of the euent of his battell againſt the Philiſtines.

Saul through ſodain ſorrow fell in a ſwoune.

At length, hardly recouering himſelfe out of this ſwoune, the woman importuned him to receiue ſome ſuſtenance, beſeeching him to doe her that fauour in recompence of her vnexpected diuination; which though interdicted, ſhe had aduentured to performe for his ſake (before ſhee were aſcertained that it was he that had forbidden them) in conſideration whereof, ſhe prayed him, that ſitting downe at the table, hee would refreſh himſelfe with ſome ſuſtenance, to the end he might be the more able to returne vnto his army. And although he reſiſted and vtterly refuſed to eate, in that he had no appetite, and was vtterly deſperate; yet ſo effectually importuned ſhee, that finally ſhe perſwaded him to receiue ſome little nouriſhment. And whereas ſhe had but one calfe which ſhe bred vp in her houſe with ſome particular care (for ſhe was but a poore woman, and had no other riches) yet ſpared ſhe not to kill it, and dreſſe the fleſh for *Saul* and his ſeruants. Thus refected, *Saul* returned back againe into his camp. The curteſie of this woman deſerueth to be praiſed: for, although ſhe knew that the king had prohibited her art, whereby both ſhe and her family ſufficiently maintained themſelues: and although before that time ſhee had neuer ſeene *Saul*; yet ſo it is, that without remembring her that it was he by whom her art had bin condemned, ſhee entertained him not as a ſtranger, or like the man ſhee had neuer ſeene before; but had compaſſion of him and comforted him, exhorting him to eate, although he refuſed it, and preſented him willingly and heartily with that little which ſhe had in her pouerty. All which ſhe did not vnder hope of recompence, or expected preferment (knowing well that *Saul* ſhould ſhortly loſe his life) nor according to the ordinary courſe of men, that naturally honour thoſe that haue beſtowed ſome dignity vpon them, and become ſeruiceable to thoſe from whom they pretend to draw ſome profit hereafter. She therefore ought to be imitated, and in her appeareth an excellent

The Enchantreſſe intreateth him to refreſh himſelfe, and take ſome refection.

An example of curteſie & liberalitie in the Enchantreſſe.

The yeare of the world, 2890. before Christs Natiuitie, 1074.

excellent example of bountie, approouing that there is nothing more worthy praise, then to relieue those that are in necessitie; neither any thing more becomming men, or whereby we may obtaine Gods fauour and graces, better then by it. Thus much sufficeth at this present, in respect of this woman. But now me thinketh I shall doe well if I insert in this place, and in these my writings, an other example both profitable to people and Nations, and in especiall an incitation to noble men, and such as are borne vnto glory, to follow vertue; which also shall expresse what honour is, and exemplifie how a man may eternize his memory, which ought to engender in the hearts of kings of Nations, and of Gouernours of Common-weales, a singular desire and affection to addict themselues to noble actions, and to encourage them to entertaine dangers, yea death it selfe; and teach them to endure all difficulties whatsoeuer, for their Countries cause. To which intent, the history of *Saul* the king of the Hebrewes yeeldeth me matter most incident to this purpose. For, although he knew that which should befall him, and that his death was at hand (according as it had beene foretold him) yet resolued he not to auoid the same; neither so loued hee his life, that for the conseruation thereof, he would deliuer vp his people into the hands of their enemies, nor dishonour his royall dignitie: but himselfe, with his children and all his household, exposed themselues to danger; thinking it more honourable to die with them in fighting for his subiects, and farre more expedient that his children should die like valiant men, then to leaue them aliue in incertitude of estate whereinto they might fall, supposing that he should haue sufficient successours of his race, if he left behind him a perpetuall memorie & praise both of him and his. For which cause (in my opinion) he was both iust, strong, and prudent, and if any one either is or hath been like vnto him, I suppose that it becommeth all men to giue testimonie of such a mans vertue. For I thinke that the Historians and ancient Writers, haue not worthily entituled them with the stile of valiant men, who attainining some worthy actions, attempted warre vnder assured hope of victorie and safetie, but they only that imitate *Saul* may deseruedly be called iust, praise-worthy, couragious, hardie, and contemners of all dangers. For what great thing is there in vndertaking the common hazard of warre, and tossed twixt hope and feare, to vse Fortunes fauour if she fawne vpon vs? But contrariwise, I account it an assured signe of a valiant man, when as without conceit or hope of any goodnes, and knowing his death at hand, and assured in his conflict, he is not affraid nor dismaid with such apprehensions, but seeketh out with an inuincible courage his most assured hazzard.

Iosephus praiseth Saul for a worthy and valiant King, in that foreknowing his danger and death, he exposed himself to assured perill.

G H I

This is the praise of our *Saul*, who is an example to all true louers of glory, that if they haue regard to leaue an honest memory to their posteritie, they should vpon the like opportunitie propose the same resolution to themselues: but in especiall Kings, who, by reason of the excellencie of their degree, ought not onely forbeare to be euill, but also striue to be excellently vertuous. I could likewise say more of this generous argument of *Sauls* valour, but least I should seeme too affectionate, I will returne to our former purpose.

K

1. Kin. 29.

After that the Philistines were thus encamped (according as hath beene afore-spoken) and had numbred their forces according to their nations, kingdomes, and gouernours, king *Achis* issued in the rereward with his particular company, whom *Dauid* followed, accompanied with his sixe hundred souldiers: whom when the Chiefetaines of the Philistines beheld, they asked the King whence those Hebrewes came, and what their Leaders name was? Who answered them that it was *Dauid*, who fled from *Saul* his master, and how he had entertained him being fledde from him: againe, how *Dauid*, in recompence of the good he had receiued at his hand, and to reuenge him on *Saul*, was ready to fight for them against him. But the chiefetaines blamed him, because he had chosen an enemy for his associate, counselling him to dismisse him, for feare least he should secretly performe some strange stratageme against his confederates, because (said they) he hath a fit opportunitie to reconcile himselfe to his Master. They therefore willed him to send *Dauid* backe with his sixe hundred souldiers, vnto the place which hee had giuen him to inhabite, because it was the same *Dauid* of whom the damsels made songs, singing in praise of him, that hee had slain many thousand Philistines. When the king of Geth vnderstood these things, he thought their counsell to be laudable: for which cause, calling *Dauid* vnto him, he said vnto him; I protest vnto thee (said he) that I beare a most singular affection and good liking towards thee: and for that cause I haue called thee out to assist vs in this battell; but our Captaines allow not of my resolution; for which cause, retire thy selfe to the place which I haue giuen thee, without conceiuing any euill suspicion of mee. There shalt thou be in guarison, to forestall the enemie from foraging our countrey: and in so doing, thou shalt partly assist vs in the warre. Hereupon, *Dauid* departed vnto Siceleg, according as the king had commanded him.

Achis leadeth out Dauid with him against the Hebrewes, and is reproued by the chiefetains of the Palestines for so doing.

Achis dismisseth Dauid.

L M

But

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Nativitie, 1074.

A But during the time that *Dauid* was in campe; and attended on the Philiſtines warre, the Amalechites aroſe and tooke Siceleg by force, and burned the City: and after they had gathered a great bootie both in that place, and in other villages of the Philiſtines countrey, they retired backe againe. Now when *Dauid* arriued at Siceleg, and found it wholly and ruinately ſpoiled and ſeeing likewiſe that his two wiues, and the wiues of his companions were priſoners togither with their children: he preſently rent his rayment, and began to weepe and lament with his companions; yea ſo much was he afflicted, that he had ſcarce any teares left him to bemone himſelfe: beſide this, his companions amated with the captiuity of their wiues and children, were ready to ſtone him to death; accuſing him that he was the cauſe of all that which had hapned. But when as his griefe was after a manner aſlaked, and hee ſomewhat returned to himſelfe, he lifted vp his B heart vnto God, and commanded the high Prieſt *Abiathar* to put on the Ephod, and aske counſaile of God; and that done to declare vnto him wherby by his aſſiſtance he might ouertake the Amalechites, if ſo be he ſhould purſue them; and whether he ſhould recouer his wiues and children that they had led away, and reuenge him of his enemies. As ſoone as the high Prieſt had certified him that he might purſue them, hee ſallied out with ſixe hundreth ſoldiers, and purſued the enemy: and drawing neere vnto the riuer, he found a certen ſtraggler an Egyptian by nation, wholly diſcomforted and feeble thorow want and famine wherewith he was preſſed, hauing for three daies ſpace wandered in the deſart without any ſuſtenance; whom after he had refreſhed with meate and drinke, and recomforted, he asked him to whom he belonged, and what he was. The Egyptian told him his nation; and how he had beene left in that place by his maſter, becauſe C that thorow his weaknes it was impoſſible for him to follow them. Hee confeſſed likewiſe, that his maſter was one of the number of thoſe that had burned and ſacked, not onely other quarters of Iudæa, but Siceleg alſo. *Dauid* taking this man for his guide ouertooke them, finding ſome of them lying on the earth; others banquetting and following drunkennes, and almoſt ſenſeleſſe by ouerdrinking: ſo recouering both his bootie and pillage, and ſodainly ſet vpon them, hee made a great ſlaughter. For they being naked, and ſuſpecting no ſuch inconuenient, and wholly addicted to frolicke drinking and feaſting, were all of them eaſily defeated: diuers likewiſe amongſt them were ſlaine as they ſate at their meat; others likewiſe were ſlaughtered whileſt they carrouſed the one vnto the other; and ſome of them periſhed being loaden with ſleepe, and gorged with wine.

D They likewiſe that were compleatly armed, intending to make reſiſtance, were as eaſily ſlaine, as they that lay naked vpon the earth: Thus *Dauids* men abode with him from the firſt houre of the morning till the euening, doing nought elſe but kill and murther, ſo that only foure hundreth of the Amalechites eſcaped, who likewiſe fled being mounted on their Dromedaries. So recouered he all that which the enemy had ranſackt, and amongſt other things he releaſed both his own wiues and thoſe of his companions. Whereupon they returned to the place where they had left the other two hundreth, which might not follow them, becauſe they were appointed to guard the baggage: To theſe, the abouesaid foure hundreth would not grant a part of the booty and profit, becauſe they had not (as they ſaid) followed the enemie with them, but ſhewed themſelues ſlacke in the purſuite; alledging that they ought to content themſelues with the recouery of E their wiues. But *Dauid* ſaid, that the ſentence which was pronounced by them, was both euill and vniuſt: for ſince God had granted them the grace to defeate their enemies, all of them merited to haue part in the profit, which ought equally to be diuided amongſt them, both amongſt thoſe that had fought, and amongſt thoſe likewiſe that ſtaied behind to guard the baggage. And from that day forward this ordinance hath beene held firmely amongſt them, that they that keepe the baggage, ſhould haue equall part and portion of the prey with thoſe that ſhould goe out to the battell. But when *Dauid* was returned to Siceleg, he ſent vnto all his familiars and friends of the tribe of *Iuda*, a ſeuerall part of the ſpoile: In this manner was Siceleg ſacked and burned, and thus were the Amalechites diſcomfited. But the Philiſtines aſſailed, and fought a bloody battell with *Saul* and his followers, wherein the Philiſtines had the vpper hand, and ſlew a great num-F ber of their enemies. *Saul* king of Iſrael with his ſonnes fought therein very valiantly, and with ſtout hearts, ſeeing that all their honour conſiſted in that onely point to die nobly, and to hazzard themſelues againſt all camiſadoes of their enemies. For ſince the Philiſtines bent all their forces againſt them, they ſaw no meanes of recouerie, ſo that incompaſſed by them they died in the middeſt of them, and yet before their death ſlewe a great number of the Philiſtines. There were there preſent *Sauls* three ſonnes; *Ionathan*, *Aminadab*, and *Melchi*: who being defeated, all the Hebrew armie turned their backes: ſo that beeing inſtantly purſued by the enemy,

The Amalechites in Dauids abence ſpoile and burne Siceleg, & carry away the prey.

Dauid taketh counſell of God whether he will aſſiſt him to recouer his wiues and goods out of the hands of the Amalechites.

Dauid guided by an Egyptian ſlaue ouertaketh the Amalechites.

Dauid aſſaileth the Amalechites, and makes a great ſlaughter of them, and recouereth the whole prey.

Dauid compromitteth the debate betwixt thoſe that purſued the chace, and thoſe that kept the baggage touching the pillage. 1. *Reg.* 31.

Saul and his ſons ſeeing their armie ouercome by the Philiſtins are deſperately diſmaid and ſlaine.

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Nativitie, 1074.

there fell a great disorder, slaughter and confusion amongst them. *Saul* fled also, although hee had about him a strong squadron of men. And although the Philistines marshalled foorth against him a multitude of archers, that shot many darts and arrowes at him; yet were they all but a very fewe repulsed: and although he had fought very brauely, hauing receiued on him diuers wounds, yet being vnable to support the paine and griefe of his wounds, and trauailed with shortnesse of breath, he commanded his Esquier to draw his sword, and to thrust it thorow his body before hee should be surprised aliue by his enemies: which his Esquier refused to doe, not daring to lay hands vpon his master. For which cause *Saul* drew his owne sword, and setled the point to his breast and cast himselfe thereon: but vnable to force it home enough, nor make it by goaring himselfe thereon to peirce quite thorow him, he looked backe and percerued a yong man hard beside him, of whom he demanded what he was: and hearing that he was an Amalechite, hee requested him, that since himselfe was vnable to peirce himselfe with his owne hands, that he would leane vpon him, and make the sword passe thorow him, and bring him to that death which he so earnestly desired: which he did, and hauing taken from him the gold which he had about his armes, and the royall crowne likewise, he fled away. The Esquier seeing *Saul* dead, sodainly slew himselfe: Not one of all the kings guard escaped, but all of them were slaine neere vnto the mountaine Gelboa. When they that inhabited the valley on the other side of Iordan and in the Plaine, had intelligence that *Saul* and his sonnes were dead, and with them a great number of their nation was slaine, they abandoned their Cities and fled to others that were more defenced. The Philistines finding these Cities destitute of inhabitants, encamped therein. The next day whilest the Philistines spoiled the dead, they found the bodies of *Saul* and his sonnes, which they spoiled and beheaded; sending their heads round about the countrey, to make it knowne that their enemies were defeated. They offered vp their armes also in the temple of Astaroth; and as for their bodies they hung them on the wals of the Citie of Bethsan, at this day called Scythopolis. When they of Iabes a Citie of Galaad vnderstood how the Philistines had thus cut off the heads of *Saul* and his sonnes, they were sore mooued, and thought it became them not to bee so careless of them, but that they should be rescued. For which cause the most valiant and hardy amongst them (for that Citie bringeth vp men both valiant in heart and strong in body) departed and marched all night long, so as they attained Bethsan, and approching neere the wals tooke downe the body of *Saul* and his sonnes, and carried them vnto *Iabes*, without any resistance of the enemie, in that they durst not attempt the rescue. These Iabesians lamented ouer their dead bodies and made publike lamentations, and buried them in the faireſt place of their countrey, which place is called Arar. They mourned after this manner weeping, both men, and women and children, and beating their breasts, and lamenting the King and his sonnes, and tasting neither meate nor drinke. This was the end of *Saul*, according as *Samuel* had foretold him, because he had disobeyed God in his warre against the Amalechites, and for that he had slaine the race of *Achimelech*, and *Achimelech* himselfe also, and destroyed the Citie of the Priests. He raigned during the life of *Samuel* for the space of eighteene yeares, and twenty two yeeres after his death. Thus finished *Saul* his life.

Saul striueth to kil himself: and being vnable vseth the assistance of a yong Amalechite.

The Hebrews that inhabite the valley beyond Iordan, leauing their townes, flie to defenced cities.

The Palestins hung vp the bodies of Saul and his sonnes.

The citizens of Iabes rescue the bodies of Saul and his sons, and both bury and lament them.

G H I K L

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the seuenth Booke.

1 Dauid *is created king of one tribe in Hebron : ouer the rest,* Sauls *sonne obtaineth the soueraigntie.*
2 Isboseth *is slaine by the treacherie of his domesticall seruants, and the whole kingdome commeth vnto* Dauid.
3 Dauid *hauing surprised the Citie and cittadell of Ierusalem, drieth the Chanaanites from thence, and causeth the Iewes to inhabite the same.*
4 Dauid *assayled by the Philistines, obtaineth a famous victorie against them neere vnto Ierusalem.*
5 Dauid *ouercomming the neighbouring nations, imposeth tributes on them.*
6 *They of Damasco are ouercome by* Dauid.
7 *How* Dauid *ouercame the Mesopotamians.*
8 *How through the intestine warres of his family,* Dauid *was expulsed out of his kingdome by his sonne.*
9 Absolon *marching out with his armie against his father, is ouerthrowne.*
10 *The happie estate of* Dauid *restored againe into his kingdome.*
11 Dauid *in his life time, annointeth and createth his sonne* Salomon *king.*
12 *The death of* Dauid, *and how much he left his sonne towards the building of the Temple.*

CHAP. I.

DAVID *is created King of one Tribe in Hebron : ouer the rest,* SAVLS *sonne obtaineth the soueraigntie.*

THIS battell was fought on the same day that *Dauid* returned conquerour to Siceleg, after he had subdued the Amalechites. But some three daies after his returne, he that slew *Saul* and had escaped from the battell, hauing his garment rent and ashes cast vpon his head, came and cast himselfe prostrate before *Dauid :* and being demanded from whence he came, he answered, from the battell of the Israelites; and certified *Dauid* of the vnhappy issue thereof: telling him how diuers thousands of the Hebrewes were slaine, and how *Saul* himselfe and his sonnes were done to death in the conflict. He likewise gaue him to vnderstand, how he himselfe retreated amongst the Hebrewes, and was present at the flight of the king : confessing likewise that he was the author of his death, vnder purpose to redeeme him from the hands of his enemies : For (said he) *Saul* hauing cast himselfe vpon the point of his sword, was so weake, by reason of the agonie of his wounds, that he could not dispatch himselfe. Furthermore, he produced the testimonies of his death; the gold about his armes, and the royall crowne which he tooke and brought from him being dead. *Dauid* perceiuing no cause whereby he should suspect his death, whereof he had most euident and infallible testimonies, rent his garments, and spent the day in weeping and lamenting with his companions. And the more was he ouerpressed with sorrow, by reason of the losse of his most deere friend *Ionathan*, whom he acknowledged to be the author and conseruer of his life : And so vertuous and affectionate shewed he himselfe towards *Saul*, that although he had oftentimes beene in danger to haue been slaine by him, yet was he sore aggrieued at his death: and not that alone, but he likewise executed him that slew him; telling him, that he himselfe had accused himselfe for slaying the king, declaring thereby that he was the sonne of an Amalechite, and commanded that he should be put to death. He composed likewise lamentations and Epitaphs in praise of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, which are as yet extant at this present time wherein I liue. After that he had thus honoured the king, and performed his lamentation and obsequies, he asked counsell of God by the meanes of the Prophet, what Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* he would giue him to inhabite in : who answered him

The yeare of the world, 2891. before Christs Natiuitie. 1073.

2. King. 1. An Amalechite certifieth Dauid of Sauls death, and in testimonie thereof presenteth his bracelets and crowne.

Dauid lamenteth Saul and Ionathans death.

Dauid commandeth the Amalechite to be slaine that killed Saul.

The yeare of the world, 2801. before Christs birth, 1073.

Dauid by Gods commandement commeth and dwelleth at Hebron, and is declared king of the tribe of Iuda.

Dauid praiseth the Iabesines for burying Saul and his sons.

Abner the son of Ner crowneth Isboseth Sauls sonne.

Abner leadeth out his army against the tribe of Iuda.

Ioab with all Dauids armie issueth out to meet him.

Twelue souldiers fight, & kill one another, and Abners side are ouerthrowne.

Azael Ioabs brother pursueth Abner.

Abner in his flight killeth Azael.

Ioab & Abisai pursued Abner till sunne set.

Ioab sounding a retreat restraineth his soldiers.

How many on each side died in the battell.

2. *King.* 3. The beginning of ciuill war amongst the Hebrews.

that he would giue him Hebron. For which cause he forsooke Siceleg, and came and dwelt in G
Hebron, and brought thither his wife and souldiers. All the people of the aforesaid tribe resorted thither vnto him, and proclaimed him king: where vnderstanding how the Iabesins had buried *Saul* and his sonnes, he sent Embassadours vnto them, both to praise and approoue their actions, promising them that both he allowed their act, and would remunerate their deuoire which they had extended toward the dead: giuing the likewise to vnderstand, that the tribe of *Iuda* had chosen him for their king. But *Abner* the son of *Ner* General of *Sauls* army, a man of execution, and of a noble disposition, vnderstanding that *Saul* and *Ionathan* and his two other brothers were dead, came into the campe, and bringing with him the onely sonne of *Saul* that was left, whose name was *Isboseth*, he passed on the other side of Iordan, and proclaimed him king of all the people except the tribe of *Iuda*. He appointed likewise for his royall seate and place of resi- H
dence, a certaine countrey called in Hebrew Machare, that is to say, the campe. From thence went he with an elected band of souldiers, with a resolution to fight against those of the tribe of *Iuda*, in that he was displeased with them, because they had made choise of *Dauid* for their king. Against him marched out *Ioab* the sonne of *Suri* and of *Saruia Dauids* sister, Generall of his army, to encounter him, accompanied with his brothers *Abisai* and *Azael*, and all *Dauids* souldiers: and arriuing neere a certaine fountaine of Gabaa, he arranged his armie in that place to enter battell. And when as *Abner* said vnto him, that he desired to make triall whether part had the better souldiers, it was accorded betweene them, that twelue of either side should be chosen out to determine the challenge: who marching out into a certaine place betwixt both the hosts, and hauing darted their Iauelins the one against the other, came at last to the sword; where mu- I
tually assailing, hewing and butchering one another both in their heads, sides and bowels, they all of them at last fell down dead, as if the plot had bid determined between them. Which done, the two armies ioyned in like sort, and after a cruel battell *Abner* with his followers were discomfited: who speedily flying were incessantly pursued by *Ioab*, who in his owne person insisted and exhorted his other soldiers to pursue them hastily, without suffering any of them to escape. But amongst the rest, *Ioabs* brothers were hot vpon the chase, and the yongest of them called *Azael* gaue especiall testimonie of his forwardnes, through that swiftnesse in running wherewith he was endowed; for he ranne not onely more swift then other men, but outstripped horses also in their race. Whilest thus he pursued *Abner* with great vehemencie and headlong course, without turning either on the one side or on the other; *Abner* turned backe vpon him, and intending to dignifie him for his forces; he first couenanted with him for one souldiers armour, and K
another time seeing that he could not be perswaded to stay, he prayed him to arrest himselfe and pursue him no further, for feare least being inforced to kill him, he should be depriued of the courage to behold his brother *Ioab*. But perceiuing that he made no account of his words, in that *Azael* instantly insisted to pursue him; *Abner* flying and turning himselfe backe, strooke him with a Iauelin which he had in his hand, in such sort as he presently died. But they that pursued *Abner*, likewise arriuing in the place where *Azaels* body vnaduenturously fell dead, staied round about him, and surceased to pursue the enemy any further. But *Ioab* and his brother *Abisai* outstripping the body with swift running, and conceiuing a more mortall hatred against *Abner*, for that he had in this sort slaine their brother; they pursued him vntill sun-set, with admirable swiftnesse, and incredible alacritie vnto a place called Dumaton: There mounting vpon a hillocke, hee saw *Abner* with the tribe of *Beniamin* flying from him; who began to cry out L
vnto him and say, that men of the same tribe should not be so whetted and incensed the one against the other: That their brother *Azael* was in the fault, because that although he had exhorted him to cease from running after him, yet could he not perswade him, and that for the same cause he had both strooken and slaine him. *Ioab* wisely digesting these his sayings, and accepting of them as of holesome and friendly aduertisements and counsels, he commanded the trumpet to sound retreat, and surceased to pursue them any more, and incamped for that night in the same place: during which time, *Abner* trauelled without ceasing, and hauing past ouer Iordan, returned to his campe to *Isboseth Sauls* sonne. The next day *Ioab* suruaied the dead, and caused them to be buried. Those that were found dead on *Abners* side were about three hundreth M
and sixtie men; and on *Dauids* side nineteene, ouer and besides *Azael*, whose body *Ioab* and *Abisai* tooke with them, and carried it vnto Bethleem, and after they had interred it in the tombe of their ancestors, they repaired to Hebron vnto *Dauid*. From that time forward there arose a ciuill warre amongst the Hebrewes, that endured a long time, in which *Dauids* followers had alwaies the vpper hand, and neuer aduentured the hazard of the field without returning with some

aduantage,

A aduantage; whereas the ſonne of *Saul* and his partakers had almoſt euery day the worſe. *Dauid* at that time had ſixe ſonnes by ſo many wiues, the eldeſt of them was called *Ammon* the ſonne of *Achimaas*, the ſecond was *Daniel* the ſonne of *Abigal*, the third was called *Abſolon* the ſonne of *Machama* the daughter of *Ptalomey* King of Geſſur; the fourth was *Adonias* the ſonne of his wife called *Aggite*: the fift and the ſixt were called *Gertheſſa* and *Gala*. But after this ciuill warre was begunne, and that the Kings on both ſides had oftentimes encountred and fought together; *Abner* Generall of the armie of King *Sauls* ſonne, a prudent man, and one that was beloued by the people, endeauoured all that in him lay, that the whole countrey might be commanded by *Iſboſeth*, and in effect they all ſubmitted vnto him for a certaine time: but when as it afterwards fell out that *Abner* was charged and accuſed to haue kept company with *Riſpa Sauls* concubine, the daughter of *Sibath*, and that *Iſboſeth* likewiſe had reproued him for the ſame cauſe, he conceiued
B a great griefe & deſpite, ſuppoſing that he had great iniurie done vnto him, conſidering how carefull he had beene, and was, of the Kings eſtate: for which cauſe he threatned him to eſtabliſh the kingdome to *Dauid*, and to make him know, that it was neither his vertue nor prudence that made him ſoueraigne ouer the tribes on that ſide Iordan, but that his faith and warlike conduct was the cauſe thereof. For which cauſe he ſent vnto Hebron to *Dauid*, requiring him by an oath to accept of him as his confederate and friend, promiſing him to perſwade the people to forſake *Sauls* ſonne, and to proclaime him King of the whole region: *Dauid* ſware vnto him, according as he had required, and was very glad of that embaſſage that *Abner* had ſent vnto him, and the rather for that vnder aſſured teſtimony of their accords, hee had preſerued *Michol Dauids* wife (whom hee had purchaſed with the price of diuers great dangers, and with ſixe hundreth heads
C of the Philiſtines preſented to his father *Saul*, to the end he might enioy her) which *Michol Abner* had ſent him backe, hauing taken her from *Phalti*, who had ſince that time eſpouſed her: whereunto *Iſboſeth* alſo was aſſiſtant, to whom *Dauid* had written that it was reaſon that hee ſhould recouer his wife. *Abner* therefore aſſembled all the elders and gouernours of the people, and told them that at ſuch time as heretofore they were ready to forſake *Iſboſeth*, and to ſubmit themſelues to *Dauid*, he had diſſwaded them from that intent; but at this preſent if they had the will, he would condeſcend vnto them, becauſe he was aſſured that God had choſen *Dauid* (by the mouth of *Samuel* the Prophet) to bee King ouer all the Hebrewes; and had foretold that hee ſhould puniſh the Philiſtines, and ſhould ouercome them, and bring them vnder his ſubiection. Which when the elders and gouernours vnderſtood, and were aſſured likewiſe that *Abner* would
D ſubſcribe to their reſolution as touching the eſtate, they all of them determined to ſubmit themſelues to *Dauid*. *Abner* ſeeing them thus reſolued, did afterwards aſſemble al the tribe of *Beniamin* (out of which the archers of *Iſboſeths* guard were choſen) and told them the like, and perceiuing that they contradicted him no waies, but ſubmitted themſelues vnto his pleaſure, he gathered about twentie of his familiar friends, and reſorted vnto *Dauid* to receiue in his own perſon *Dauids* oath: both for that each man in his own affaires repoſeth greateſt confidence in himſelfe, as alſo to giue him intelligence what ſpeech he had held with the elders and the whole tribe. *Dauid* receiued and entertained him very kindly, and magnificently and ſumptuouſly feaſted him at his table for many daies, praying him that he would depart, and returne & bring the people with him, to the end that in their preſence & ſight, he might deliuer him vp the gouernment. When *Dauid*
E had diſmiſſed *Abner*; ſome little time after his departure, *Ioab* the Generall of *Dauids* armie came to Hebron, and knowing that *Abner* had bin with *Dauid*, and that but ſome little time before he was departed from him, with accords and promiſes made vnto him that he ſhould be gouernour; he fearing leaſt that if *Dauid* ſhould place him in honour and dignitie, and ſhould make *Abner* (who was a man otherwaies exerciſed in affaires, and politique to preuent occaſions) as it were his companion in the kingdome, that the ſaid *Ioab* ſhould be degraded and depriued of his office; he tooke vpon him a curſed and froward reſolution. For firſt of all he laboured to detract and make him odious in the kings eare, counſelling him to ſtand on his guard, and not to giue eare vnto *Abners* promiſes, who vnder colour and ſubtilty ſought to eſtabliſh the kingdome vnto *Sauls* ſonne: alledging that he came vnto him vnder colour and cautele, intending then to leaue him,
F when his hopes were ſatisfied and affaires diſpoſed: But perceiuing that theſe his ſubtilties tooke little effect with *Dauid*, and conſidering with himſelfe likewiſe that he mooued him in no ſort, he attempted a more perilous exploit then the former. For reſoluing with himſelfe to kill *Abner*, he ſent out certaine men after him, whom he gaue in commiſſion that as ſoone as they ſhould ouertake him, they ſhould vrge their interparlee in the name of *Dauid*, alledging that they had ſomething to communicate with him as touching the eſtate, which he had forgot to certifie him of.

The yeere of the world, 2891. before Chriſts Nativity. 1073.

Dauid had ſixe ſonnes borne in Hebron.

Abner bridled and gouerned the multitude ſo that a long time they were ſubiect to Isboſeth.

Abner ſendeth embaſſadours to Dauid in Hebron to make a couenant with him.

Dauid requireth his wife Michol at Abners hands.

Abner conſulteth with the elders and gouerners of the armie to reuolt to Dauid.

The elders captaines perſwaded by Abner follow Dauid.

The Beniamites accord with Abner, he reſorteth to Dauid and certifieth him thereof.

Abner being kindly entertained by Dauid is friendly diſmiſſed.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before Christs Natiuitie, 1065.

When *Abner* had heard the words of theſe meſſengers (who ouertooke him in a place called Beſira, ſome twentie furlongs off of Hebron) he ſtrooke out of the way without ſuſpicion of his future diſaſter, and *Ioab* going before him, embraced him with great loue, and like an affectionate friend (for ſuch as enterpriſe any wicked action, do often and ſubtilly diſſemble and make ſhew of honeſtie, to the end to expel out of the innocents mind all iealouſie or euill ſuſpicion) whereſingling him from his other companie, and making ſhew to informe him of certaine ſecrets, and hauing drawne him into a by-way beſides the wall, accompanied only with his brother *Abiſai*, he drew his rapier and thruſt it into his ſhort ribbes: Of which wound *Abner* died, ſurpriſed by the treaſon of *Ioab*; who pretended and coloured that act of his, with the reuenge and death of his brother *Azael*, whom *Abner* had ſlaine vpon the chaſe in the firſt warre at Hebron; but in truth it was but the ſuſpicion of his greatneſſe and honour, fearing leaſt he ſhould be depriued, and *Abner* inſeated by obtaining the next degree of honour vnto *Dauid*. Hereby may a man conceiue how many and how mighty things men attempt and hazzard for their auarice and ambition ſake, and to the end they may not be inferiour vnto any others in thoſe matters. For when as they deſire to attaine riches and honours, they atchieue it by ten thouſand miſchiefes; and at ſuch time as they feare to be diſpoſſeſt, they ſtriue to continue their eſtates by meanes more pernicious, becauſe they thinke it to be the leſſe ſinne, and that the calamitie is leſſe actiue, rather not to haue obtained to any greatneſſe and power: then after the poſſeſſion thereof, to fall into diſgrace. Thence it commeth, that all of them intend and practiſe many hazzards and difficult encountries, through the feare they haue to loſe their degree. But it ſufficeth to haue briefly touched this point. *Dauid* hauing notice of the murther of *Abner*, conceiued a great griefe in his heart, and called all his aſſiſtants to witneſſe, lifting vp his hands vnto God, and proteſting that he was no partaker of the murther, and that *Abner* had beene ſlaine without his commandement or will. He likewiſe vttered moſt grieuous curſes againſt the murtherer, his houſe and accomplices, by which he wiſhed them to be ſubiect to the fatal penaltie of murther: for he greatly ſuſpected leaſt he ſhould be held in ſuſpicion to be a party in that which had hapned vnto *Abner*, contrarie to his faith, oath and promiſe, which he had paſt vnto him. Moreouer, he commanded that all the people ſhould weepe and lament for him, and that the funerals of his body ſhould be honored according to the accuſtomed faſhion, in renting of garments and putting on ſackcloth: and that the ſame ſhould be done the coffin being carried before, which both he and the chiefeſt gouernours of the Iſraelites followed, beating on their breaſts, and ſhedding teares, and teſtifying the loue which they bare vnto him during his life, and their diſpleaſure to ſee him dead, who had bin murthered contrary to their will and intention. He was entombed in Hebron with great magnificence, and Epitaphs compoſed in his praiſe by *Dauid* himſelfe, who ſetting himſelfe on the tombe firſt of all lamented, and gaue others cauſe of lamentation. And ſo much was hee confuſed at the death of this *Abner*, that he ſwore to forbeare all kind of meat vntill the ſunne-ſet, notwithſtanding all the inſtances of his friends, who vrged him to take refection: which act of his purchaſed him much good will and loue amongſt the people. For they that loued *Abner* were very glad to be witneſſes of that honour which he did him in his death, and that faith which hee maintained in honouring him, euery way according to the cuſtome, as if he had been his kinſman or friend, and not embaſing him with a vile and contemptible tombe, as if hee had beene his enemie. And in generall, all of them were ſo glad of the curteſie, ſweetneſſe and royall nature of king *Dauid*, that they eſteemed in like caſe, that he would haue the like eſtimate of them, as they ſaw him haue of deceaſed *Abner*. And by this meanes *Dauid* happily maintained his credit, and increaſed the peoples good opinion of him, eſcaping thereby the ſuſpition and conceit that hee might in ſome ſort haue beene acceſſarie to his death. He proteſted alſo vnto the people, that he conceiued no ſmall griefe at the loſſe of ſo good a man, declaring thereby that it was no ſmall ſtaine vnto the ſtate of the Hebrewes to bee depriued of him, who had the meanes to maintaine their peace by his good aduiſe, and to ratifie the ſame by his executions and warlike valour: But God (ſaid he) who hath care of all things ſhall not ſuffer him to die vnreuenged: And hee it is that ſhall beare mee witneſſe, that it lieth not in my power to puniſh *Ioab* and *Abiſai*, who haue greater credit in the armie then my ſelfe; yet ſhall they not eſcape Gods iuſtice for this fault. Thus ended the life of *Abner*.

Men inclined to ambition and auarice dare al things.

Dauid with the whole people bewaile Abner, and honour his funerals.

Dauid ſalueth his honour, and auoideth the ſuſpicion of Abners death.

G H I K L M

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Nativitie. 1065.

ISBOSETH *is slaine through the treason of his friends and followers: the whole kingdome descendeth to* DAVID.

WHEN *Isboseth*, *Sauls* sonne, had notice of *Abners* death, he was sore displeased, not only for that he perceiued himselfe to be depriued of his neere kinsman, but also of so great a personage as had setled the crowne on his head. Neither did he himselfe long time remaine aliue after him: but by the sons of *Ieremon*, *Banaoth* and *Thannus*, he was traiterously done to death. These two being Beniamites, and of the chiefest nobilitie amongst them, made their reckoning that they would make away *Isboseth*, and thereby obtaine great recompence at *Dauids* hands; supposing that such an act of theirs, would get them the chiefest place and dignity in the army, or some other credit. For which cause, finding *Isboseth* alone in his house about mid-day, laid on his bed and asleepe, and vnassisted by any of his guard, and perceiuing likewise that the Porter was fast, who through his trauell and other businesse (by reason of the extreame heate) was laid downe to rest: they entred into his lodging whereas *Isboseth* was asleepe, and slew him: and hauing cut off his head, they trauelled all the night and day long, as if they fled from those whom they had offended, and sought their rescues from them, who would succour and assure them from peril. And when they came to Hebron, they presented *Dauid* with *Isboseths* head, offering themselues as his most dutifull liegemen to do him seruice, who had deliuered him of an enemy, and made away an aduersary against his roialtie. But *Dauid* allowed not their act in such sort as they hoped, but spake thus vnto them; O cursed men, said he (on whom I intend presently to execute iustice) haue you not heard how I punished him that murthered *Saul*, and brought his roiall crowne vnto me? Yea, although he slew him vpon his owne instant request, and to the intent the enemy should not surprise him aliue? Were you of that opinion that I was changed, and that I am not the same that I was, but that I take delight to be partaker with you in your mischiefes, or that I will countenance them, as if these acts of yours (who are murtherers of your master) were laudable in you? in you, I say, who haue slaine a good man on his bed, that iniured no man, but was your benefactor, and who had both cherished and honoured you: nay, rather assure your selues, that you shal be punished in his behalfe, and shall yeeld me satisfaction by the losse of your liues, because you haue thought that *Isboseths* death would work my contentment: for, you could not in any sort dishonor me more, then by conceiuing such an opinion of me. Which said, he adiudged them to die by the most cruell torments that might bee imagined: and with all the honour that he might, he caused *Isboseths* head to be interred in *Abners* tombe.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 2. 2. *King.* 4.

Isboseths head is brought to Dauid.

Dauids sharp inuective against the murtherers of Isboseth, and their punishment.

These murtherers beeing thus done to death, all the chiefest of the people repaired to *Dauid* vnto Hebron (both they that commanded ouer thousands, and such also as were Gouernours) & submitted themselues vnto him, reckoning vp the good affection they had borne him, both during *Sauls* life time, as also the honour which they had neuer discontinued to beare him, since the first time that he was Coronell ouer a thousand, especially for that he had beene chosen by God thorow the mediation of the Prophet *Samuel*, to be their king, and his children after him; declaring vnto him, that God had giuen him the countrey of the Hebrewes, to defend the same, and discomfit the Philistines. *Dauid* accepted their promptitude and affection, exhorting them to persist, assuring them that they should neuer repent themselues of their obedience: and after he had banquetted and entertained them, he sent them to assemble the people.

2. *King.* 5. The nobles of the Hebrews repaire to Dauid to Hebron & declare him king.

Dauid entertained the nobles kindly.

Of the tribe of *Iuda*, there came together about sixe thousand eight hundred men of war, bearing for their armes a buckler and a iauelin, who before that time had followed *Sauls* sonnes, and besides whom the tribe of *Iuda* had assigned the kingdome to *Dauid*. Of the tribe of *Simeon*, 7. thousand, and a hundred or somewhat more: of that of *Leui* 4700. whose chiefetaine was *Iodam*, with who was *Sadoc* the high priest, accompaniud with 20 & two gouernors of the same linage. Of the tribe of *Beniamin* 4000. men of war: for this tribe were as yet of opinion that some of the heires of *Saul* should raigne. Of that of *Ephraim* 20800. both strong and stout men. Of that of *Manasses*, almost the halfe as many, namely 8000. Of that of *Issachar* 200. who were skilfull in diuination, and 20000. men of war. Of that of *Zabulon* 20000. chosen fighting men: for only this intire tribe was wholly at *Dauids* cõmand, who were armed in like maner as they of Gad were. Of the tribe of *Nepthali* there were 1000. chiefetains, famous for their valour, & armed with shield & iauelin, attended by an infinite number of their tribe. Of the tribe of *Dan* there were 27000. chosen men. Of that of *Aser* 40000. Of the two tribes on the other side of Iordan, and of the half tribe of

The armed soldiers that came to Dauid.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before Christs Nativitie. 1065.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

of *Manasses* fixe score thousand armed men, with buckler, iauelin, murrion and sword: The rest of the other tribes also wore swords. All this multitude was assembled together in Hebron before *Dauid*, with great prouision of victuals and wine, sufficient to sustaine them all, who all of them with one consent, appointed *Dauid* to be their King. Now when the people had mustred, and banquetted for three daies space in Hebron, *Dauid* dislodged from thence with his whole host, and repaired to Ierusalem. But the Iebusites, who at that time inhabited the city, and were of the race of the Chanaanites, shutting vp their gates against his comming, and placing on their wals as many as were blind and lame, or maimed in any other sort, in contempt of him, scoffingly iested, and said, that these were sufficient to keep out the enemy: so much trusted they to their fortifications. Wherewith *Dauid* being sore displeased, began to besiege Ierusalem, and vsing all diligence and industry to surprise the same, he incontinently expressed how strong he was, checking therby other mens pride, who perhaps would haue done the like vnto him, and afterwards tooke the lower Towne. And for that the higher Towne was as yet vnsurprised, the King resolued to encourage his men of war to shew themselues valiant, promising them honors and recompence; proclaiming that he would make him generall ouer all the people, that should first of all scale, ascend, and seize the wall. Whilst thus they inforced themselues to mount without refusing any trauell (thorow the desire they had to obtaine the gouernment that was promised) *Ioab*, the son of *Saruia*, was the forwardest amongst the rest; and hauing got vpon the wall, cried vnto the king, requiring him to grant him the generall gouernment.

The siege of Ierusalem vndertaken by Dauid.

Dauid surpriseth the lower towne.

Dauid getteth the vpper towne.

The valour of Dauids souldiers, & in especiall of Ioab.

CHAP. III.

DAVID, *hauing taken Ierusalem by force, casteth out all the Chanaanites from thence, and deliuereth the Citie to be inhabited by the Iewes.*

AFTER therefore he had cast out the Iebusites from the higher citie, and repaired Ierusalem, he called it the city of *Dauid*, and remained therein all the time of his raigne: so that the whole time that he ruled in Hebron, ouer the sole tribe of Iuda, was 7. yeeres and sixe moneths. But after he had established Ierusalem for his royall city, his fortunes daily more and more increased, because God both furthered, and bettered them. *Hiram* also, king of Tyre, sent vnto him, and made a league of amity with him: he presented him likewise with presents of Cedar wood, and workmen and Masons, to build him a royall house in Ierusalem. Now, when the King had seized the higher city, he annexed the rock thereunto, and made one body of twaine; and hauing walled it in, he gaue the gouernment thereof to *Ioab*. This king was the first that droue the Iebusites out of Ierusalem, and called the same by his name. For, from the time of *Abraham*, our forefather, it was called Solyma: neither want there some that infer, that *Homer* vnder that name intended Ierusalem. For, in the Hebrew tongue, Solyma is as much to say, as Security. Al the time from the exploite of warre made by *Iosuah* against the Chanaanites, and since the diuision of the Country (during all which time the Israelites could not driue the Chanaanites out of Ierusalem) vntill such time as *Dauid* tooke the same by force, were fiue hundred and fifteene yeeres. But in this place, I will not forget one *Orphan*, a rich man amongst the Iebusites; who, for that he was well affected toward the Hebrewes, was not put to death in the surprisall which *Dauid* made of Ierusalem: but (as I will shortly declare) was graced and greatly honoured by the king. *Dauid* espoused other wiues besides those which he had; besides many other concubines: by them he had eleuen sonnes, whose names are these which follow, *Amnas, Emma, Ebamatha, Salomon, Iebar, Eliel, Phalna, Ennapha, Ienaah, Eliphal*: besides these, he had a daughter called *Thamar*. Nine of these were begotten on noble mothers, but the two last (which were named by vs) were the sons of concubines. But *Thamar* was *Absalons* sister by the same father and mother.

Dauid expelleth the Iebusites out of the towne & city of Ierusalem.

The league of friendship betweene Hiram and Dauid.

How Ierusalem was called Solyma, & what mention Homer made thereof.

The yeeres since Iosuahs conquest to this time, 515.

Orphon a Iebusite, friend to Dauid.

2. *King.* 24.

Dauids sons borne in Ierusalem.

CHAP. IIII.

DAVID *assailed by the Palestines, obtaineth a famous victory against them, neere vnto Ierusalem.*

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 4.

NOVV, when the Palestins knew that the Hebrews had created *Dauid* king, they led forth their army against him towards Ierusalem, where encamping themselues in the valley of the Giants (which is a place not farre off from the City) they in that place expected the encounter. But the king of the Hebrewes, who was wont to doe nothing inconsiderately, without

A out Gods aduiſe, commanded the high prieſt to prophecie and foretell, what ſucceſſe and euent the warre ſhould haue; who after he had informed him that God ſmileth on, and fauoureth their attempts, he preſently drew out his army againſt the enemy: and ſtriking the battell, he ſodainly aſſailed the enemies on their backs, and partly ſlew them, and partly put them to flight. But let no man ſuſpect, that the army of the Paleſtines was either ſmall in number, or weake in courage, which at that time aſſailed the Hebrewes, in that hee coniectureth in his mind, that they were eaſily ouercome; without their attempting or performing any noble or memorable action. For he is to know that all Syria, Phenicia (and all other warlike Nations beyond them) bare armes with them, and were confederates in this war: which was the onely cauſe, that notwithſtanding they were ſo many times ouercome, and had loſt diuers thouſands of men, that they deſiſted not to aſſaile the Hebrewes with more great force: and that which is more, hauing beene defeated in
B the battels before recited, yet forbare they not to aſſaile *Dauid* anew with thrice as much power as before, and to incampe in the ſame place. For which cauſe, *Dauid* tooke counſell of God once more, what the iſſue of this battell ſhould bee: and the high Prieſt told him, that hee ſhould encampe in the forreſt called Teares, becauſe it was not far off from the enemies campe, and that he ſhould not depart from thence, neither attempt them in battell, before the trees did ſhake without any agitation or breath of wind. Wherupon, as ſoone as the trees ſhooke, and the time which God had appointed was come; without any delay, he iſſued out, to enioy a prepared and manifeſt victorie. For the ſquadrons of the enemy were diſarraied, and incontinently betooke them to flight, and were ſwiftly followed and ſlaughtered, vntill the Citie of Gerar (which is a frontire towne of their countrey) and their campe was thorowly ranſacked, wherein there were found
C great riches; and amongſt all other things, their gods were beaten to pieces.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1065.

The Paleſtins mouing war againſt Dauid, are partly ſlain or put to flight.

The Paleſtins inuaded the Hebrewes with a mighty army gathered out of ſundry nations.

The Paleſtines flight. 2. *Reg.* 6.

The battell beeing brought to this end, it ſeemed good vnto *Dauid* (by the counſell of the Elders and Coronels ouer thouſands) that all the flower of their youth, ſhould be aſſembled from all the parts of the country, euery one according to his tribe. Secondly, that the Prieſts & Leuites ſhould repaire to Cariathiarim, and bring from thence the Arke of God, and conuay it to Ieruſalem; to the end that when it ſhould be there, the ſeruice of God might thereafter bee celebrated in that place, and other ſacrifices and honours, agreeable to the diuine Maieſtie, might be performed. And had the ſame bin done during the life of *Saul*, no inconuenience had fallen vpon them. When as all the people were aſſembled (according as it was decreed by him) the King came forth to transferre the Arke; which the Prieſts carrying out of *Aminidabs* houſe, they laid it vp-
D on a new Waine, which (together with oxen) their brothers and children drew.

Dauids command as touching the tranſportation of the Arke.

The King marched formoſt, and after him all his people, praiſing God, and tuning all ſorts of melody then vſuall in that country, with diuerſity of ſounds of inſtruments, of Dances, & Shalms, Trumpets & Clarions: and in this manner conducted he the Arke into Ieruſalem. But when they were come to the threſhing floore of Chidon (which is a certaine place ſo called) *Oza* died, thorow the wrath of God: for the Oxen ſtumbling that drew the chariot, and the Arke ſome-what ſhaken, he ſtretched out his hand with intent to ſuſtaine the ſame; and becauſe he was no Prieſt, God ſtrooke him till he died. The King and the people were ſore aggrieued at the death of *Oza*, and the place where he died, is called to this day *Ozas* Striking. *Dauid*, fearing leaſt if he ſhould retire the Arke with him into the Citie, the like happe ſhould attend him that had befallen *Oza*
E (who was in that ſort done to death, for that he had onely thus ſtretched out his hand) he placed it not with him in his owne houſe within the Citie, but commanded that it ſhould bee left in the poſſeſſion of one called *Obed*, by deſcent a Leuite, and in behauiour a man good and vertuous: where it remained for three months ſpace, during which time, his houſe was bleſſed with all worldly goods and goodnes. The king being aſcertained what aduantages had befallen *Obed*, (who of a poore and needy man, was ſuddainly become very rich, ſo that all men had their eyes fixed on him, and they that heard ſpeake of his houſe enuied him) he aſſured himſelfe that no inconuenience would befall him: for which cauſe he retired the Arke into his owne houſe, which was caried by the Prieſts, and ſeuen quires of ſinging men diſpoſed by the king went before the ſame. The king himſelfe likewiſe touched, and plaied vpon the Harp, ſo that *Michol, Dauids* wife
F and *Sauls* daughter, ſeeing him entertaining himſelfe after that maner, mocked at him. The Arke then being thus carried, was placed in a Tabernacle erected and dreſſed by *Dauid*, who offered moſt magnificent ſacrifices of all ſorts, and forgot not the ſacrifices for proſperities: he feaſted all the people likewiſe, both men, women and children, diſtributing vnto euery one a cake, a morſell of roſted meat, a cake fried in the pan, and a portion of the ſacrifice: and after hee had thus feaſted the people, he diſmiſſed them, and retreated himſelfe into his owne houſe. But *Michol*

Oza ſtretching out his hand to ſtay the Arke, is ſodainly ſtroken dead.

Dauid placeth the Arke in Obed Edomes houſe, who proſpereth therethrough in all felicitie.

The Arke tranſported into Dauids houſe, and placed in a tabernacle.

Dauid is mocked by his wife Michol.

his

The yeere of the world, 2900. before Christs Natiuitie, 1004.

his wife (and daughter to King *Saul*) drawing neere vnto him vpon his returne, beſought God for him, that it might pleaſe him in all other things ſhe might expreſſe vnto her husband all that, which became her intire and vnequald loue towards him: but in this ſhee blamed him, becauſe that being ſo great and mighty a king as he was, he had diſhonoured himſelfe in dancing, deſpoiling himſelfe, and diſcouering partly that which became him not, doing all this in company of his ſeruants and handmaides. To whom *Dauid* anſwered, that he was not aſhamed in performing a thing ſo acceptable vnto God as that was, who had honoured him more then her father, and placed him aboue all others, aſſuring her that hee would play and dance oftentimes after that ſort, without care whether his demeanour pleaſed either her or her chambermaids. This *Michol* (of whom we entreat) had no children by *Dauid*, but being maried againe to another (to whom her father had betrothed her after he had rauiſhed her from *Dauid*) ſhe bare fiue ſonnes, of whom we will ſpeake in their place. The king perceiuing how by Gods aſſiſtance his affaires proſpered daily more and more, thought that it ſhould be a hainous offence in him, if he ſhould dwell in houſes made of Cedar, high and well builded, and neglecting the Arke ſuffer it to remaine vnder a pauillion: for which cauſe he conceiued a deſire to build a Temple vnto God, according as *Moſes* had foretold: and to this entent conſulted he with the Prophet *Nathan*, who willed him to performe all that which he was minded to accompliſh, aſſuring him that God would be each way aſſiſtant vnto him: for which cauſe he was very heartily affected towards the building of the Temple. But the ſame night God appeared vnto *Nathan*, commanding him to certifie *Dauid*, that hee accepted his will, and that his affection was agreeable vnto him (conſidering in eſpeciall that no one before him had a thought to performe the like:) yet notwithſtanding (although his deliberation were ſuch) he permitted him not to finiſh the ſame, by reaſon he had followed many warres, and had embrewed his hands in the blood of many of his enemies. But after his deceaſe (which ſhall happen after hee hath liued a long and proſperous life) his ſonne called *Salomon* (to whom hee ſhall leaue the kingdome after his death) ſhall cauſe a Temple to bee built vnto him, promiſing him to aſſiſt and fauour the ſayd *Salomon* (euen as the father doth his ſonne) and that he would continue the royalty in his heires and their ſucceſſours: And that if they ſhall happen to offend him, hee will onely puniſh them with ſickneſſe and ſterilitie. *Dauid* vnderſtanding theſe words which were deliuered him by the Prophet, was very ioyfull, by reaſon that the royaltie was firmly aſſured to his heires, and for that his houſe ſhould bee famous and renowned; and preſenting himſelfe before the Arke, he proſtrated himſelfe and adored, and gaue God thanks for all the benefits he had beſtowed on him; for that from a poore and humble ſheepheard, he had raiſed him to ſo great a height of maieſty and glory, and for that hee had promiſed to haue care of his poſterity as erſt hee had had of the Hebrewes and their liberty. This ſayd, after hee had ſung hymnes vnto God, he departed.

2. King. 7. Dauid decreeth to build a temple vnto God.

God certifieth Dauid by Nathan that Salomon ſhould build the Temple.

Dauid giueth God thankes for the bleſſings which were promiſed him by Nathan.

CHAP. V.

DAVID *ouercomming the neighbouring nations, impoſeth tributes on them.*

NOT long time after this, *Dauid* thought it requiſite to make warre vpon the Philiſtines, partly to the intent hee might auoide the ſuſpition of ſloth and idleneſſe, and partly that hauing (according as God had foretolde) diſcomfited his enemies, hee might leaue a peaceable kingdome to his poſterity after him. He therefore aſſembled his army anew, commanding them to be in a readines to march forward to the warre: when as therefore he ſuppoſed that the army was addreſſed, he departed out of Ieruſalem, and made a road vpon the Philiſtins, whom hee ouercame in battell, and tooke a great part of the countrey from them, by meanes whereof he enlarged the frontires of the Hebrewes, and tranſlated the war, and led forth his forces againſt the Moabites: whoſe army being diuided into two parts, was by him defeated and ouerthrowne, and the reſt were taken priſoners, and tributes were impoſed on them, which they were bound to ſatisfie euery yeere. Afterwards hee led out his hoſt againſt *Adarezer* ſonne of *Ara*, King of Sophona: and waging battell with him neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, he ſlewe about twenty thouſand of his footmen, and ſome fiue thouſand of his horſe: he tooke alſo almoſt a thouſand of his charriots; the greater part whereof was wholly conſumed, and one hundred of them onely reſerued to his owne vſe.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. Dauid warreth againſt the Paleſtines and taketh a great part of the inheritance from them.

2. King. 8. A great ſlaughter of the Moabites.

Dauid ouercommeth the King of Sophona.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

They of Damaſco are ouercome by DAVID.

The yeare of the world, 2904. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1064.

ADAD King of Damaſco and of Syria, vnderſtanding that *Dauid* had made warre on *Adarezer* (who was both his friend and confederate) iſſued forth with great forces to be aſſiſtant vnto him, and to deliuer him from his enemies according as he expected. But entring field, and waging battell with *Dauid* neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, he was ouercome and loſt a great number of his ſouldiers: for in that battell there were ſlaine on his ſide by the Hebrew enemie, to the number of twentie thouſand, and the reſt fled. Of this king, *Nicholas* the Hiſtoriographer maketh mention in the fourth booke of his hiſtories, in theſe words. Sithence and long time after, a certaine man of that countrey called *Adad* gouerned in Damaſco, and ouer the reſt of Syria (except Phœnicia) who making warre againſt *Dauid* King of Iudæa, and hauing oftentimes fought with him, in his laſt encountrie (wherein he was ouercome neere vnto the flood Euphrates) he ſhewed himſelfe more reſolute then all other kings in force and valour. Moreouer he ſpeaketh of his heires, how after his death, they ſucceeded him both in royaltie and name, the one after the other, and ſaith thus. He being deceaſed, his ſonnes raigned for ten generations after him, each of them receiuing from their father, the ſame name and the ſame kingdome, after the manner of the Ptolomies of Ægypt. The third of theſe being more mighty then the reſt, and deſirous to reuenge himſelfe in warre of theſe iniuries, which were offered vnto his grandfather, led forth his army againſt the Iewes, and deſtroyed the countrey called at this day Samaria. Wherein he varied not any waies from the truth: for he of whom he ſpeaketh, is that *Adad*, that made warre in Samaria, during the reigne of *Achab* King of Iſrael, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter in his place. But when *Dauid* had led forth his campe againſt Damaſco, and againſt the reſt of the countrey of Syria, he reduced them all vnder his obeiſance, placing garriſons amidſt their countrey, and impoſing tribute vpon them, which they ſhould pay vnto him. He dedicated alſo to God in the Citie of Ieruſalem, the golden quiuers and armors which *Adads* guard were wont to weare; which afterward *Syſſac* king of Ægypt took at ſuch time as he warred againſt *Roboham* his Nephew, and carried away great riches out of the temple of Ieruſalem, as it ſhall be declared hereafter, when as we ſhall come to intreat of that matter. This king of the Hebrewes being inſpired by God (who made him proſperous in all his wars) encamped before the goodlieſt Cities *Adarezer* had, that is to ſay, Betthea and Machon, which he beſieged, tooke, and ſpoyled: where there was found great ſtore of gold and ſiluer and of braſſe, which was of more eſtimation then gold, whereof *Salomon* made that great veſſell called the Sea, and other faire lauers, at ſuch time as he adorned and furniſhed the temple of God. When the King of Amath vnderſtood of all that which had hapned to *Adarezer*, and how his power and forces were deſtroyed, he grew affraid of his owne eſtate, and reſolued with himſelfe to make a league & confederacy with *Dauid*, before he might come out againſt him: and to that intent he ſent his ſonne *Adoram* vnto him, to teſtifie and expreſſe that contentment he had receiued, for that he had defeated *Adarezer* his enemie, and to contract with him amitie and confederation. He ſent him preſents alſo, namely, veſſels of antique worke of gold, of ſiluer, and of braſſe: whereupon *Dauid* made a league with *Thani* (for ſo was the king of Amath called) and receiued the preſents that were ſent vnto him; and afterwards diſmiſſed his ſonne with conuenient honour, both for the one and the other: and conſecrated that to God which he had ſent him (together with the gold and ſiluer, which he had taken from other Cities and nations that were ſubiect vnto him.) For God did not only ſo farre fauour him, as to make him victorious and happy in his own wars; but hauing alſo ſent *Abiſai Ioabs* brother the Lieutenant of his army againſt the Idumæans, he likewiſe granted him victorie: for *Abiſai* ſlew in the battell about eighteene thouſand of them, and filled all Idumæa with garriſons, challenging a tribute throughout the countrey by the pole. This king loued iuſtice of his own nature, and exerciſed iudgement according to veritie. He had for his lieutenant generall in all his armies *Ioab*, and appointed *Ioſaphat* the ſon of *Achilles* chiefe ouer the Regiſters. After *Abiathar*, he eſtabliſhed *Sadoc* of the houſe of *Phinees* for high Prieſt, who was his friend. *Siſa* was his Secretarie: *Banaia* the ſonne of *Ioiada* was captaine ouer his guard, and all the elders were ordinarily about him to guard and attend him. He remembring himſelfe alſo of the conuentions and oathes that were paſt twixt him and *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, and of the amitie and affection that had beene between them (for beſides all other graces which he had, he moſt freſhly retained them in memorie, from whom in times paſt he

Adad king of Damaſco and Syria is ouercome by Dauid in battell.

Nicholaus the Hiſtoriographer maketh mention of king Adads warre with Dauid.

Of another king of Syria that ſpoyled Samaria.

3. *King.* 20.

Dauid impoſeth tribute on the Syrians whom he ſubdued.

2. *King.* 8.

Ieruſalem ſpoiled by Syſſac king of Ægypt.

3. *King.* 14.

The prey that was made in the warre.

2. *King.* 8.

The king of the Amathens requireth a league at Dauids hands.

Dauid compelled the Idumæans to pay tribute by the pole.

The diſtribution of offices

2. *King.* 9.

The yeare of the world, 2900. before Christs birth. 1064.

he had receiued any friendſhip. He cauſed a ſearch to be made, if any one of the houſe and family of *Ionathan* were left aliue, to the intent he might remunerate the friendſhip which he had receiued at *Ionathans* hands. Whereupon a certaine man was brought vnto him (who was enfranchiſed by *Saul*) that might enforme him what one of his race was aliue: who asked him if he could name him any of *Ionathans* ſons then liuing, whom he might make partaker of thoſe curteous fauors and graces, which in times paſt he had receiued by *Ionathan*. Who anſwered him, that he had one ſonne remaining, whoſe name was *Mephiboſeth*, who was lame of his legs; for that at ſuch time as the newes came that both his father and grandfather were ſlaine in the battell, his nurſe fearefully ſnatching vp the child and flying, ſuffred him vnfortunately to fal from her ſhoulders, and ſo hurt him. When as then he was aduertiſed where, and with whom he was brought vp, he ſent vnto the citie of Labath to *Machir*, with whom *Mephiboſeth* was kept, and commanded him to be brought vnto him. Now when he came to *Dauids* preſence, he caſt himſelfe proſtrate on his face to do him reuerence: but the king exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope hereafter for better fortune, and gaue him his fathers houſe with all the poſſeſſions that were purchaſed by *Saul* his grandfather, appointing him to ſit and feed with him at his owne table; yea to eate of his royall prouiſion, not letting one day ſlip wherein he accompanied him not at meales. The yong man did him reuerence, humbly thanking him for the gracious words, and royall offers he had made vnto him. At that time *Dauid* called for *Siba*, and certified him how he had giuen *Mephiboſeth* his fathers houſe and all *Sauls* purchaſes, commanding him to manure and husband his poſſeſſions, and to haue care of all things, and to returne the reuenue to Ieruſalem, for that *Mephiboſeth* was euery day to take his refection at his table, charging both him and his 15. ſonnes, and 20. ſeruants, to doe him ſeruice. After the king had thus diſpoſed of him, *Siba* did him reuerence, and after he had proteſted to performe whatſoeuer he had giuen him in charge, he departed, and *Ionathans* ſonne remained in Ieruſalem, where he liued at the kings table, and was entertained and tended as carefully, as if he had beene his owne ſonne: he had a ſonne alſo called *Micha*. Theſe were the honors that thoſe children which ſuruied after *Ionathan* and *Sauls* death, receiued at *Dauids* hands. About the ſame day died *Naas* king of the Ammonites, who during his life time was *Dauids* friend, and his ſonne ſucceeded him in his kingdome, to whom *Dauid* ſent embaſſadors to comfort him, exhorting him to digeſt his fathers death with patience, aſſuring him that he would expreſſe no leſſe loue towards him, then he did vnto his father. But the gouernours of the Ammonites entertained this embaſſage very contumeliouſly, and not according as *Dauid* had kindly intended it, and murmured againſt their king, telling him that they were but ſpies ſent by *Dauid* to ſeeke into his forces, and diſcouer the ſtrength of his countrey, vnder a pretext of humanitie, counſelling him to ſtand vpon his guard, and not to giue eare to his proteſtation, leaſt being deceiued, he ſhould fall into ſome remedileſſe inconuenient.

Naas king of the Ammonites, ſuppoſing that his gouernors ſpake nothing but truth, outraged the embaſſadors that were ſent vnto him with great iniuries: for cauſing the halfe of their beards to be ſhauen cloſe by the chin, and cutting away the halfe of their veſtments, he ſent them backe againe, returning their anſwers not in words, but in deeds. Which when *Dauid* ſaw, he was grieuouſly diſpleaſed, and made it knowne that he would not ſuffer that mockerie and iniurie ſo eaſily to be digeſted, but that he would make war on the Ammonites, and reuenge thoſe indignities that were offered to his embaſſadors. The friends and gouernours of *Naas* conſidering how they had violated and broken the peace, and how for that occaſion they deſerued to be puniſhed; prepared for that warre, and ſent 1000. talents to *Syrus* king of Meſopotamia, requiring him that he would be their confederate in that warre, and receiue their pay: they requeſted the like of *Subas*: theſe kings had 20000. footmen in camp. They hired alſo with their mony the king of the countrey called *Michas*, & the fourth called *Iſtob*, which two had with them 12000. thouſand ſouldiers.

Dauid giueth Mephiboſeth his father Ionathans houſe and Sauls inheritance.

Dauid committeth the diſpoſing of Mephiboſeths lands to Siba, and commandeth him to make the returne of his reuenues in Ieruſalem.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. 2. *King.* 10.

Dauid ſendeth embaſſadors to comfort the ſonne of the king of the Ammonites, who are baſely abuſed.

Dauid is ſore diſpleaſed with the iniurie offered to his embaſſadors intending reuenge.

The Ammonites hire their confederates and prepare for the warre againſt Dauid.

CHAP. VII.

How DAVID *ouercame the Meſopotamians.*

BVT *Dauid* was nothing amated, neither with the confederacie, nor force of the Ammonites; but truſting in God, reſolued that the cauſe of his warre was iuſt: for which cauſe hee continued in reuenge of thoſe outrages which he had receiued by them. Hauing therefore muſtered vnder *Ioab* the flower of his whole army, he commanded him to depart and make warre vpon them: who came and incamped himſelfe before their chiefeſt City called Aramath; which when the enemies perceiued, they iſſued forth and arranged themſelues in battell (not

Dauid ſendeth out Ioab with the choiſeſt flower of his armie againſt the Ammonites.

A not altogether, but in two ſeuerall parts.) For their confederates and allies were incamped apart in the Plaine, and the Ammonites ſtood in battell array neere vnto their Citie gate, to make head againſt the Hebrewes. *Ioab* perceiuing this, vſed this ſtratageme to counteruaile their complot: for he choſe out the ableſt and ſtouteſt of his men to ſerue vnder him againſt *Syrus*, and the other kings confederates with him, and gaue the reſt to his brother *Abiſai*, commanding him to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Ammonites whileſt he charged the reſt: willing him, that if he perceiued that the Syrians were ſtronger then he was, and did put him to the worſt, to diſplace his ſquadron, and to ſuccour him; promiſing to doe the like, if he perceiued him to be ouerpreſſed by the Ammonites; When as therefore he had exhorted his brother to behaue himſelfe valiantly and vertuouſly, and to take heed leaſt he ſhould light on ſome diſhonour, he ſent him before to charge the Ammonites; and he on the other ſide aſſailed the Syrians, who valiantly re-

B ſiſted him for a little ſpace: yet notwithſtanding *Ioab* ſlew many of them, and finally conſtrained them to turne their backes. Which when the Ammonites perceiued (who were afraid of *Abiſai* and his people) they retreated likewiſe, and (conforming themſelues according to the example of their allies) they tooke their flight into the Citie. By which meane *Ioab* hauing obtained the vpper hand ouer his enemies, returned in triumph, and with victorie vnto the king to Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1054.

Ioab and Abiſaies armies.

Ioabs victory.

Yet were not the Ammonites wholly weakned by this loſſe: for although they had by their lamentable experience a certaine knowledge that the Hebrews were ſtronger then themſelues, yet would they by no meanes liſten after peace. They therefore ſent vnto *Chalama* king of the Syrians on the other ſide of Euphrates, whoſe confederacie they attained by bribes and huge ſums

C of money. This king had one, who was called *Sabecus*, for his lieutenant Generall, and vnder him foureſcore thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſemen. *Dauid* vnderſtanding that the Ammonites drew to head, and intended anew to beare armes againſt him, he ſurceaſed to proſecute the war againſt them by his lieutenants, and himſelf in perſon with all his forces paſſed ouer the riuer of Iordan, and went out againſt them; and at laſt meeting and fighting with them, ouercame them, killing welnie fortie thouſand of their footmen, and ſeuen thouſand of their horſemen: he hurt *Sabecus* alſo, *Chalamas* Lieutenant, who likewiſe died of that wound. The iſſue of this combate being thus, the Meſopotamians, yeelded themſelues vnto *Dauid*, and gaue him many great and magnificent preſents. He therefore, by reaſon of the winter retired himſelfe for that time to Ieruſalem, but incontinently vpon the ſpring time he ſent out his Lieutenant *Ioab* once more to

D make warre vpon the Ammonites: who ouerrunning their countrey, vtterly ſpoyled it, and ſhut them vp in Aramath their principal city, which he ouercame and entred. About this time it ſo fel out, that *Dauid* (notwithſtanding he were a iuſt man, and one that feared God, and an exact obſeruer of all the lawes and ordinances of his forefathers) fel, and offended God moſt grieuouſly. For as he walked on the top of his royall palace; from the time of mid-day vntill the euening) for betwixt theſe times he vſed accuſtomably to walke) he perceiued a woman of incomparable beautie, and ſurpaſſing perfection, whoſe name was *Bethſabe*, who in her houſe bathed her ſelfe in a cleere and pleaſant fountaine: and being deuoured and rauiſhed with her beautie, he could not refraine his concupiſcence, but ſending for her, tooke the ſpoile of her beautie and chaſtitie: and by that meanes got her with childe. Which when ſhee perceiued, ſhee ſent vnto the king, beſee-

E ching him to bethinke himſelfe of ſome means whereby her ſhame might be concealed, and her life (which was in hazzard by the law for her adultery) might be preſerued. Who thereupon ſent for *Vrias* (*Bethſabes* husband and one of *Ioabs* ſouldiers, who at that time was at the ſiege of *Aramath*) and queſtioned with him vpon his arriuall, as touching the eſtate of the ſiege and of the armie: who anſwering him that all things were fallen out according as he could wiſh; *Dauid* tooke a portion of his owne ſupper and gaue it him, willing him to repaire vnto his owne houſe, and repoſe himſelfe with his wife. But *Vrias* did nothing leſſe, but ſlept among his fellow ſoldiers neere vnto the perſon of the king. Which when *Dauid* vnderſtood, he asked him wherfore he repaired not to his owne houſe, according to the cuſtome of husbands that had beene long time abſent

F vpon a long voyage, and why he entertained not his wife from whom he had beene ſequeſtred ſo many daies? *Vrias* replied, that it became him not either to repoſe or take pleaſure with his wife, whileſt his companions and generall lay vpon the bare ground in the enemies countrey. Which ſaid, *Dauid* commanded him to ſoiourne there all the day long, to the end that on the next morrow, he might ſend him backe againe to *Ioab*. That night the king inuited him to ſupper, and although he were made drunke through the aboundance of wine he receiued (which the king had purpoſely cauſed to be giuen him (yet notwithſtanding he ſlept at the kings gate without

The Syrians with the Ammonites aſſemble themſelues againſt Dauid.

The Meſopotamians ſubmit themſelues to Dauid.

Aramatha beſieged. Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 7. 2. *King.* 11.

Dauids adultery.

Bethſabe certifieth the king that ſhee is with child.

Dauid ſendeth for Vrias and willeth him to repaire home vnto his wife, which he doth not.

any deſire to repaire home vnto his wife. Herewith the king was much deſpited, ſo that he wrote G
vnto *Ioab*, commanding him to puniſh *Vrias*, becauſe he had offended him: and to the end that
this intent of his ſhould not be diſcouered, he ſuggeſted him both in the meanes and manner of
the proſecution of his death, enioyning him to place him in the ranke of greateſt danger, and in
face of the enemy, to the intent that in the fight his perſon might be endangered, abandoned and
left alone, whileſt they that fought next vnto him retyred when they ſaw him charged. When
as he had thus written and ſealed vp the letter with his owne ſeale, he deliuered it to *Vrias* to
beare vnto *Ioab*: who receiuing the ſame, and conceiuing the kings pleaſure, placed *Vrias* in that
quarter where he knew the enemies would fight moſt deſperately, appointing him out certaine
of his beſt ſouldiers to ſecond him, with purpoſe, that he would come and ſuccour them with all
his power, to the end he might breake thorow the wall and enter the Citie.

Vrias (who was a noble ſouldier, and for his valour had gotten great honour by the king, and H
reputation amongſt all thoſe of his tribe, and tooke delight to be imployed in hazzardous at-
tempts, and refuſed no danger) valiantly accepted the execution: But *Ioab* gaue priuate intelli-
gence to thoſe that were ranked next vnto him, that when they ſhould ſee the enemie ſally out
with greateſt furie, they ſhould abandon *Vrias*. When as therefore the Hebrewes drew neere
vnto the Citie, the Ammonites feared leaſt the enemie ſhould ſpeedily ſcale and enter the Ci-
tie on that ſide where *Vrias* was ranked: for which cauſe they picked out a ſquadron of the
moſt reſolute men amongſt them, and ſetting open their gates, ſodainly with ſwift courſe, force
and violence, they caſt themſelues vpon their enemies. They that were neere *Vrias* ſeeing them
draw neere, retyred backe againe, according as *Ioab* had before hand commanded them: but
Vrias being aſhamed to flie, or forſake his ranke, expected the enemie, and valiantly encountring I
him, he ſlue diuers of them; but at laſt being incloſed and ſhut in the middeſt of them, he was
ſlaine, and with him ſome other of his companions periſhed in the conflict. This done, *Ioab* ſent
meſſengers vnto the king to certifie him, that not enduring the delay of the ſiege, and aſſailing
and ſcaling the walles, he was compelled to returne backe into his campe, with loſſe of ſome
men, and repulſe from the Citie; yet had he commanded the meſſengers, that if they perceiued
the King to be diſpleaſed with the newes, they ſhould giue him to vnderſtand that *Vrias* was
dead.

The king hearing this diſcourſe (according as *Ioabs* meſſengers had deliuered it) made a ſhew
to be diſpleaſed, ſaying, that it was a fault in him that he had ſo neerely approched the wall, alled-
ging that he might haue done farre better, to haue taken the towne by mine or engine: vrging in
way of example the act of *Abimelech Gedeons* ſonne, who intending to ſurpriſe by force a tower K
that was within the Citie of Tebez, was ſtrooken with a ſtone that was caſt at him by an old
woman: whereupon he that was a valiant man, for entring an action ouerraſh and dangerous,
ſhamefully died. In remembrance of whoſe diſaſter, they ought to haue beene more warie,
» and not to haue approched the wall of the enemie ſo neerely. For it is a very good point in
» warre, to haue in memorie both fatall and fortunate ſucceſſes, to the end that when a man is in
» the like dangers, he may follow the one, and flie the other. Whileſt he thus rebuked them, the
meſſenger certified him of *Vrias* death, which did ſomewhat appeaſe him: So that he comman-
ded them to tell *Ioab*, that it was but an humane accident, and that ſuch was the nature of warre,
that ſometime the one ſide had the better, and ſometime the other: to conclude, that he ſhould
prouide for the ſiege, and take care leaſt hereafter they ſhould receiue any further loſſe; coun- L
ſelling him by trenches and engines to ruinate the wall, and commanding that all thoſe that were
in the towne ſhould be put to the ſword. The meſſenger thus diſmiſſed, reported all theſe
things vnto *Ioab*, according to the Kings commandement. But *Vrias* wife, hauing notice of
the death of her husband, wept and mourned for him diuers daies: and when the dule and la-
mentations were finiſhed and performed to the dead; the king eſpouſed her incontinent, and
ſhe bare him a man child: yet God beheld not this marriage with a fauourable eye, but was wroth
with *Dauid*, and appearing to the Prophet *Nathan* in a dreame, he blamed the king very ſore.
Now *Nathan* who was a wiſe and experienced man, knew well that when kings are diſpleaſed,
they ſuffered themſelues rather to be ouercome by paſſion, then by reaſon: for which cauſe he M
determined to conceale the menaces and threatnings that God had made, for that time; and diſ-
courſed of other profitable matters with *Dauid* after this maner, requiring the king that it would
» pleaſe him to cenſure and deliuer his opinion in the ſame. Two men (ſaid he) dwelt in one and the
» ſame Citie: the one of them was rich, hauing many troupes of great and ſmall cattell; the other
» that was poore, had but one only ſheepe, which he nouriſhed with his children, ſharing him out a

part

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1054.

Dauid writeth vnto Ioab to puniſh Vrias.

Ioab ſetteth Vrias in a dangerous place to encounter with the enemie.

Vrias is ſet with ſome aſſociates to attempt the ſiege: the Ammonites ſallying out, his company forſake him.

Vrias with ſome others is ſlaine, and the king is certified thereof.

Dauid is diſpleaſed with the newes of his ouerthrow.

Dauid is appeaſed, hearing of Vrias death.

Dauid marrieth Bathſaba, who beareth him a Sonne.

1. *King.* 12.

A part of that whereon hee fed, and louing her as tenderly as a man would doe his onely daughter. It hapned that this rich man had a ſtranger that repaired to his houſe, for whoſe entertainement he would not ſuffer any one of his owne beaſts to be ſlain, but ſent a violent meſſenger, who tooke away the poore mans ſheepe, and cauſed it to bee dreſſed to entertaine his gueſt. This report of *Nathans* diſpleaſed the king very ſore, inſomuch as he ſwore vnto him, that hee that had beene ſo bolde to commit ſuch an act, was a wicked man, and that reaſon required that he ſhould reſtore him fourefolde, and that after hee ſhould bee put to death. Whereunto *Nathan* replyed, ſaying, that it was hee that deſerued this puniſhment, who had giuen ſentence againſt himſelfe, in that he had preſumed to commit ſo grieuous a ſinne. Moreouer, hee certified him of Gods diſpleaſure, who notwithſtanding hee had made him king ouer all the Hebrewes, and Lord ouer all the nati-
B ons round about, which were diuers and great; and who beſides theſe things had warranted him from the hands of *Saul*, and had giuen him wiues, whom hee had eſpouſed iuſtly and lawfully, was ſo deſpiſed and diſhonoured by him, that he had eſpouſed and kept by him an other mans wife, and cauſed her husband to bee ſlaine, and betrayed him vnto his enemie. For which ſinnes of his, hee pronounced that hee ſhould be puniſhed by God, and his wiues ſhould bee violated by one of his owne ſonnes, who ſhould likewiſe lay a ſnare for him: ſo that hee ſhould ſuffer a manifeſt plague for the ſinne hee had committed in ſecret. Moreouer (ſaid he) the ſonne which thou ſhalt haue by her, ſhall ſhortly die.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Chriſts Nativity. 1054.

Nathan propheciеth of Dauids puniſhment, and ſharpely rebuketh him: he is condemned by his owne mouth, and repenteth himſelfe.

After the king had receiued this meſſage, he was ſore troubled; and being confuſed, he powred forth teares and ſighed for ſorrow, confeſſing that he had done wickedly: for vndoubtedly before
C this time he had alwaies feared God, and had neuer in his life offended him, but in that act with *Vrias* wife. whereupon after his ſubmiſſion, God was appeaſed and tooke compaſſion of him, promiſing him to continue both his life and kingdome, and that he would be no more diſpleaſed with him, if ſo be that he repented him of the ſinne he had committed. After that *Nathan* had declared theſe things vnto *Dauid*, he departed vnto his owne houſe. But God inflicted a grieuous ſickneſſe on the infant that was borne by *Bethſabe*: for which cauſe the king was ſore aggrieued, and for ſeuen daies ſpace would take no refection; notwithſtanding that he was earneſtly inſtanted thereunto by his houſhold ſeruants. He put on likewiſe a mourning habite, and laid himſelfe on the ground vpon a ſacke: beſeeching him that it would pleaſe him to grant him the childs life, towards whoſe mother he bare ſo exceeding loue and affection. But when the infant was de-
D ceaſed about the ſeuenth day of his ſickneſſe, his ſeruants durſt not certifie him thereof, ſuppoſing that if it ſhould come vnto his eare, he would the more obſtinately abſtaine from eating, and the care of his perſon, ſhould bee in danger by reaſon of his diſordinate griefe for his childe, to procure and haſten his own death, conſidering he had ſo vehemently bin afflicted and tormented for his onely ſickneſſe. But the king perceiuing by their lookes that his ſeruants were troubled, and that they concealed ſome fatall harme, and gathering thereby that his ſonne was dead: he called vnto him one of his officers, who certifying him of the truth, hee aroſe and waſhed himſelfe, and put on a white garment, and preſented himſelfe before the tabernacle of God, and commanded his dinner to be made ready. Whereat his friends and ſeruants were very ſore amazed, and wondred why he hauing done none of theſe things during the childs ſicknes, ſhould now af-
E ter his death doe all theſe things at once; they beſought him therefore that it might be lawfull for them to demand the cauſe of theſe his proceedings. To whom he anſwered, that he would teach and diſcouer that vnto them, of which they were ignorant. Vnderſtand you not (ſaid hee) that while the child was aliue, and I had hope of his recouery, I omitted no means whereby I might mooue God vnto mercy: but now after that he is dead, it were in vaine for me to ſpend my ſelfe with vnneceſſary griefe. Which when they heard, they praiſed the wiſedome and conſideration of the king. After this he knew *Bethſabe* his wife, who became with child, and was brought a-bed of a ſonne, who (by *Nathans* direction) was called *Salomon*. Meane while *Ioab* preſſed the Ammonites with a ſore ſiege, and cut off their water and other commodities and things neceſſarie; ſo that they were welny famiſhed for want of victuall and prouiſion: for they drew their water
F from a little ſpring in ſuch ſort, that they feared leaſt if they ſhould vſe it to their owne contentment, it would bee ſodainely dried. He therefore wrote vnto the king, and certified him of the eſtate of the City, and exhorted him to come in perſon, and be preſent at the ſurpriſall thereof, to the intent that the victory might be fained by his name.

Dauid confeſſeth his ſinne, and obtaineth pardon at Gods hands.

Dauid faſteth ſeuen daies, lamenting and mourning for his ſonne.

Dauid being certified that the child was dead, ariſeth and waſhing taketh ſuſtenance.

Dauid yeeldeth a reaſon why during the childs life he faſted, and why being dead he tooke refection.

Salomon was borne by Bethſabe.

Ioab by letters ſollicireth the king to come to the ſurpriſall of Rabatha.

The king vnderſtanding that which *Ioab* had written, allowed of his readines, good-will, and faith, and taking with him all the forces which he had, he came to the taking in of Rabatha, which being by him forcibly ſurpriſed and giuen in pillage vnto his ſouldiers, hee retained for himſelfe the

Dauid ſurpriſing Rabatha by force, giueth it for a prey to his ſouldiers.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Christs Natiuitie, 1054.

the crowne of the king of the Ammonites waighing a talent of gold, in the midst wherof was enchased a Sardonyx of great valew, which *Dauid* wore vpon his head. He found likewise in that citie diuers spoyles of great price: but as touching the inhabitants, he put them to the sword, and did the like in all the Cities of the Ammonites which he tooke by force. But after that the king was returned vnto Ierusalem, there fell a grieuous accident in his family vpon this occasion. He had a daughter at that time which was a virgin, faire and beautifull, and surpassed all other women in admirable perfections, whose name was *Thamar*, borne by the same mother that *Absalon* was. Of her, *Amnon* the eldest sonne of *Dauid* became enamoured: and for that he could not enioy her at his pleasure (by reason of her virginitie, and the hand that was had of her (he grew so melancholy that his body dryed vp, and his colour changed through the very griefe that consumed him. A certaine coosin and friend of his called *Ionathan* (a man of great reach and quicke vnderstanding) perceiuing this his passion, and noting euery day how *Amnons* beautie and strength decayed and wasted, came vnto him and asked him the cause thereof, alleadging that that indisposition of his seemed to proceed from some amorous affection. Which when *Amnon* confessed, and how he was growne passionate thorow the loue hee bare vnto his sister by the fathers side, *Ionathan* suggested him both the meanes and inuention to compasse his desires: for he perswaded him to counterfeit himselfe to be sicke, and that if his father came to visit him, hee should desire him to send his sister to minister vnto him, by which meanes he should easily and speedily be deliuered of his sickenesse. This counsell of his was plausible in *Amnons* eares, who presently counterfaited sickenesse; and laid him downe on his bed (according as *Ionathan* had aduised him:) and when *Dauid* was come to visit him, he required him to send his sister vnto him, which he did. She being arriued, he praied her with her owne hands that she would temper: and frie some fritters for him, because they would the more content him, if they were of her owne making: for which cause she in her brothers presence tempered the flower, and made certaine cakes and fried them in the frying pan, and presented them vnto him: but he tasted them not, but commanded all his seruants to retire themselues out of his lodging, because hee intended to take his rest without noise or trouble. As soone as this commandement of his was performed, hee prayed his sister to bring the meate into his most retired and priuie chamber: whereunto the damsell condescended: whereupon he sodainly surprised her and began to perswade her, to grant him her company. But the virgin exclaiming, said vnto him: Forbeare my brother, forbeare to offer me violence: for it is a hainous sinne to perpetrate so foule a fact. Giue ouer this thy most hatefull concupiscence, which will breed nought else but disgrace and infamy to our whole family; or if thou hast not the power to resist the same, require me at my fathers hands, and extort not mine honour from mee by force. But hee inraged with loue, neglected all these sayings, and wholly poisoned with the sting of disordinate passion, rauished and violated her, notwithstanding all her resist. And as soone as hee had aslaked his lustfull desire, a certaine hatred entred into his heart, which extorted from his mouth many iniurious words against *Thamar*: so that hee commanded her to arise and depart. Shee answered, that this second outrage was more hainous then the former; for that hauing violated her, hee would not suffer her to remaine there vntill night time, but thrust her out incontinently by day time, and during the light, to the end she might meet with such as might testifie her dishonour: Notwithstanding all these iust reasons of hers, he commanded his seruant to driue her out of the doores. Shee strangely aggrieued at the outrage and violence that had beene offered her, tore her garment (which was such as the noble and princely virgins were wont to weare) and strewed ashes on her head, running thorow the Citie with cries and lamentations, wherein shee expressed what wrong had beene done vnto her. With her thus distracted, her brother *Absalon* met, enquiring of her what euill hap had befallen her. To whom she reported all the iniurie which her brother *Amnon* had done her: whereupon he exhorted her to pacifie her selfe, and to suffer moderately whatsoeuer had befallen her; and not to suppose herselfe to bee indignified by an act of her brother. Whereupon shee condescended, forbearing her exclaimes, and surceasing to publish the iniuries shee had receiued in the eares of the people. And thus remained shee a long time with her brother *Absalon* in the quality of a widdow.

Dauid hauing intelligence of that which had hapned, was sore displeased, notwithstanding hee loued *Amnon* very entirely, who was his eldest sonne, and would not disquiet him: but *Absalon* hated him extremely, expecting (without any word speaking) for some fit opportunity, wherein he might reuenge himselfe on the rauisher. Now when as two yeeres were expired since his sister was both derided and deflowred, it chanced that *Absalon* intending a sheep-shearing in Belsephon, a Citie of the tribe of *Ephraim*, inuited his father and brethren to come and banquet with him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. 2 *Reg.* 13.

The yeere of the world, 2912. before Christs Natiuitie. 1052.

Ionathan counselled Amnon how he might enioy his loue.

Amnon perswadeth his sister to submit to his lust Amnon notwithstanding his sisters resist violateth her.

Absalon comforteth his sister Thamar

Absalon inuited his father and brethren t his sheepshearing, and commandeth his seruants to kill Amnon, being ouercharged with wine & sleepe.

A him. But when the king refuſed to goe, for feare leaſt he might be chargeable vnto him: *Abſalon* inſiſted and perſwaded him to ſend his brothers thither, which he granted. Hereupon *Abſalon* commanded his ſeruants, that when they ſhould ſee *Amnon* charged with wine and ſleepe, they ſhould ſodainly (vpon a ſigne giuen by him vnto them) kill him without feare or regard of any perſon. *The yeare of the world, 3912. before Chriſts birth, 1052.*

CHAP. VIII.

How through the domeſticall diſcord of his family, DAVID *was baniſhed by his ſonne out of his kingdome.*

B AFTER that *Abſalons* ſeruants had thus executed his commandement, a trouble and feare ſeiſed all the reſt of his brethren, inſomuch as they ſuſpected their owne perſons: for which cauſe mounting themſelues on horſebacke, they poſted all in haſte towards their father. But a certaine man outſtripping them in the way, reported vnto *Dauid* that *Abſalon* had ſlaine all his ſonnes. Who ſurpriſed with a bitter and mortall feare, in ſuppoſing that ſuch a number of his children ſhould be ſlaine, and that by their owne brother, neither inquired the cauſe or any thing els which might be ſifted out in ſo grieuous an inconuenient that had hapned, but gaue himſelfe ouer to extreame and ſtrange diſcomforts, and renting his garments laid him downe on the earth, bewailing all his children, both theſe that were ſlaine, as him alſo that had ſlaine them. But *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Sama* his brother, exhorted him to moderate and bridle his paſſion, telling him that he could not be perſwaded that the reſt of his children were ſlaine, in that he C could conceiue no probable cauſe of coniecture. But as touching *Amnon* there needed no queſtion, for that it was very like that *Abſalon* (by reaſon of the iniury which was offered vnto his ſiſter *Thamar*) would hazzard himſelfe to kill him. Meane while a great trample of horſes, and a confuſed troupe of men brake off their diſcourſe. Theſe were the kings ſonnes, who returned in poſt from the banquet: Againſt theſe the father iſſued out, accompanying their dolefull teares with a heauy and ſorrowfull countenance: and ſeeing (beyond all hope) how they, whom a little before he ſuppoſed to be loſt, returned in ſafetie, they were all of them on euery ſide giuen ouer to teares and lamentations; the brothers bewailed their mangled brother, the king his murthered ſonne. But *Abſalon* fled vnto Geſſur (vnto his grandfather on the mothers ſide, and Lord of that place) and ſoiourned with him three whole yeeres: at the end whereof *Dauid* determined to ſend D for his ſonne *Abſalon*; not to the intent to puniſh him, but to retire him vnto him (by reaſon that the indignation he had conceiued againſt him, was at that time aſlaked) *Ioab* alſo furthered this his reſolution by all meanes that were to him poſſible: For he cauſed a certaine old woman attired in mourning habit to preſent her ſelfe before *Dauid*, who ſaid vnto him, that betwixt her two ſonnes that liued in the countrey, there hapned ſuch a different, that falling to handy-ſtrokes they were ſo whet the one againſt the other, that not induring to be parted, the one of them in ſuch ſort wounded the other, that he died; and for that the kinſmen were ſore moued againſt the murtherer, and ſought without mercie to depriue him of life, ſhee humbly beſought the king that he would giue her her ſonnes life, and not depriue her of that hope that remained her to ſuſtaine her old yeers with; which he ſhould bring to paſſe, if ſo be he prohibited thoſe that would kil her ſon E from executing their intents: for that except it were for feare which they had of him, they would by no meanes be withdrawne from their fatal and bloody reſolution. Now when as the king had granted her requeſt, the woman began once more to breake into theſe ſpeeches: I moſt humbly thanke your maieſtie (ſaid ſhee) who haue had compaſſion of mine age, and doe ſo prouidently foreſee that I be not depriued of my ſonne; but to the intent I may be the better aſſured of thy humanity, I beſeech thee (O King) firſt of all pacifie thy diſpleaſure conceiued againſt thy ſonne, and be no more incenſed againſt him: For how can I perſwade my ſelfe that you will doe me this grace, if you your ſelfe euen vntill this day continue your diſpleaſure conceiued vpon the like occaſion againſt your ſonne? For it is contrarie to the rules of wiſedome, to adde to the remedileſſe loſſe of one ſonne, the hapleſſe death of a fathers liuing hope. Vpon theſe words the King began F preſently to ſuſpect that *Ioab* had ſuborned this woman, and vnderſtanding no leſſe by the olde womans report, he ſent for *Ioab*, and told him that he grauted him that which hee deſired, commanding him to ſend for *Abſalon*, aſſuring him that his diſpleaſure was pacified, and choller aſſwaged. *Ioab* caſt himſelfe downe proſtrate before the King, and reuerently receiuing his word of reconciliation, went vnto Geſſur and fet *Abſalon* from thence with him, and brought him to Ieruſalem. The King vnderſtanding that his ſonne drew neere, ſent out a meſſenger to meet him,

Dauid is certified that all his ſonnes are ſlaine by Abſalon.

Ionathan comforteth Dauid contradicting his feare in reſpect of all his ſonnes, and onely vpon iuſt ſurmiſe ſuſpecting Amnons death.

Dauids ſons reſort vnto their father.

Abſalon flieth to his grandfather. 2. *King.* 14.

Abſalon by the ſubtilty of a woman and the ſetting on of Ioab is reuoked from baniſhment vnto Ieruſalem.

commanding that as yet hee ſhould not preſume to preſſe into his preſence, becauſe hee was not G
diſpoſed to behold him ſo ſodainly. Who vnderſtanding the will of his father, forbore to ſhew
himſelfe vnto him, and went and dwelt amongſt his owne familiars and houſhold ſeruants: Nei-
ther was his beauty any waies decreaſed by the ſorrow hee had conceiued, or for that his enter-
tainment was farre different from the bringing vp and nouriſhing of a princes ſonne; but he ra-
ther excelled and grew more famous thereby: ſo that for beauty and goodlineſſe of perſonage
he exceeded all thoſe that liued more deliciouſly and daintily: his glibband or haire was ſo thicke
that it could ſcarcely be powled in eight daies, and waighed two hundred ſicles which amount to
fiue pound. He liued alſo two yeeres in Ieruſalem, and was the father of three ſons, and one faire
daughter, which *Roboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* afterwards tooke to wife, of whom he begat a ſon
called *Abia*. In proceſſe of time he ſent meſſengers vnto *Ioab*, that now at length he would pacifie
his father, and beſeech him to admit him to his preſence, that he might both ſee and ſubmit him- H
ſelfe vnto him. But becauſe *Ioab* made ſmall reckoning of theſe his motions, hee ſent of his ſer-
uants, and commanded them to burne and ſpoile *Ioabs* poſſeſſions that abbutted vpon his: who
hearing of that which had hapned vnto him, reſorted vnto *Abſalon*, accuſing him and queſtio-
ning with him for what cauſe he had done him this iniurie. To whom *Abſalon* anſwered: I haue
(ſaid he) inuented this ſtratagem to make thee come vnto mee, ſeeing thou madeſt ſmall account
of my commiſſions, whereby I haue charged thee to reconcile mee vnto my father. And at this
preſent I beſeech thee that thou wilt mooue my father in my behalfe; otherwiſe I ſhall thinke my
returne more grieuous then my baniſhment hath beene, if ſo bee my father ſhall as yet continue
his diſpleaſure. *Ioab* was perſwaded through the compaſſion he conceiued of the neceſſitie wher-
in he ſaw him, and went and ſollicited the king, with whom he ſo effectually debated as touching I
Abſalon, that altering his contrary diſpoſition, he graciouſly and ſpeedily ſent and called for him.
As ſoone as he came vnto his preſence, *Abſalon* caſt himſelfe proſtrate on the ground, demanding
pardon for his offences: But *Dauid* raiſed and lifted him vp, and promiſed him that from thence-
forth hee would no more vpbraid him with thoſe miſdeedes. After all things had thus fallen
out, *Abſalon* within a little ſpace aſſembled a great number of horſes and charriots, and en-
tertained fiftie men for his guard, and euery day early in the morning preſented himſelfe before
the kings palace, and talked with thoſe that reſorted thither; about the triall of their differents;
and whereas ſome of them were condemned, he talked with them according as he found them
affected, alleadging that his father had no good counſellers, and that perhaps he himſelfe had in
ſome things iudged amiſſe: and by theſe means indeuoured he to get the good will of all men, tel-
ling them that if he had the like authority, he would make them know by proofe what his equity K
was. Hauing by theſe plauſible perſwaſions drawne the hearts of the common people vnto him,
he thought himſelf already ſeiſed of their ſeruices in whatſoeuer he intended. Some foure yeeres
after his reconciliation, he came to his father *Dauid*, requiring of him that he might goe to He-
bron & ſacrifice vnto God, according as he had vowed at ſuch time as he fled from his preſence.
Which requeſt of his when *Dauid* had granted him, he reſorted thither being attended with
great afluence and concourſe of all the people (by reaſon he had appointed diuers to meet him
in that place, amongſt whom was *Achitophel* the Gelmonite, one of *Dauids* counſellers, and 200.
others of Ieruſalem, who altogither ignorant of his enterpriſe, aſſembled themſelues in that
place to be aſſiſtant to his ſacrifice:) by all whom he was declared king, according as hee him-
ſelfe had commanded them to doe. When the newes hereof came vnto *Dauids* eares, and he was L
thorowly aſcertained beyond all conceit, how his ſonne had behaued himſelfe; he ſuſpected and
doubted his impietie and arrogancy, wondring that he ſhould ſo ſoone and ſo lewdly forget him-
ſelfe of the pardon, which he had obtained for his enormous and hainous crimes; and contrarie
to all law plunge himſelfe and hazzard his reputation in more grieuous offences: as firſt of all to
peruert the eſtate of the kingdome which God had eſtabliſhed: and ſecondly, in complotting
to depriue and degrade his owne father. For which cauſe he determined to flie to the other ſide
of Iordan, conducting with him his moſt inward and hearty friends, to whom he reported the vn-
bridled furie of his ſonne, remitting all things vnto God who iudgeth all things; and leauing the
gouernment of his royall houſe to the diſpoſition of his ſixe concubines, he departed from Ieru- M
ſalem. With him iſſued an affectionate and great number of people; beſides thoſe ſixe hundreth
ſouldiers, who had followed him in his baniſhment during *Sauls* life time. And although the high
prieſts *Abiathar* and *Sadoc* with all the Leuites had concluded to depart with him, yet perſwaded
he them to abide with the Arke, aſſuring them that God would deliuer them: yea although the
Arke were vnremooued from his place. He commanded *Abiathar* likewiſe to ſend him priuate
intelligence

The yeere of the world, 2912. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1052.

Abſalon reuoked by his father is commanded for a time to flie his preſence.

Abſalons children born in Ieruſalem. 2. *King.* 13.

Ioab vrged by the burning of his houſes reconcileth Abſalon to his father.

The yeare of the world, 2916. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1048.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5.

Abſalon ſubtilly affecteth his fathers kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 2920. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1044.

Abſalon proclaimed king.

Dauid departed out of Ieruſalem.

Dauid flying prohibiteth the hie prieſts to follow him, to the intent to giue him intelligence of that which did paſſe.

A intelligence of each occurrent that ſhould happen, reſeruing with him for his intire and inward counſellers *Achimaas* the ſonne of *Sadoc*, and *Ionathan* the ſonne of the abouesaid *Abiathar*.

The yeare of the world, 2920. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1044.

But *Ethæus* the Gittite by no perſwaſions of the king could bee induced to ſtay, but contrarie to his command followed him, whereby hee more manifeſtly expreſſed his affection towards him. But as he mounted and aſcended on his bare feet vpon the mountaine of Oliuet, and all they of his traine followed him (intermixing their trauell with bitter teares) a certen meſſenger came and certified him that *Achitophel* was with *Abſalon*, and held on his ſide. Which report aggrauated and increaſed his griefe: ſo that he beſought God that it might pleaſe him to alienate the affection of *Abſalon* from *Achitophel*, for feare leaſt if he ſhould giue him ſome ſiniſter counſell, he might eaſily be perſwaded thereunto, becauſe that *Achitophel* was a man of ripe iudgement and ready execution in all that concerned him. As ſoone as he came vnto the top of the mountaine,

Ethæus departed with Dauid.

Achitophel reuolteth frō Dauid, & followeth Abſalon, whoſe counſails Dauid ſtriueth by prayer to make fruſtrate.

B he beheld the City: and as if he had vtterly been baniſhed from his kingdome, he began with abundant teares to call vpon GOD. There met hee with *Chuſai* his ſincere and vnfained friend, whom when hee be beheld with his garments rent, with aſhes on his head, and lamenting the vnhappy change which he then beheld: *Dauid* cheered him, and exhorted him to be no waies diſcomforted; and finally, beſought him to returne vnto *Abſalon*, as vnder a colour that hee had forſaken his part, where diligently prying into his ſecrets, he might oppoſe himſelfe againſt *Achitophels* counſels, becauſe he might not ſo much pleaſure him in keeping him company, as in ſtaying with *Abſalon*. *Chuſai* being after this manner perſwaded by *Dauid*, returned backe to Ieruſalem, where preſently after he encountred with *Abſalon*, who repaired thither. In the meane time *Dauid* marching onward a little further, chanced to meete with *Siba Mephiboſeths* ſeruant,

Chuſai is perſwaded to ſubmit to Abſalon & to croſſe Achitophels counſels.

C and Purueior of all thoſe goods which *Dauid* had giuen him (for that he was *Ionathans* ſon, who was the ſon of *Saul*.) This man droue before him two Aſſes loaden with victuals, which hepreſented to *Dauid* and his company, to refreſh themſelues with; and being demanded where he had left *Mephiboſeth*: In Ieruſalem (ſaid he) where he expecteth to be choſen king, thorow the occaſion of thoſe troubles that had happened, and in memory of the benefits that diuers men had receiued at *Sauls* hands. *Dauid* diſpleaſed with that which he heard, gaue *Siba* all thoſe riches wherewith he had gratified *Mephiboſeth* in times paſt, deeming him more worthy of the ſame then *Mephiboſeth*. Wherewith *Siba* was very highly contented.

2. *King.* 16. Siba accuſing his maſter wrongfully, is made owner of his riches.

When *Dauid* drew neere vnto a place which is called *Choran*, a certaine coſin of *Sauls*, called *Simei*, the ſonne of *Gera*, came out againſt him, and caſt ſtones at him, and reuiled him; and the

Semeies reuiling of Dauid.

D more *Dauids* friends inuironed and defended him, the more obſtinately perſeuered he in his reproofes and ſcandalous railings: calling him murtherer, and captaine of the wicked, charging him like an impure and execrable man to get him out of the kingdome, giuing God thanks for that he had depriued him of his kingdome by the meanes of his owne ſonne, and in puniſhment of thoſe crimes which he had committed againſt his owne maſter. This his ſo cruell and vnbridled liberty, mooued all *Dauids* followers to diſpleaſure; ſo that all of them were prepared to reuenge them on *Simei*; and amongſt the reſt *Abiſai* would haue ſlaine him: but *Dauid* pacified his diſpleaſure, willing him to forbeare, for feare (ſaid he) leaſt to our preſent miſeries we annexe a further and new occaſion. For in as much as concerneth my ſelfe, I ſet light by this mad dog, and refer the matter vnto God, who is the cauſe that he is thus deſperately bent againſt vs. Neither is it

Dauid forbiddeth to kill Simei.

E to be wondred at, that I ſuffer theſe outrages by him, ſith mine owne ſonne is ſo wicked as he taketh a felicitie to diſdaine me: but it may be that God wil haue compaſſion on vs, and if he pleaſe we ſhall haue the vpper hand ouer our enemies. He therefore walked onward on his way, not caring what *Simei* ſaid, who ranne on the other ſide of the mountaine, railing and reuiling at him. When *Dauid* was arriued on the banke of Iordan, he muſtered and refreſhed his army, who were ſore wearied: meane while *Abſalon* entring Ieruſalem with *Achitophel* his Counſellor, was ſaluted and applauded by the whole concourſe of the people; and amongſt the reſt *Dauids* friend came vnto them, who proſtrating himſelfe before *Abſalons* feete, wiſhed him both proſperitie and perpetuitie in his kingdome. Him did *Abſalon* aske how it came to paſſe, that he who was

Chuſai vnder a colour offeteth his ſeruice to Abſalon.

F reputed to be one of *Dauids* moſt indeared friends, and eſteemed alwaies to be moſt loyall and faithfull vnto him, ſhould at that time (when moſt occaſion was proferred him to expreſſe his loyaltie) abandon him, and ſubmit himſelfe to his enemie? To him *Chuſai* anſwered both readily and wiſely, that it became him to follow God, and the good will of the people.

Sith therefore (ſaid he, my Soueraigne) that both theſe are for you, it concerneth me to follow you, becauſe you haue receiued the kingdome from God: If therefore you eſteeme mee to be your faithfull friend; I will approoue vnto you my loyalty and true affection in like manner, as

in

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Christs Natiuitie, 1044.

in your knowledge I haue testified in effect vnto your father, who ought not to bee displeased at G
that which hath hapned, since the kingdome is not transported into an other house, but remaineth
in his owne family, because he who was his son receiued the same. By such like words he recon-
ciled himselfe to *Absalon*, whereas before that time he was inwardly suspected. Hereupon *Achito-*
phel was sent for to consult with him about their affaires in hand: who gaue him counsell to abuse
all his fathers concubines; and make them his owne. For, said he, from that time forward, the
people will beleeue that you and he will neuer be reconciled; and will bee more ready to beare
armes and inuade your father for your sake. For hitherto (said he) they haue vnwillingly profes-
sed themselues to be his enemies, suspecting least a peace should be concluded betwixt the father
and the sonne. *Absalon* beleeuing this aduise of his, caused a Tent or roiall Pauillion to be pitched
in the sight of all the people, whereinto he entred, and had the company of his fathers concu-
bines. All which fell out, according as the Prophet *Nathan* had fore-told, at such time as he cer- H
tified *Dauid*, that his owne sonne should make warre against him.

Achitophel perswadeth Absalon to lie with his fathers concubines.

CHAP. IX.

ABSALONS *warre against his father: his death, and the discomfiture of his armie.*

WHEN *Absalon* had done that which *Achitophel* had instructed him in, hee requested
him once more to counsaile him concerning that warre which he had enterprised a-
gainst his father: who required ten thousand chosen men at his hand, promising him
to kill *Dauid*, and to bring all the rest that were in his conduct vnder his subiection: assuring him I
that *Absalons* kingdome would bee then established, when *Dauids* head were cut off from his
shoulders. When this aduise of his had highly cõtented him, he sent for *Chusai*, who was the chil-
lest amongst *Dauids* friends (for so *Dauid* himselfe had tearmed him) to whom he discouered the
aduice which *Achitophel* had giuen him, and required him to giue his opinion what he thought
thereof: who knowing very well that if *Achitophels* counsaile were followed, *Dauid* should be in
danger to be apprehended and slaine, enforced all his arguments & counsails to the contrary. For,
» said he, my Liege, you are sufficiently informed both what your fathers valour is, and their vertue
» that accompany him; who hath fought many battels, and hath had the vpper hand ouer all his e-
» nemies. It is to be feared also least he at this present be encamped in the field. For, he is well ex-
» ercised in leading armies, and to preuent any stratagems, wherby the enemy may inuade him, and
» about the euening hee hath perhaps left his men hidden in some straight, or in ambush behinde K
» some rock: and if our men shall assaile him, his souldiers will by litle and litle retire, and afterward
» recouering courage, by reason that the King shall be neere vnto them, they will charge vs afresh;
» and during their medley, your father will suddainly breake out of his ambush, and encourage his
» owne men, and discomfort yours: wisely therefore examine mine aduice, and if you find that it be
» good, neglect that which *Achitophel* hath giuen you. Send mee thorow all the countrey of the
» Hebrewes, commanding euery one to take armes and march out against your father: and when
» you haue gathered together these forces, be your selfe in person the Generall of the armie, and
» commit it not to another mans charge, and assuredly expect to haue an easie victory ouer him, if
» you assaile him in the open field, for that hee is accompanied with a very few men, and your
» selfe are attended by many thousands, who at least-wise if they loue you, and will shew a good af- L
» fection towards you, may easily rid you of that enemy. And if so be your father shut himselfe vp
» in any Citie, we will and may subuert the same by mines and engines. This aduise of his seemed
to be better then that of *Achitophels*, so that *Absalon* preferred the same. For it was God that put
this thought into his heart, to neglect *Achitophels*, and respect *Chusais* counsell.

2. *King.* 17. Achitophels counsaile perswading Absalon to pursue Dauid. Chusais opposition.

Chusais counsell accepted. Achitophels reiected.

Now when *Chusai* had thus preuailed, he presently repaired to the high Priests *Sadoc* and *A-*
biathar, certifying them what *Achitophel* had complotted, and how he had contradicted him: fi-
nally, how his opinion had taken place, giuing them in charge to send priuate intelligence vnto
Dauid thereof, and to informe him of his sonnes resolution, wishing him with all speede to passe
ouer the riuer of Iordan, for feare least *Absalon* being informed of his aboad in that place, should M
make haste, and pursue him, and ouertake him before he might recouer a place of securitie.

Now had the high Priests before hand prouided that their sonnes should lie hid without the
Citie, of set purpose, to the ende they might bee sent vnto *Dauid* to informe him how matters
went. They therefore sent a trusty seruant vnto these, who brought them newes of *Absalons*
deliberations, with expresse commandement to enforme the King thereof with all speede,

Sadoc and Abiathars sons sent vnto Dauid.

who

A who presently vpon this intelligence, like good and faithfull ministers, posted with all speede to report their fathers newes vnto the king.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs Nativitie. 1044.

But scarcely had they trauelled two furlongs, when certaine horsemen discouered them, and brought newes thereof vnto *Absalon*, who presently sent out scoutes to apprehend them: which when the children of the high Priest perceiued, they forsooke the high way, and incontinently retired themselues into a certaine village neere vnto Ierusalem, which is called Bocchura, where they besought a certaine woman to hide them, and shut them in some place of securitie, who let them downe into a pit, and couered the mouth thereof with bundles of wooll. She being demanded by those that pursued them whether she saw them, denied the same, saying, that as soone as she had giuen them drinke, they departed from her presently; assuring them that if they pre-

The high Priests sonnes being pursued are hidden by a woman in a pit.

B sently and speedily pursued them, they might easily apprehend them: but after they had long time followed and could not finde them, they returned from whence they came. The woman perceiuing that they were departed, and that there was no cause of feare, least the yong men should be surprised, she drew them out of the pit, and set them onward of their way: who, with as great speede as was possible, resorted vnto *Dauid*, and declared vnto him exactly what *Absalons* deliberation was. Hereupon *Dauid* passed the flood Iordan presently with all his men, and although it were night could not be withdrawne by reason of the darknesse.

Dauid informed of Absalons deliberation, passeth himselfe and his whole armie ouer Iordan by night.

But *Achitophel* seeing that his opinion had beene reproued, tooke his horse and suddainly repaired vnto his countrey of Gelmone: there calling together his houshold seruants before him, he discouered vnto them what aduise he had giuen *Absalon*; which since he had not accepted, he

C told them that shortly they should see him dead, alleadging that *Dauid* would haue the vpper hand in the war, and should returne into his kingdome. It is better therefore, said he, for me with a great mind, and as it becommeth a valiant man, to depart out of this life, then to submit my selfe to *Dauids* punishment for partaking with *Absalon*, and giuing him counsell. This said, he retired himselfe into the most secret part of his house, and hung himselfe, being both his owne iudge and executioner: after which, his kinsmen cut him down and buried him. But *Dauid* (as we said) hauing past Iordan, came and incamped in a strong Citie, the most defenced in that Countrey: there was he entertained with great beneuolence by all the noble men of that country, partly moued thereunto by the mans present necessitie, partly through the reuerence of his former felicity. These were *Berzillai* the Galaadite, *Siphar* the gouernour of the prouince of the Ammonites, and

Achitophel perceiuing his counsell was despised, hung himselfe.

Dauid commeth to Mahanaim, where he is royally entertained by the peeres.

D *Machir* the chiefe of the country of Galaad, who gaue *Dauid* and his whatsoeuer they wanted, in abundance: so that they lacked neither beds, nor bread, nor flesh, but were plentifully stored with all things. They that were sicke and wearied also, wanted nothing that either might serue for repose or refection. In this estate remained he. But *Absalon* assembled a great multitude of people to make warre vpon his father; and after he had passed Iordan, he pitched his tents neere vnto his fathers, within the country of Galaad, and made *Amasa* Generall of his armie, opposing him against *Ioab* his cosin: for *Amasas* father was *Iethar*, and his sister was *Abigail*, sister to *Saruia*, mother to *Ioab*. When *Dauid* had mustered and numbred his forces, and found that hee had fortie thousand fighting men, it was thought fit presently to hazzard battell, and not to expect till *Absalon* should charge vpon them.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 10. 2. *King.* 18. Absalon passeth ouer Iordan.

E Hee therefore ordained Coronels ouer thousands of his men, and diuided them into three squadrons: the one of which he gaue in charge to *Ioab*; the second to *Abisai* his brother; and the third to *Ethæus* his familiar friend (who was of the city of Geth.) In this battel his friends would not admit his presence (and that vpon good and deepe consideration) for they saide, that if they should be defeated in his company, they should vtterly loose all good hope: but if one squadron should be ouercome, the rest might haue their recourse vnto him, who might assemble vnto them and strengthen them with greater force; the rather for that the enemies would alwaies thinke it likely, that he had some other army with him. This counsell of theirs seemed pleasing vnto him, for which cause he remained within the City. But at such time as he sent out his friends vnto the battell, he besought them that (in remembrance of all the benefits and fauours hee had bestowed

The diuision of Dauids armie, Dauids friends dissuade his presence in the battell.

F on them) they would both shew themselues couragious and faithfull men in the fight, & that hauing obtained the victory, they would spare his sonne, for feare least his death should increase, and redouble his discontents. Thus praying God to giue them victory, hee dismissed them to enter battell. But when as *Ioab* had planted his armie right ouer against the enemy, and had extended them on the Plaine, hauing a wood vpon their backs; *Absalon* also drewe out his army against him. So that encountring, and valiantly fighting the one against the other, they performed many notable exploits on both parts: the one hazzarding themselues in all dangers, and employing

Dauid commandeth them to spare his sonne.

The battell betwixt Ioab and Absalon.

The yeare of the world, 2920. before Christs Nativitie, 2948.

ploying all their affections, to the intent that *Dauid* might recouer his kingdome: the others neither refusing to doe or endure any thing, so that *Absalon* might not be depriued, or exposed to his fathers punishment and displeasure for his insolent attempt. Besides that, they held it an indignitie for them, that being so great in number as they were, they should be surmounted by such a handfull of people as followed *Ioab*: deeming it to be an vtter disgrace vnto them, that being so many thousands of them in armes, they should be discomfited by *Dauids* followers. G

The flight and ouerthrow of Absolons armie.

But *Ioab* and his men being more skilfull and trained in feates of armes then the rest, discomfited and brake *Absalons* army: so that they fled thorow woods and steepe places. *Dauids* souldiers pursuing after them, tooke some, and slew other some; so that both in flight and fight, a great number of them were put to the sword: for there fell that day about twenty thousand men. But all *Dauids* troupes freshly set vpon *Absalon*, who was easily knowne by reason of his absolute beauty, and high stature: he fearing to be surprised by his enemies, mounted vpon his royall mule, H and fled in great haste. And for that by swift motion of his body, his locks were scattered abroad, his bush of haire was entangled in a thicke and branchie tree, where he hung after a strange manner, and his mule ranne onward with great swiftnesse, as if shee had as yet borne her Master on her backe: but he hanging by the haire amidst the branches, suddainly fell into his enemies hands. This when a certaine souldier perceiued, he brought newes thereof vnto *Ioab*, who promised him to giue him fiftie sicles, if he would kill him.

The souldier answered, that if he would giue him two thousand he would not commit such a murther on the sonne of his Soueraigne, the rather for that in the presence of them all, *Dauid* had requested them to spare him. Hereupon *Ioab* commanded him to shew him the place where he I had seene *Absalon* hang: who no sooner discouered him, but thrusting a Iauelin to his heart, he slew him. That done, *Ioabs* Esquires arrounding the tree tooke him downe; and casting him into a deepe and obscure pit, they ouerwhelmed him with stones: so that in appearance it seemed to be a tombe, or some great, high, and stately monument. After this, when *Ioab* had sounded the retreat, he withdrew his souldiers from pursuite, supposing it to be an innaturall thing for one countreyman to flesh himselfe vpon another. *Absalon* had erected in the royall valley two furlongs distant from Ierusalem a Marble pillar, which he had intituled by the name of *Absalons* Hand; saying, that when his children should be dead, his name should remaine in that pillar. Now he had three sonnes, and a daughter which was called *Thamar*, as we haue said heretofore, who was married vnto *Roboam*, *Dauids* Nephew, and had by him a sonne called *Abia*, who succeeded his father in the kingdome: of whom we will speake more conueniently in his place. K

Ioab killeth Absalon.

Absalons marble pillar.

CHAP. X.

The happy estate of DAVID *being restored vnto his kingdome.*

Chusai sent to certifie Dauid of the victorie.

AFTER that *Absalon* was slaine, all the people returned priuately to their owne houses: but *Achimaas* the sonne of the high Priest *Sadoc* drew neere vnto *Ioab*, requiring his licence to repaire vnto *Dauid*, and to certifie him of the victory, and how by Gods helpe and prouidence he had obtained the victory. This did the Generall denie him, telling him that L it was not conuenient that he, who before times was wont to bring ioyfull newes, should now certifie the king of his sons death. He therefore commanded him to stay, and calling *Chusai* to his presence, he gaue him commission to certifie the king of that which he had seene. *Achimaas* requested him the second time that he would suffer him to go, promising him that he would make no mention but of the victory; and that as touching *Absalons* death, he would not vtter any thing: whereupon he dismissed him also, who chusing the shorter way (which he onely knew) outstripped *Chusai*. Now as *Dauid* sate in the gate of the Citie (expecting some messenger that might certifie him of the successe of the battell) one of the Sentinels perceiuing *Achimaas*, that came running hastily, and vnable to discouer who it was, told *Dauid* that he saw a messenger comming towards him, who answered that it was some one that brought ioyfull newes. Anon after he told M him that a certaine other messenger followed: To whom *Dauid* answered likewise, that it was one that brought glad tidings. And when the watchman perceiued that it was *Achimaas*, *Sadoc* the high Priests son, and that he was neere at hand, he ran first of all and certified *Dauid*; who was very glad thereof, saying, that he brought some good and desired newes as touching the euent of the battell: and no sooner had the king spoken the word, but *Achimaas* entred and humbled himselfe vpon his face before *Dauid*, to whom he reported that his armie had the victorie. Being afterwards

A terwards demanded what was become of *Abſalon*: He anſwered, that he incontinently departed from the camp as ſoone as the enemies were put to flight, yet that he heard a certaine cry of ſouldiers that purſued *Abſalon*: and further then that, he knew nothing, becauſe by *Ioabs* commandement he was ſpeedily ſent away to bring tydings of the victory. When *Chuſai* was come and had humbled himſelfe before the King, and had declared vnto him the ſucceſſe of the battell, the queſtion was asked how *Abſalon* did? Whereunto he anſwered. The like fortune happen to thine enemies (O King) as hath hapned to *Abſalon*. Theſe words quite extinguiſhed the delight and ioy that *Dauid* conceiued in the victory, and wholly amated his faithfull ſoldiers: for as touching the king, he aſcending the higheſt part of the City, bewailed his ſonne, beating his breaſt, tearing his haire, and afflicting himſelfe in all kinds, and after ſuch a ſort, as may not bee expreſſed; and crying out in a moſt mournfull manner: My ſonne (ſaid he) would G O D my ſonne that I were
B dead with thee, that I might be with thee. For whereas of his owne nature he was a very louing man, yet loued he *Abſalon* aboue all other moſt tenderly.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Chriſts Nativity. 1044.

David hearing of Abſalons death by Chuſai, grieuouſly bewaileth him.

When the army and *Ioab* were informed that *Dauid* lamented his ſonne in this ſort, they had this reſpect, that they would not enter the City after a triumphant and victorious manner: but they entred hanging their heads, and weeping all of them moſt tenderly, as if they had returned from ſome diſcomfiture. But when as the king hauing his head couered, perſeuered in his deſire to bewaile his ſonne, *Ioab* entred in vnto him and ſaid: O king, you conſider not that in this behauiour of yours, you diſhonour your ſelfe: for it is to be thought that you hate thoſe that loue you, and expoſe themſelues to all perils for your loue; yea that you hate your ſelfe and your own ſucceſſion: and that contrariwiſe, you loue your moſt mortall enemies moſt entirely, ſith you be-
C waile them that were no leſſe, & who are iuſtly depriued of their liues. For if *Abſalon* had had the victory, and had poſſeſſed the kingdome in aſſurance, there had not any one of vs beene left aliue that loue you, but had all of vs ſuffered a moſt hated death; nay, and in the firſt ranke your ſelfe & your owne children: neither would they being our enemies haue lamented, but laughed at our deaths; yea they would puniſh them likewiſe who ſhould haue any compaſſion of our miſeries: yet art thou not aſhamed to lament after this manner, for ſuch a man as moſt extreamely hated thee, who notwithſtanding he were thine owne ſonne, was ſo vngrateful and vngracious towards thee. Deſiſt therefore from thy vniuſt lamentation, and offer thy ſelfe in preſence to thy wel-deſeruing ſouldiers, and giue them thanks, that by their vertue haue obtained thee this victory: otherwiſe, if thou continue as thou haſt begunne, this day will I tranſlate both the kingdome and
D the army from thee, and giue thee occaſion more grieuouſly and truly to lament thee of thy misfortunes then thou didſt before. By theſe words *Ioab* pacified and alaied the Kings lamentations, and drew him to the care of his common-weale: for clothing himſelfe in a roiall habite, whereby he might ſeeme more gracious in the ſight of his ſouldiers, he ſate him downe in the gate: ſo that all the people hearing thereof, flocked out to ſalute him.

2. *Reg.* 19. Ioab and his army, enter the city in mournfull manner.

Dauid is taxed for lamenting his Son, & vpon Ioabs perſwaſion preſenteth himſelfe vnto the people.

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Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11.

Whileſt theſe things paſt after this manner, they that remained aliue of *Abſalons* army, returning home vnto their houſes, ſent their meſſengers to euery corporation, aduertiſing them how many benefits they had receiued at *Dauids* hands, and how after many and grieuous wars, he had brought them to a ſecure libertie, and how vniuſtly expelling him, they had committed the kingdome vnto another. For which cauſe it behooued them, ſith he was dead whom they had cho-
E ſen, to make their ſupplication and ſubmiſſion vnto *Dauid*, that diſmiſſing his wrath, hee would receiue the people into his fauour, and according as before time, ſo now alſo he would vouchſafe them his pardon and protection. Of theſe things ſundry intelligences came vnto the kings eare, ſo that by expreſſe letters he commanded *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the chiefe prieſts, that they would certifie the princes of the tribe of Iuda, that it ſhould be a great indignity for thē, that other tribes ſhould prefer *Dauid* to the kingdome before them, eſpecially ſith he was both of their tribe, and their kinſman alſo. In like manner he commanded them to ſpeake with *Amaſa* the generall, and expoſtulate with him, why he who was his Nephew by the ſiſters ſide, did not perſwade the armie to recommend the kingdom to his hands: willing them to aſſure him that he was not only to hope for pardon for that which had happened, but alſo for the gouernment of the whole ar-
F mie, according as *Abſalon* had granted him. Hereupon the high prieſts not onely conferred with the Princes aforeſaid, but alſo informed *Amaſa* what the king had promiſed in his behalfe, whereby they drew him to their faction. And firſt of all, thoſe of his owne tribe reuoked *Dauid* very inſtantly into the kingdome: the reſt of the Iſraelites, by their example and *Amaſas* authoritie, did the like alſo; and theſe Embaſſadors flocked vnto him to receiue him into Ieruſalem. But wonderfull and praiſe-worthy was the diligence of the tribe of *Iuda*, who went out as far as the banke

The kingdome of Iſrael is once more offered vnto Dauid.

Dauid not onely giueth Amaſa his pardon, but maketh him generall alſo of the whole Army.

The tribe of Iuda cōmeth as far as Iordan to meete with Dauid, and make a bridge ouer the floud.

of

The yeere of the world, 1920. before Christs Nativity. 1044.

of Iordan to meete with him, with these came *Simei* the sonne of *Gera*, with a thousand men, G which he had brought with him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. *Sitha* likewise *Sauls* freeman came thither with his fifteen sons,& twenty seruants: who made a bridge ouer Iordan, that the king might the more easily passe ouer both himselfe and his armie. As soone as he came vnto Iordan, he was saluted by the tribe of *Iuda*: and *Simei* marching onward on the bridge, and prostrating himselfe at the kings feet, asked pardon of his offences, and besought him to remit his displeasure: and that in recouering his authority, hee would not first of all doe iustice on him, but that hee should remember this also, that he beeing induced by the repentance of his errour, did with the formost march out to meete him vpon his returne. Whilst thus he besought and lamented, *Abisai*, *Ioabs* brother spake after this manner. Why should he not die that hath thus villanously outraged the king, whom God hath established? But *Dauid* turned backe vnto him and said: Ye sonnes of *Seruia*, will you neuer cease to hatch new troubles; and to adde new diuisions to your former com- H motions? Know you not that this is the first day of my raigne? for which cause I sware an oath that I will pardon all them that haue committed any impiety against me, & that no one man shall depart from me in my disfauour. For which cause be of good cheere *Simei*, & feare thou not that I will seeke thy blood. Wherupon he adored the king & marched onward before him. After this, *Mephiboseth*, *Sauls* nephew came out to meet him, clothed in a desolate and sorry raiment, hauing his haires hanging downe in a neglected & sorrowfull manner. For since the time that *Dauid* fled and forsooke the city, he had bin in such sort distressed, that he neither had trimmed his haire, nor changed or cleansed his garment, supposing this calamity & deposition to touch him as neerly, as it did the king: and further, in that by *Siba* his steward, he had bin vniustly detracted and accused to the king. After he had prostrated himself, and adored the king, *Dauid* asked him for what cause I he forsooke him in his troubles, and offered not himselfe to accompany him in his flight? Who answered, that it was the wickednes of *Siba*, who was the cause therof: for he, said he, being commanded to prepare my necessaries for that iourney, neglected the execution thereof, contemning both me and it, as if I had beene some abiect slaue: Otherwise had I had the vse of my feete, and the means to haue waited on thee in thy iourney, I had neuer endured to haue forsaken thee. Neither was he contented (my Liege) to hinder my deuout seruice toward thee, but furthermore, hee hath maliciously incensed your maiestie against me: yet know I well that your wisedome will not admit or giue credit to his detractions, both for that you are iust, as also for that GOD and truth which you onely aspire to, are onely beloued by you. For, whereas during my Grandfathers daies, you were alwaies conuersant amongst the most difficult dangers, and followed and attempted by him, and wheras all our posterity by that meanes deserued to be vtterly K extinguished, yet haue you vsed both moderation and meeknes, especially in forgetting those indignities; at such time as the memory thereof affoorded you meanes to punish them. And notwithstanding all these things, you haue entertained me like your friend, feasted mee at your daily table, and dignified mee with no lesse honours, then if I had been one of your neerest and deerest kinsmen. When *Dauid* had heard these things, hee thought neither good to punish *Mephiboseth*, neither to examine whether *Siba* had wrongfully accused him; but after he had certified him that he had giuen *Siba* all his goods, yet did he pardon him, and promise him the restitution of halfe his possessions. Whereunto *Mephiboseth* replied. Let *Siba* (saith hee) possesse the whole, it onely sufficeth mee that I see your Maiestie restored againe into your kingdome. After this, *Dauid* inuited *Berzillai* the Galaadite (a vertuous man and of great authority, and by whose bounty L during the time of his warre he was assisted, and who had attended him as farre as Iordan) to accompany him vnto Ierusalem, promising him to make no lesse account of him then of his father, and assuring him liberally to allow him in all things that concerned his honour and age. But hee being desirous to liue in priuate, besought his Maiesty to dismisse him from the Court, because (as he said) his age was so extreame as it made him vnapt for courtly pleasures, considering that he had attained to the age of fourescore yeeres: alledging that it better became him to thinke of death, and the departure out of this world. For which cause he besought *Dauid* to fauour him so much as that he might gouerne himselfe according to his owne desire, because that by reason of his age, he neither knew how to fauour meate nor drinke: besides, for that his hearing was lost, M so that hee could not distinguish nor discerne the sound of instruments, wherein they who conuerse in kings Courts doe most vsually take such delight.

Simei is pardoned.

Mephiboseth purgeth himselfe of Sibas slanders.

Dauid pardoneth Mephiboseth, and restoreth him to the halfe of his possessions

Berzillai excuseth himself and will not resort to Ierusalem,

To this *Dauid* replied. Sith (said he) thou doest so instantly request me to giue thee leaue to depart from me, I dismisse thee: but leaue thou thy son *Achimaas* with me, who shall be master of my many fauours. Hereupon *Berzillai* left his son with him, and taking leaue of the king (with praier

A prayer that God would grant him the fulnes of all his desires) he returned to his own house. But *Dauid* went vnto Galgal) hauing already the halfe part of the people with him, and the whole tribe of *Iuda*.) Thither resorted then vnto him the chiefe gouernours of that countrey, attended by a great multitude of people, complaining vpon the tribe of *Iuda*, for that vnwitting to the rest they had resorted to him, when as by a mutuall consent they should all of them haue met him together. But the Princes of the tribe of *Iuda* requested them in no sort to misconstrue their preuention of them. For that by reason of alliance they had done this office, whereby being tied vnto him they were bound with more feruent study to doe him seruice: for neither in respect of that diligence of theirs receiued they any rewards, wherby they that came after should thinke themselues preiudiced in profit. This answer of theirs the princes of the tribes tooke not in good part, but thus they spake vnto their brethren: We wonder (said they) that you onely challenge
B the king to bee your kinsman, as if he were not to be accounted an allie vnto vs all, whom God hath equally placed to be gouernour ouer vs all; when as therefore the whole people consisteth of eleuen parts, you onely are but one; besides, we are your elders: so that you haue not dealt vprightly in that you haue secretly and couertly sought out the king. Whilest the gouernors in this sort debated the matter with them, a certaine wicked and seditious person called *Siba*, the sonne of *Bochri* of the tribe of *Beniamin*, standing vp in the midst of the people began to cry out with a loud voice, and to exclaime after this manner. We haue no part with *Dauid*, nor inheritance with the sonne of *Iesse*. This said, he sounded a trumpet, and proclaimed warre against the king, so that all men followed him, and forsooke *Dauid*. Onely the tribe of *Iuda* remained with him, and established him in the royall throne in Ierusalem: where remooving his concubines (which
C his son *Absalon* had knowne) out of his palace, he neuer after that time had any company with them. After this he declared *Amasa* generall of the armie, and placed him in the same degree which *Ioab* had, neere vnto the person of the King; commanding him that he should assemble the greatest forces that he might out of the tribe of *Iuda*, and that within three daies he should return vnto him, to the end that hauing deliuered him both the armie and the place of general, he might send him to make war vpon the son of *Bochri*. After that *Amasa* was departed, and emploied his time in gathering vp his army; the king seeing that he failed to returne vpon the third day, told *Ioab* that it was not good to permit *Siba* to gather a greater head by delay, and thereby breede vs more trouble and molestation then *Absalon* had done. For which cause (said he) stay thou not but take vnto thee those forces which thou hast in readinesse, and my sixe hundreth men with thy
D brother *Abisai*, and pursue thou the enemy, and in what place soeuer thou meetest him, by all meanes indeauour thy selfe to giue him the battell. Haste thee therefore, and ouertake him, for feare least he seize some of our strongest Cities, and thereby procure vs much trauell and labour. *Ioab* with all expedition obeyed his commandement, and tooke with him the aforesaid sixe hundreth, with his brother *Abisai*, and commanded all the forces that were in Ierusalem to follow after him, and in his array issued he after *Siba*. Now when he came vnto *Gabaon* (a borough, some forty furlongs distant from Ierusalem) *Amasa* came and met with him, and brought with him great forces. *Ioab* hauing his sword girt by his side, and his curets on his backe, whilest *Amasa* came onward to salute him, subtilly and of set purpose let his sword slip out of his sheath, and taking it vp from the ground with one hand he drew neere vnto *Amasa*, vnder pretence to
E kisse him on the chin, and sodainly thrust the sword that was in his other hand into his belly and slew him. Which action of his was both hainous and detestable, proceeding from a iealousie he had conceiued against a good yong man and his cosin, who had in no sort offended him, and onely by reason of the estate of Generall, which the King had giuen him; and because *Dauid* had equalled him in honour with him: for which very cause before that, he had slaine *Abner*. Notwithstanding this act of his seemed in some sort pardonable, by reason of the pretext which he pretended of the wrong done vnto his brother *Azael*, yet was not this a sufficient colour to excuse the murther of *Amasa*. When this was done, he pursued *Siba*, and left a certaine man to waite vpon the body of *Amasa*, who had commandement giuen him to proclaime with a loud voice thorow the whole army, that he was iustly and deseruedly slaine, commanding those that
F bare any fauour to the kings title, to follow their General *Ioab* and his brother *Abisai*. Now whilest his body lay thus in the way, and all the multitude (as it is vsuall in such like accidents) flocked round about it, he that had the charge of the body tooke it vp, and bare it into a certen place out of the way, and couered it with a garment: which done all the people followed *Ioab*.

Now whilest he pursued *Siba* thorow all the region of the Israelits, a certain man told him that he had retired himself into a certaine strong citie called Abelmacha; where he no sooner arriued,

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The tribe of Iudaes accusation, and excuse, for that without the knowledge of the other tribes they had gone out to meet the king.

2. *King.* 20. Siba a seditious person inciteth the people to rebell against the king.

Dauids concubines whom Absalon had defloured are sequestred from him.

Ioab by reason of Amasaes delay is sent out against Siba by Dauid.

Ioab killeth Amasa.

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but that he begirt the Citie, and entrenched it round about; commanding his ſouldiers to vndermine and ouerthrow the walles: for he was ſore diſpleaſed becauſe they had ſhut the gates againſt him. But a certaine honeſt and prudent woman, ſeeing her countrey in extreme perill, aſcended the walles and called *Ioab* and his ſouldiers to a parlee; who comming foorth to conferre with him, ſhe ſpake after this manner: God (ſaid ſhe) ordained kings and generals of armies, to the end they might deſtroy the enemies of the Hebrewes, and plant amongſt them an vniuerſall and perpetuall peace; but you inforce your ſelues to deſtroy one of the mother Cities of Iſrael, that hath in no ſort offended you. *Ioab* praied God to be fauourable vnto them, and ſaid that for his owne part it was not his meaning that any one of the City ſhould die, neither his pretence to raſe and deface ſo famous a City; his intent was onely, that if *Siba* the ſonne of *Bochri*, and the kings aduerſary were deliuered into his hands to doe iuſtice on him, he would leuy the ſiege, and cauſe his army to retire from thence. When the woman had heard what *Ioab* had ſaid, ſhe praied him to ſtay a little while, promiſing him incontinently to caſt his head ouer vnto him. Whereupon ſhe came downe amongſt the aſſembly of the Citizens, to whom ſhee ſpake after this manner: Wretched men that you are, will you miſerably ſuffer your wiues and children to be ſlaine for a wicked mans cauſe, and a ſtranger whom ye know not? will you admit him in place of *Dauid* your king, from whoſe hands you haue receiued ſo many benefits? thinke you that one onely City can reſiſt ſo huge an army? After this manner perſwaded ſhe them to cut off *Sibas* head, and to caſt it into *Ioabs* campe: which done, *Ioab* commanded the retreat to be ſounded, and leuied the ſiege, and returning backe into Ieruſalem, was once more declared Generall of all the people. The king alſo appointed *Banaia* captaine of his guards, and of ſixe hundreth ſouldiers. *Adoram* was made treaſurer to gather in the tributes. *Sabath* and *Achilaus* had the charge of remembrancers. *Suſa* was made ſecretarie. *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* were made the high Prieſts. After this it hapned that the countrey was afflicted with a famine: For which cauſe *Dauid* beſought God that he would haue compaſſion on his people, and that it might pleaſe him to manifeſt not onely the cauſe, but alſo the remedy of that malady. The Prophets anſwered him, that God would be reuenged of the wrong done vnto the Gabeonites, whom king *Saul* had deceiued and traiterouſly ſlaine, without reſpect of the oath, which the gouernour *Ioſuah* and the elders made vnto them. If therefore he would ſuffer the Gabeonites to reuenge the death of their ſlaughtered friends according to their deſire, God had promiſed to be appeaſed, and to deliuer the people from their imminent and preſent euils. As ſoone as he vnderſtood by the Prophets what God required, he ſent for the Gabeonites, & asked them what it was which they required: who wiſhed him to deliuer into their hands ſeuen of *Sauls* ſonnes to take their reuenge on them: whereupon the king made ſearch after them, onely ſparing and protecting *Mephiboſeth* the ſonne of *Ionathan*. When the Gabeonites had laid hold on theſe ſeauen, they executed them according to their pleaſures: and thereupon God incontinently ſent downe raine and diſpoſed the earth to beare fruit; moiſtning and alaying the drouth forepaſſed, ſo that the land of the Hebrewes recouered againe his priſtine fruitfulneſſe. Not long after, the king made warre vpon the Philiſtines: and at ſuch time as the battell was ſtriken, and the enemies turned their backs, it chanced that the king hotly purſuing the chaſe was left alone, and diſcouered in his wearineſſe by one of the enemies called *Acmon*, the ſonne of *Araph* of the race of the Giants, who beſide his ſword had a iauelin, the point whereof waighed three hundreth ſicles, & a corſelet tiſſued with chaines, who returning backe charged *Dauid* very violently, with an intent to kill the king of his enemies, by reaſon that he ſaw him ſpent with trauell. But about the ſame inſtant, *Abiſai*, *Ioabs* brother, arriued in the place, who ſtept betweene them and reſerued the king, and ſlew his enemie. The whole army for a little ſpace were grieuouſly diſcomforted, in regard of the danger wherin the king had bin, and the gouernors ſwore that he ſhould neuer afterwards enter into battel with them, for feare leaſt he might fall into ſome diſaſter, by reaſon of his readineſſe and valour, and by that meanes ſhould depriue the people of thoſe gifts which were in him, which he had already made them feele; and whereof hereafter they ſhould be made partakers, if God ſhould vouchſafe him a long and bleſſed life. The king hauing intelligence that the Philiſtines were aſſembled in the city of Gazara, ſent out an army againſt them, in which *Sabach* the Hittite, one of *Dauids* redoubted and picked ſouldiers behaued himſelfe very valiantly, and gat great reputation: for he ſlew diuers of them that vaunted themſelues to be of the race of the Giants, and that were very proud and puffed vp with preſumption of their valour, and was chiefe authour of that victory which the Hebrewes had.

After this laſt receiued loſſe, the Philiſtines once more hazzarded their fortunes in warre, againſt

Ioab beſiegeth and ſhutteth vp Siba within Abelmachæa.

A woman rebuketh Ioab for ſeeking the ſubuerſion of the City which he rather ought to protect.

Ioabs conditions of peace propoſed to the beſieged.

The puniſhment of Siba.

Officers diſtributed by Dauid.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12

2. *King.* 21.

A famine inflicted on the Iſraelites for breach of oth.

Seuen men of Sauls kinred deliuered to the Gabeonites to be puniſhed.

Dauid in hazard of his life is deliuered by Abiſai.

Dauid perſwaded to abſtaine from warre.

Dauids valiant captaines. Sabath.

A gainſt whō when *Dauid* had ſent out an army, *Nephanus* his kinſman ſhewed himſelf very valiāt: For fighting hand to hand againſt him that was accounted the moſt valiant champion amongſt all the Philiſtines, he ſlew him, and put the reſt to flight; of whom very many dyed in the battell alſo. In proceſſe of time they reincamped neere vnto a City not farre from the frontiers of the countrey of the Hebrewes: In which army of theirs there was a man ſixe cubits hie, who had on either foote and either hand, a finger more then accuſtomed bequeſt of nature affoorded him. Againſt him *Ionathan* the ſon of *Sama* (one of thoſe that were ſent by *Dauid* in this army) fought hand to hand and ſlew him: ſo that approouing himſelfe to be the means of that victory, he bare away the honor of the battell, and praiſe of his valour: for this Philiſtine boaſted likewiſe that he was deſcended from the race of the Giants. After this battell they warred no more on the Iſrae-

The yeare of the world, 2924. before the Nativitie of Chriſt. 1040.

Nephanus.

Ionathan.

B lites. Hereupon *Dauid*, deliuered from war and danger, and euer after enioying a perfect peace, compoſed Odes and hymnes in praiſe of God, in diuers kindes of verſe: for ſome are of three, other ſome are of fiue meaſures. He made inſtruments alſo, and taught the Leuites to praiſe God vpon them, on the Sabbath daies and other feaſts, The forme of theſe inſtruments was after this manner. The Cinnare is compoſed of ten ſtrings, and is plaid vpon with a boaw. The Nable containeth twelue ſounds or cords, and is ſtriken with the fingers. The Cimbals were large and great and made of braſſe, of which it ſufficeth in this ſort to make ſome mention, leaſt the nature of thoſe inſtruments ſhould wholly be vnknowne. Now all thoſe that were about the king were valiant men: but amongſt all the reſt, there were eight moſt notable and heroike men. The noble actions of fiue of which I will declare, becauſe they might ſuffice to exemplifie the vertues that

2. *King.* 22. Dauid a poet. Dauids inſtruments of Muſicke.

2. *King.* 23. Dauids thirty eight champions.

C were in the other that remained: for they were capable to gouerne a countrey, and to conquer diuers nations. The firſt of them was *Eſſemus* the ſon of *Achemæus*, who hauing very oftentimes thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of his diſordered enemies, neuer gaue ouer fighting til he had ſlaine nine hundreth of them. After him was *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Dodeias*, who had accompanied the king in Sarphat. He in a certaine battell (whereon thorow the huge multitude of the enemies, the Iſraelites were affrighted and put to flight) onely kept his place and affronted the enemy, and ruſhing in amongſt them made a great ſlaughter of them: ſo that thorow the great quantity of bloud which he ſhed, his ſword ſtucke faſt to his hand; and the Iſraelites ſeeing the Philiſtines put to flight by him, came downe and ranne vpon them, and obtained a miraculous and famous victory ouer them. For *Eleazar* ſlaughtered thoſe that fled, and the reſt of the army followed and

Iſſemus.

Eleazar.

D ſpoyled thoſe that were ſlaine. The third was the ſonne of *Ilus* called *Sebas*, who fighting againſt the Philiſtines, in a place called the Iawe (and ſeeing the Hebrewes to be affraid of their power, and almoſt out of heart) reſiſted them alone, as if he had bin an arraunged army, and ſlew ſome of them, and purſued and put the reſt to flight, in that they were vnable to ſuſtaine his force and violence. Theſe three exploited with their owne hands theſe executions of warre. About that time that the king liued in Ieruſalem, the army of the Philiſtines came out to make warre vpon him, and *Dauid* as we haue declared heretofore) was gone vp into the higher city to aske counſell of God, what the euent of that warre ſhould bee; and the enemies beeing incamped in that valley (that extendeth it ſelfe as farre as Bethleem, a City ſome twenty furlongs diſtant from Ieruſalem) *Dauid* ſaid to his companions: There is very good water in the place where I was born,

Sebas.

Three champions paſſe thorow the enemies camp and drew water in Bethleem, and brought it vnto Dauid.

E and eſpecially that which is in the pit which is neere vnto the gate, if any one will bring mee of that water to drinke, I ſhall eſteeme it more then if hee gaue me great riches. Theſe three men hearing theſe words, inſtantly ran out, and paſt thorow the enemies campe, and went to Bethleem: where hauing drawne water, they returned backe vnto the king, ſallying thorow the midſt of their enemies, bringing newes that the Philiſtines beeing affraid of their hardineſſe, and great courage, kept themſelues vpon their guard, not daring to charge them; notwithſtanding their ſmall number. But the king taſted not of this water which they brought him, ſaynig that it was bought with the danger of mens liues, and therefore that it was no reaſon he ſhould drinke thereof, but he powred it out as an oblation vnto God, giuing him thankes becauſe hee had deliuered his ſeruants; After theſe three followed *Abiſai Ioabs* brother, who ſlew ſixe hundreth of the e-

Abiſai.

F nemy in one day. The fift was *Banaia* of the race of the Leuites, who beeing defied by certaine brothers, famous amongſt the Moabites for their vertue, ouercame them. Moreouer, a certaine Ægyptian of a wonderfull ſtature, hauing defied him (notwithſtanding the ſaid *Banaia* was naked and the other armed) yet charged hee him, and tooke away his iauelin and ſlew him. To theſe foreſaid actes of his, a man may annexe this as the moſt valiant, or very neerely equalling the reſt. For it came to paſſe, that after a certaine ſnowe a Lyon toſſing amidſt the flakes thereof, fell into a pit (whoſe mouth was ſo narrow, that a man could not diſcerne where it was, eſpecial-

Banaia.

Banaias ſlew an Ægyptian with his owne ſpeare.

The yeere of the world, 2924. before Christs Nativity. 1040.

ly for that at the ſame time it was couered with ſnow) where being incloſed, and ſeeing no means to eſcape, he roared out amaine: which when *Banaia* who paſſed that way heard, he followed the voice, and drew neere vnto the place; and afterwards went downe into the pit, where with a ſtaffe he bare in his hand, he fought with, ouercame and ſlew the Lyon. The thirty three other were of like valour and vertue. But King *Dauid* being deſirous to know how many thouſands of men he could number amongſt the people, and forgetting the commandement ordained by *Moſes* (who had giuen order that if the people had beene numbred, there ſhould be paide vnto God for euery head halfe a ſicle) he commanded *Ioab* to goe and number all the people: and although *Ioab* had manifeſtly proued vnto him that it was a thing no waies neceſſary; yet could he not perſwade him, but that he enioyned him with all expedition, to ſet forward on his way, and muſter the people of the Hebrewes.

Banaia ſlew a Lyon. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. 2 *Reg.* 24.

Dauid ſendeth Ioab to muſter the people.

Hereupon *Ioab* tooke with him the principals of the Tribes and Scribes, and after circuited all the countrey of the Hebrewes, to know how many men there were: and at the end of nine moneths and twenty daies, he returned to Ieruſalem to the king; and preſented him with the liſt of the people, the tribe of *Beniamin* only excepted (for he neither numbred that tribe, nor the tribe of *Leui*.) This done, the king perceiuing that he had diſpleaſed God, was very ſorrowfull and penſiue. The route of the other Iſraelites was of nine hundreth thouſand men, able to beare armes, and to follow the warre, beſides that the onely tribe of *Iuda* contained 400. thouſand men. When the Prophets had certified *Dauid* how God was diſpleaſed with him, he began to pray & beſeech him that it might pleaſe him to appeaſe his wrath, and to pardon his offence. Hereupon God ſent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, who brought him the choiſe of three things, willing him to make election wuich of the three he would endure: either that famine for ſeuen yeers ſpace ſhould raign in his countries; or that warre for three moneths ſpace ſhould afflict the ſame, wherein he ſhould haue the worſt; or that the plague and peſtilence ſhould for three daies ſpace raunge amongſt the Hebrewes. Being thus diſtraught and troubled by reaſon of his difficult election, amidſt theſe imminent miſeries; and the Prophet vrging him to returne a ſhort anſwer, whereby God might be ſatisfied: the king bethinking him that if he ſhould aske famine, hee ſhould rather ſeeme to reſpect his owne ſecuritie, then the common-weale, in that no danger might by that meanes touch him, for that he had great ſtore of corne in his barne, and they vnfurniſhed; and if for three moneths he ſhould make choiſe to be ouercome by the enemy, in that caſe alſo hee might ſeeme to haue care of himſelfe, in that he had many ſtrong Caſtles and a valiant guard of men to attend his perſon: he therefore made choiſe of a plague, that was both as incident to the prince, as the ſubiect; wherein each man was touched with equall and imminent feare: ſaying, that it was better to fall into the hands of God, then into the hands of his enemies. When the Prophet had receiued this anſwer from him, he reported it vnto God; who ſent a plague and mortalitie amongſt the Hebrewes, whereby they died after diuers manners: ſo that it was very hard to diſcerne the malady; which being but one kinde, yet notwithſtanding ſeiſed the people by tenne thouſand cauſes, and vnknowne occaſions. For one of them died after another, and the ſickneſſe ſurpriſing them at vnawares, brought a ſodain diſſolution of the ſpirits, and ſwouning vpon them; ſo that ſome of them gaue vp the ghoſt with grieuous torments, and moſt ſtrange dolors. Others were preſently parched vp through the burning agonies they endured, and (vnrecouerable by any counſell or remedy) conſumed away amidſt their languiſhing fits and tortures. Others died ſtrangled, hauing their eies ſodainly darkned and blinded. Otherſome giuing order for the burial of their houſhold ſeruants, died before they were thorowly interred; and from the day breake (at which time the peſtilent mortalitie began to rage) vntill dinner time, there died ſeuentie thouſand perſons. And now had the Angell of God ſtretched out his hand ouer Ieruſalem, readie to inflict puniſhment thereon, when as the king put on ſackcloth and proſtrated himſelfe on the ground, beſeeching and praying God that it would pleaſe him to ſurceaſe his wrath, and be pacified with the number of thoſe that were already conſumed by the peſtilence. Whileſt thus he prayed, lifting vp his eyes, he beheld the angell of God houering in the ayre ouer Ieruſalem, with his naked ſword: whereupon he beſought God and ſaid, that it was he that was the ſhepheard, who had deſerued to be puniſhed, and not his flocke; who ought to be fauoured in that they had not any waies offended, praying him to ſatisfie his diſpleaſure vpon him and his poſteritie, and to ſpare the people.

The ſumme of the Iſraelites that were numbred.

Dauid hauing election of three ſorts of puniſhment choſe the plague.

A huge ſlaughter of thoſe that died of the peſtilence that was inflicted by God.

Dauid prayed for the innocent people.

Hereupon God accepting his prayer, ſurceaſed the plague, and ſent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, commanding him that he ſhould preſently repaire to the threſhing floore of *Oronna* the Iebuſite, and there build an altar, on which he ſhould offer ſacrifice vnto God. Which when *Da-*

A commandement to build an altar.

uid

A *uid* vnderſtood, he neglected not this ordinance, but went preſently to the appointed place. When *Oronna* (who threſhed his corne) ſaw the king) accompanied by his ſonnes) comming towards him, he ranne out to meete him, and humbled himſelfe before him. This man was by nation a Iebuſite, and one of the greateſt friends that *Dauid* had (by meanes wherof he left him vnſpoiled at ſuch time as the fortreſſe of the Iebuſites was taken, as we haue heretofore declared.) *Oronna* asked him for what cauſe his Lord came thus vnto him, who was his ſeruant? *Dauid* anſwered him that it was to this intent, that he might purchaſe his threſhing floore, to the intent that he might build an Altar in that place, and offer ſacrifice vnto God. *Oronna* replied, that both his floore, charriots, and oxen were the kings to offer vp for a burnt ſacrifice, beſeeching GOD that he would graciouſly accept that offering. To this the king anſwered, that he highly eſteB med his ſimplicitie and magnanimitie, and that he fauourably reſpected the offer he had made him, yet that it was his pleaſure that he ſhould receiue the price of the ſame, becauſe he held it an inconuenient to offer ſacrifice vnto God vpon other mens charges. To this *Oronna* anſwered, that his Maieſtie might doe as beſt pleaſed him. Hereupon he bought the foreſaid floore of him for fiftie ſicles. Then erected he an Altar in this place and offered ſacrifices thereon, as well burnt offerings as other ſacrifices for proſperitie: and by this meanes the diuine maieſtie was appeaſed, and euer after ſhewed himſelfe fauourable. (Now this place was the very ſame, whereto *Abraham* in times paſt had brought his ſonne *Iſaac* to offer him vp for a burnt ſacrifice vnto God, and as he was about to ſacrifice him, a Wether vpon the inſtant preſented it ſelf vnto the Altar, which *Abraham* offered vp in ſteede of his ſonne, as we haue heretofore made manifeſt.) *Dauid* ſeeing C that God had heard his prayer, and fauourably accepted his ſacrifice, decreed that in that place the generall Altar of the people ſhould ſtand, and that on the very ſame floore he would build a Temple vnto GOD: which words of his God afterwards ratified. For ſending his Prophet vnto him, he certified him that his ſonne that ſhould ſucceede him, ſhould build a Temple. After this propheticall declaration, the King commanded to number the inhabitants of Ieruſalem, and it was found that they were one hundreth and foureſcore thouſand men: of which number he appointed eightie thouſand to intend the hewing of ſtones; and ordered that the reſt of the common people ſhould beare ſtones vnto them: and he appointed three thouſaud and fiue hundreth, who ſhould gouerne them, and haue the ouerſeeing of the workes. He gathered alſo a great quantitie of yron and braſſe, to worke vpon, with ſtore of huge and mightie Cedar D trees, which they of Tyre and Sidon ſent him, whom he had put in truſt to furniſh him therewith; telling his friends that he made that preparation at that time, to the intent that when his ſonne ſhould fortune to gouerne after him, he might haue ſtuffe in a readineſſe for the building of the Temple: and to the intent that he being as yet yong and vnexperimented, ſhould not be troubled with the gathering thereof, but hauing all things in a readineſſe, might finiſh the building of the Temple.

The yeare of the world, 2930. before Chriſts birth, 1034.

Oronna the Iebuſite. *Supra. l. 7. c. 7.* called Orphona.

Oranna giueth Dauid his floore.

The ſumme that was paied for the threſhing floore.

The place of the altar that was built. *Gen. 22.* *Supra. l. 1. c. 13.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

The workemen allotted for the building of the Temple. *1. Par. al. 22.*

Dauid gathereth great ſtore of yron braſſe and wood.

CHAP. XI.

DAVID *during his life time ſurrendreth the kingdome to* SALOMON.

E

THEN calling vnto him his ſonne *Salomon*, he charged him that after his deceaſe, and his enſtalment in the kingdome, he ſhould build a temple vnto God: telling him that though he had both a will and intent to performe the ſame; yet that he was contradicted by God, for that he had beene foyled with ſlaughters, and brought vp in warre. Adding further, that it was foreprophecied vnto him, that the finiſhing of that edifice was by Gods ordinance reſerued to his yonger ſon that ſhould be called *Salomon*, whom God ſhould not leſſe tender and care for, then the father doth his ſonne: and how the whole land of the Hebrews ſhould be made happy vnder this Prince; and among all other benefits, that they ſhould haue peace (which is an F eſpeciall prerogatiue and bleſſing) and not onely be freed from forraine wars, but alſo from ciuill diſſentions. For which cauſe (ſaid he) ſince by God thou wert appointed King before thou waſt borne, indeuour thy ſelfe to be capable and worthy to be conducted by his prouidence, by honouring piety, iuſtice and fortitude, and keeping thoſe his ordinances and lawes, which he gaue vs by *Moſes*, and not permitting others to tranſgreſſe the ſame. And as touching the temple (which he will that thou ſhalt build when thou ſhalt obtaine the kingdome) enforce thy ſelf to diſcharge that duty towards God: neither be thou diſmaid or afraid at the greatnes of the work. For before

The building of Salomons Temple is commanded.

Dauid counſelleth Salomon to honour God.

The yeere of the world, 2930. before Christs Natiuitie, 1074.

shall depart out of this world, I will set all things in a readinesse for thee. Know therefore that I G haue already gathered ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of siluer; of brasse and yron there is as much, which is a thing innumerable; of stone and of wood, a matter most incredible. Moreouer, thou shalt haue many thousands of masons and carpenters, and if ought be defectiue besides these, thou shalt thy selfe make prouision thereof: when thou hast performed this, thou shalt be gracious in Gods sight, who shal be thy soueraigne and safe conductor. He exhorted also the gouernours of the people to set to their helping hand, and yeeld their assistance to his sonne in finishing this worke, and in furthering the seruice of God without suspicion of any inconuenience; assuring them that they should enioy a firme peace, and a flourishing estate (such blessings as God bestoweth vpon those that studie after pietie and iustice.) Moreouer he charged him to place the Arke within the Temple at such time as it should be finished, with all H other sacred vtensils, for the receit whereof the Temple should long since haue been builded, had not their forefathers neglected Gods command, who had enioyned them, that at such time as they should possesse their enemies land, they should build him a Temple. These were *Dauids* exhortations, not onely vnto his sonne, but also to the other Princes.

The treasure that was gathered towards the building of the Temple.

The assistants that Salomon had in building the Temple.

The commandement as touching the Arke, and laying vp all other sacred vtensils within the Temple.

Now when *Dauid* was very old, so that by reason of his yeeres his body was so cold and benumd, that notwithstanding the many couerings and clothes they laid vpon him, yet could he not be het or warmed: his Physitians assembled themselues together and consulted, and at last concluded, that one of the faireſt virgins that was in the countrey, might be chosen out to lie with the king: because by this meanes shee might warme his chill limbes, and comfort his decaying I heat. Whereupon after search made, they found out a Damzell called *Abisace*, which surpassed all other in beautie, who slept with him and warmed him: for by reason of his age, he was vnable to haue the vse of a woman. But of this virgin hereafter we shall make further mention.

Hedio & Rufinus, cha. 15.

Dauid groweth old and nombe.

Abisace warmeth him.

3. *King.* 1.

The fourth sonne of *Dauid* was a goodly tall yong man, called *Adonias*, the son of *Aegistha*, who (resembling *Absalon* in complexion and ambition) began to vsurpe, with a deliberation to make himselfe king: and amongst his ordinarie discourses which he vsed to his friends, he said that it behooued him to take possession of the kingdome. To this intent he prepared many chariots and horses, and fiftie men to attend him for his guard. His father certified of these his proceedings, reproued him not, neither crossed this his deliberation; neither demanded of him likewise, wherefore he presumed to attempt such vnseemely actions. Of this his reuolt he had

Adonias affecteth the kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 2931. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1023.

for his coadiutors *Ioab* the Generall, and the high Priest *Abiathar*: but they that contradicted K him, were the high Priest *Sadoc*, and the Prophet *Nathan*, and *Benaia* the captaine of the guard, with *Simei*, *Dauids* friend: besides all other the valiant men at armes. Whereas therefore *Adonias* made a banquet out of the Citie, and in the suburbs neere vnto the fountaine of the Parke royall, he inuited all his brethren vnto the same, except *Salomon*; and tooke with him *Ioab* and *Abiathar*, with the gouernours of the tribe of *Iuda*: but as touching *Sadoc*, the Prophet *Nathan* *Banaia*, and the rest of the contrary party; he called them not vnto the banquet. This did the prophet *Nathan* tell to *Bethsabe*, *Salomons* mother, certifying her that *Adonias* was made king without the knowledge of *Dauid*, aduising her both to haue care of her owne securitie, and the estate and maiesty of her son (who by reason of *Adonias* vsurpation was like to be supplanted) wishing her in person to certifie the king thereof: and further promising, that while shee debated these L things with the king, hee would come in the meane while, and confirme that which hee had said. *Bethsabe* being thus perswaded by *Nathan*, came vnto the King, and humbling her selfe before him (and afterwards requiring licence to speake vnto him) shee certified him of all those things that had hapned, according as she had bin aduised by the Prophet: particularly deciphering vnto him what banquet *Adonias* had made, and what guestes he had inuited (namely *Abiathar* and *Ioab*, with the rest of his sonnes, except *Salomon* and his particular friends) vrging this furthermore, that the people expected who it should bee whom *Dauid* would nominate to succeed him: for which cause she earnestly besought *Dauid*, that he would prouide and foresee, that he who should succeed him in the gouernment, should neither seeke her blood, nor the death of her son *Salomon*. Whilst *Bethsabe* discoursed after this maner, the chamberlaines gaue the king to M vnderstand that *Nathan* attended to speake with him. Whereupon, *Dauid* commanded that hee should be called in, and as soone as he was entred, he asked the king if that day he had appointed *Adonias* to gouerne & succeed in the kingdom after him? for that (said he) he hath made a sumptuous feast; whereunto he hath inuited all thy sonnes, but *Salomon*; thither also hath he called *Ioab*: where, after the great cheere and banquetting, they haue proclaimed and cried, Long liue king *Adonias*. Furthermore (said he) he hath neither inuited me, nor the high Priest *Sadoc*, nor the

captaine

Bethsabe by Nathans perswasion certifieth Dauid of Adonias vsurpation.

A captaine of the guard *Banaia*. It therefore behoueth thee to let vs know, if this be done by thy approbation and allowance.

The yeare of the world, 2931. before Christs Natiuitie. 1033.

As soone as *Nathan* had made an end of his speech, *Dauid* commanded that *Bethsabe* should be called in (who had retired herselfe out of the Kings chamber, at such time as the Prophet entred into the same.) As soone as *Bethsabe* reentred the chamber, *Dauid* said vnto her, I sweare vnto thee by that great God, that thy sonne *Salomon* shall raigne after me, according as before this time I haue already sworne vnto thee, and he it is that shall sit vpon my throne, yea euen this present day. Vpon these words *Bethsabe* humbled herselfe, and besought God to grant the king long life. Whereupon he called for *Sadoc* the high Priest, and *Banaia* Captaine of the guard, and gaue them in charge to take the Prophet *Nathan* with them, and all the men at armes that attended

B him in court; charging them to mount his sonne *Salomon* vpon the royall Moile, and to conduct him out of the Citie neere vnto the fountaine of Gehon: in which place (after they had annointed him with holy oyle) he willed them to proclaime *Salomon* king, commanding the high Priest *Sadoc*, and the Prophet *Nathan* to see his will performed; charging those that followed him thorow the Citie, with sound of trumpet and a loud voice to cry out, that *Salomon* was seated for euer on his fathers throne, to the intent that all the people might vnderstand, that by his fathers consent he was declared king. But as touching *Salomon*, he gaue him instructions how he ought to behaue himselfe with piety and iustice, in the gouernment of all the people of the Hebrewes, and of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this, *Banaia* besought God that it would please him to be fauourable vnto *Salomon*, and with all expedition *Salomon* was mounted vpon the kings Mule, and con-

The kingdome is confirmed to Salomon by an oath.

C ducted out of the Citie neere vnto the fountaine; where (after he had beene annointed with oyle) they brought him backe againe into the Citie with ioy and applause, wishing him a long and prosperous gouernment: then reconducting him to the Kings palace, they placed him in his throne; and on the instant all the people beganne to celebrate banquets and feasts, and to disport and reioyce themselues with daunces and instruments of musicke: so that by reason of the multitude of instruments, both the earth and the ayre resounded therewith. So that *Adonias* and they that banquetted with him, hearing the noise, were all of them sore troubled; and *Ioab* in particular said, that those tunes and trumpettings did no waies content him.

Salomon is annointed king, and placed in his fathers throne.

Whilst thus they sate at the banquet, and euery man through amaze forbore to eate his meate (beeing distracted through variety of thoughts) *Ionathan* the sonne of *Abiathar* came hastily in

D amongst them. This yong man did *Adonias* most willingly behold, and said that he was a messenger of some glad tydings: but contrariwise he recited vnto them all that which had befallen *Salomon*, or had beene decreed by *Dauid*. Whereupon, *Adonias* and all his guests forsooke the banquet, and suddainly fledde euery man vnto his owne house. But *Adonias* fearing the Kings displeasure (by reason of his ambition and arrogancie) ranne vnto the Altar, and laying holde of it after the manner of a suppliant, hung thereon, according as he in reason had cause to doe.

Adonias for feare of the kings displeasure, flieth from his banquet, and taketh hold of the hornes of the Altar.

Now when these tydings were brought vnto *Salomon*, and what hee had done, and how hee required that *Salomon* would assure him, that hee would neuermore call to memory that which had hapned, but pardon his offence: *Salomon* answered him graciously and moderately, and pardoned him that fault; notwithstanding with this caution, that if hereafter it should appeare that

E he intended or acted any rebellion, it should be *Adonias* himselfe, who should be the author of his mischiefe: with this answer he sent some to deliuer him from the Altar.

When as therefore he came into *Salomons* presence and had saluted him, he was commanded to repaire home vnto his house, without suspect of any inconuenience: yet by the way was hee admonished to behaue himselfe vprightly for the time to come, if in any sort hee either respected his credit or profit.

But *Dauid* willing that his sonne should be accepted for their knowne and annointed King amongst the people, assembled the gouernours in Ierusalem, with the Priests and Leuites; and first of all taking the number of them, he found thirty three thousand men that were aboue thirty three yeeres old; 23000 of which, he appointed to take charge of the building of the temple, sixe thou-

Dauid numbreth the Leuites, and distributeth their offices.

F sand to be Iudges and Scribes, with the like number of Musitians to play vpon instruments, who were furnished by *Dauid* (as wee haue heretofore declared) and distributed by him according to their families. So that separating the Priests from the rest of their tribe, he found foure and twenty families of them; sixteene of the house of *Eleazar*, and eight of the house of *Ithamar*, giuing order that one onely family should for the space of eight daies performe Gods seruice. And thus were all the families distributed by lotte in the presence of *Dauid*, of the high Priests *Sadoc* and *Abiathar*, and of the Gouernours. The first family that ascended the Temple was written first, the

1. *Paral.* 12. The diuision of the Priests into 24. kinreds. 2 *Paral.* 24.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie, 1033.

the second next, and so successiuely the rest to the number of foure and twenty (and this law remaineth in the same sort euen vnto this day.) He made also twenty & foure diuisions of the tribe of *Leui* (who ascended according as they were chosen by lot, in the same maner as did the priests, euery eight day.) He honoured in particular those of *Moses* posteritie: for he appointed them to be keepers of Gods treasurie, and of those presents which the kings should offer. He enacted also, that all (as well Leuites as Priests) should serue God day and night, according as they were commanded by *Moses*. That done, he distributed his whole army into twelue companies, with their Gouernours, Centurions and Conductors: euery squadron contained foure and twentie thousand men, whom hee appointed to guard and attend king *Salomon*, for the space of thirty dayes (continuing from the first vnto the last, with their captaines ouer thousands, and centurions.) He likewise established those men in office and authority ouer euery squadron, whom he knew to be most resolute and vertuous. He appointed also Surueiors, who should haue the charge of the treasure, of the burroughs and fields, and of the cattell (whose names in mine opinion it were vnnecessary to declare.) After that euery one of these things were in this manner disposed, he summoned all the Gouernours of the Hebrewes (and in generall, all those that had any commission ouer the affaires or demaines of the kings) to a generall assembly, and seating himselfe in a high erected throne, he spake after this maner. My brethren & countrimen, I am desirous that you should know, that hauing determined with my selfe to build a temple vnto God, I haue made prouision of a great quantity of gold and siluer, the summe whereof amounteth to a hundred thousand talents: but God by the Prophet *Nathan* hath forbidden me to build the same, by reason of your warres, and for that my hand hath bin soiled with the slaughter of enemies, and hath commanded that my sonne (who shall succeede me in my kingdome) shall erect a temple vnto him. Now therefore, sith you are ascertained, that amongst the twelue sonnes of *Iacob*, *Iuda*, by the generall consent of them all, obtained the principality; and that I amongst my sixe brethren haue bin preferred and placed by God in the kingdome, and notwithstanding no one of them supposeth himselfe to be iniured: so do I also request that *Salomon* hauing obtained the Empire, my other sons, neither in respect of him, nor amongst themselues nourish any vnnaturall hatreds & seditions, but knowing that he is chosen by God, they may willingly subiect themselues to his dominion. For wheras if God so pleaseth, it is not to be misliked to submit our selues to forraine subiection; how much more are ye bound to congratulate & fauour your brother no otherwise, then if you were partakers of the same honours with him? Truely I desire nothing more then that Gods promises may be brought to effect, & that that felicity which attendeth this region (vnder the gouernment of *Salomon*) may presently bee dispersed, and perpetually indure in this countrey. Which without doubt will so fall out, and all things shall happily succeede, if thou my sonne be a maintainer of piety and iustice, and the ancient lawes and ordinances of thy progenitors: otherwise, if these be neglected, there is no other thing to be expected but mortality and misery. After he had finished these sayings, he gaue his sonne the plot and module of the building of the Temple, with all the foundations both of the houses & chambers, together with the number, height & breadth of the same. Hee also limited the waight of those vessels that were to be fashioned either of gold or of siluer, exhorting him to employ all his care and diligence in performance of the same. Hee incouraged likewise the Gouernours & the tribe of *Leui* to assist him, both for that his yeeres had not as yet obtained their ripe maturity, as also for that by Gods diuine prouidence hee was admittted and elected king, and was appointed to build the temple, assuring them that the building would be very easie, and no waies laborious; considering that he had prepared a great number of talents of gold, and farre more of siluer, and wood, besides a great multitude of carpenters, and hewers of stone, a great quantity likewise of Emeraulds, & other sorts of precious stones. Lastly, he told them, that now also for the present, he would bestow on thē to that vse, other three thousand talents of pure gold, out of his owne treasury to adorne the holy place, and the Charriot of GOD, and the Cherubins, that should stand vpon the Arke, and couer it with their wings.

He diuided the Leuites into 24. parts.

Moses posterity appointed to keepe the diuine treasure. 1. *Paral.* 26.

The army diuided into 12. parts. 1. *Paral.* 27.

Dauid assembling the Gouernors of the tribes, commendeth his son Salomon to them. 1. *Paral.* 28.

Dauid giueth his sonne the module of the Temple.

The princes of the people gaue a huge sum of gold, siluer, brasse, and precious stone towards the building of the Temple.

Now, when the King had spoken after this manner, all the Gouernours, Priests and Leuites according together, shewed a greater readinesse, and made many signall and heroicall offers. For they tied themselues to bring fiue thousand talents of gold and tenne thousand stateres; of siluer a hundred thousand, and of iron many thousand talents; and if any one of them had a precious stone, hee brought it and deliuered it to the treasurers custody, who was called *Ialus*, beeing one of *Moses* posterity. This thing highly contented all the people, & *Dauid* (seeing the affection and readinesse of the Gouernors and priests, and in generall of all the rest) began to blesse God with a loud voice, calling him the Creator & father of this whole world, the fashioner both of diuine and

A and humane things,and the Preſident and Gouernour of the Hebrewes,and their felicity and the kingdome by him committed vnto him. After this,he praied for all the people that they might be bountifully bleſſed,and priuately he beſought God to giue his ſonne a good and iuſt mind,furniſhed and adorned with all vertue.He commanded the people likewiſe to ſing praiſes vnto God: which they performed,and proſtrated themſelues vpon the earth,and afterwards gaue thanks vnto *Dauid*, for all thoſe benefits they had receiued during the time of his gouernment. The next day,in way of ſacrifice vnto God,they offered vp a thouſand calues,a thouſand rams,and a thouſand lambes for ſacrifice and a burnt offering: in way of peace offerings alſo, they ſlue many thouſand other beaſts. The King celebrated a feaſt all that day with the whole people,and *Salomon* was annointed with oyle the ſecond time, and proclaimed King. *Sadoc* alſo was eſtabliſhed
B high Prieſt of all the people, and *Salomon* was conducted into the Kings houſe, and placed in his fathers throne,and from that day forward they obeyed him.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

1. Paral 29. The ſacrifices and feſtiuall ſolemnized vpon Salomons coronation.

CHAP. XII.

The death of DAVID, *and how much he left his ſonne towards the building of the Temple.*

NOT long time after this, *Dauid* fell ſicke through age: and knowing that he ſhould depart out of this world,he called for *Salomon* his ſonne,and ſpake vnto him after this manner following; My ſonne, I muſt now depart and ſleepe with my fathers, and enter the
G common way, which both they that now liue, and thoſe which come after ſhall tract; from whence we may not returne,neither behold and reuiſite thoſe things that are done in this life. For which cauſe, whilſt I yet liue and draw onward to my death, I earneſtly exhort thee (as heretofore I haue counſelled thee) that thou behaue thy ſelfe iuſtly towards thy ſubiects, and deuoutly towards God,that hath honoured thee with this kingdome; charging thee to keepe his precepts and lawes which he hath giuen vs by *Moſes*, and to take heede leaſt either ſurpriſed by flattery,or miſledde by fauour, or ſeduced by couetouſneſſe or any other ſiniſter affection, thou bee drawne to neglect and forſake the ſame: for thou canſt by no meanes continue in Gods fauour, except thou keepe his lawes, for otherwiſe he will withdraw his prouidence from thee. But if in ſuch ſort as it becommeth thee, and we wiſh,thou behaueſt thy ſelfe towards him,thou ſhalt continue
D the kingdome in our family; and no other houſe at any time but our owne,ſhall obtaine the dominion ouer the Hebrewes. Remember likewiſe the iniquity of *Ioab*, who through emulation ſlue two good and iuſt Generalls, *Abner* the ſonne of *Ner*, and *Amaſa* the ſonne of *Iethram*; puniſh him according as thou thinkeſt meete, for that hitherto hee hath eſcaped puniſhment, by reaſon hee was ſtronger and more powerfull then my ſelfe. I commend alſo vnto thee the ſonnes of *Berzillai* the Galaadite, whom for my ſake aduance to honour, and adorne with dignities: not in beſtowing any benefits on them, but in repaying thoſe curteſies I haue receiued, which their father with a liberall hand beſtowed vpon mee during the time of my baniſhment, and for which hee made vs indebted to him. As touching *Simei* the ſonne of *Gera*, of the tribe of *Beniamin*,who during the time of my flight,and at ſuch time as I retired my ſelfe into my campe,in-
E iured mee with great outrages, and afterwards came out to meete mee neere vnto Iordan, and tooke aſſurance of me, that for that time I ſhould not puniſh him; at this preſent ſeeke you after him, and doe iuſtice vpon him.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.16. *3. King. 2.* Dauids laſt counſaile to Salomon.

Dauid willeth Salomon to puniſh Ioab.

Dauid commendeth Berzillais ſonnes to Salomon.

How Simei ſhould be puniſhed.

After he had thus exhorted his ſonne,and had communicated with him all his affaires,both as touching his friends,as thoſe alſo whom he thought worthy of puniſhment,he gaue vp the ghoſt (after he had liued ſeauenty yeeres,and raigned in Hebron a Citie of Iuda for the ſpace of ſeauen yeeres and a halfe,and thirty three in Ieruſalem ouer the whole nation.) He was a iuſt man,adorned with all vertue, requiſite in a King that ſhould haue the gouernment of ſo many nations. For he was valiant beyond compariſon,and in thoſe battels which he fought for his ſubiects,hee was the firſt that thruſt himſelfe into danger,and exhorted his ſouldiers to behaue themſelues valiant-
F ly, not commanding them like their Gouernour, but trauelling and fighting with them as their fellow ſouldier. Hee was ſufficient both in knowledge and foreſight, both how to accept of the preſent,and how to mannage his future occaſions: hee was moderate and iuſt,courteous,and fauourable to thoſe that were afflicted,and both iuſt and gentle,which are thoſe ornaments wherewith Princes ought to be beautified: and in this great authority wherein he was placed, he ſtepped not any waies awry,but in reſpect of *Vrias* wife.He left as much or rather more riches behind him,then any other King of the Hebrewes,or other nations had done. His ſonne *Salomon* buried

The yeeres of the age and raigne,together with the vertues of Dauid.

him

The yeare of the world, 2923. before Christs birth. 1033.

him moſt royally in Ieruſalem, with all thoſe ceremonies which were accuſtomed in royall obſequies, and amongſt other things, he buried a great and huge value of riches with him: the incredible eſtimate whereof may bee coniectured by that which followeth. For one thouſand three hundred yeeres after, the high Prieſt *Hircanus* being beſieged by *Antiochus* ſurnamed the wicked (who was *Demetrius* ſonne) and willing to gratifie him with ſome ſumme of money (to the intent he might leuie the ſiege, and tranſport his army ſome other waies) and vnable to leuie money by any other meanes, he opened one Cabinet of the monuments of *Dauid*, from whence he drew three thouſand talents, which he deliuered to *Antiochus*, and by this meanes deliuered the Citie from the ſiege (as we haue declared in another place.) And againe a long time after this, *Herod* alſo opened another Cabinet, from whence he tooke out a great ſumme. And as touching the tombes of Princes, no man defaced them, becauſe they were moſt magnificently builded, for feare leaſt they ſhould be eſteemed deſtroiers of monuments. But for the preſent it ſufficeth that I haue certified thus much.

The ſumptuous ſepulchre of Dauid.

Hircanus taketh a huge ſum of money out of Dauids tombe.

Herod ſpoileth Dauids ſepulchre.

G H

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

I

The Contents of the Chapters of the eighth Booke.

1 *How* Salomon *obtaining the kingdome, expelled his enemies.*
2 *Of the riches, prudence and wiſedome of* Salomon, *and how firſt of all hee builded the Temple in Ieruſalem.*
3 *How* Salomon *beeing dead, the people reuolted from* Roboam *his ſonne, and made* Hieroboam *King of the tenne tribes.*
4 *How* Suſac *King of the Egyptians ſacking Ieruſalem, carried away the riches of that Citie into Egypt.*
5 *The warre of* Hieroboam *againſt* Abiam, Roboams *ſonne, and the ſlaughter of his armie, and how* Baſanes *the rooter out of* Hieroboams *poſteritie, occupied the kingdome.*
6 *The irruption of the Ethiopians into the land of the Hebrewes vnder* Aſa, *and the ouerthrow of their armie.*
7 Baſans *ſtocke beeing wholly rooted out amongſt the Iſraelites,* Zamri *ruled in Iſrael with his ſonne* Achab.
8 Adad *King of Damaſco and Syria, encamping and fighting two ſeuerall times againſt* Achab, *is ouerthrowne.*
9 *Of* Ioſaphat *King of Ieruſalem.*
10 Achab *beeing prouoked to warre by the Syrians, is ouercome and ſlaine in battell.*

K L

CHAP. I.

How SALOMON *obtaining the kingdome, expulſed his enemies.*

The yeare of the world, 2931. before Christs Natiuitie. 1033.

WEE haue declared in the former Booke what *Dauid* was, how great his vertue hath beene, what profits and benefits thoſe of his nation receiued by him, what warres and battels hee worthily exploited, and how happily at laſt (through extreamitie of age) he departed out of this life. But after that *Salomon* his ſonne (beeing at that time very yong) had obtained the kingdome, and was placed in his fathers throne (according as *Dauid* had determined, and the diuine power had decreed) the whole people (according to the common courſe in the election of new Princes) with happy acclamations wiſhed him perpetuall felicitie in all his affaires, and after his well gouerned eſtate and royaltie, long, many and proſperous yeeres. But *Adonias*, who during his fathers life time, thought

2. Reg. 2. Salomō king of Iſrael after Dauids death.

M

A thought to poſſeſſe and ſeize himſelfe of the royall eſtate, came vnto the Kings mother, and with all humility & reuerence ſaluted her. To whom *Bethſabe* ſaid, that if there were any thing wherein ſhe might ſtead him, he ſhould manifeſt it vnto her, and that ſhe would grant it him willingly. Whereupon he began to ſay, that it was a thing very well knowne, that the kingdome appertained vnto him, both in regard of his age, as alſo in reſpect of the fauour and good liking of the people: but ſince that it had beene transferred vnto *Salomon* her ſonne by the will of God, he was content therewith, and would be his ſeruant, being very glad of the fortunate ſucceſſe of his affaires. He therefore beſought her that ſhe would ſolicite *Salomon* in his behalfe, and perſwade him to giue him *Abiſace* to wife, who had ſlept with *Dauid*, for that he had not any carnall companie with her by reaſon of his age, and that as yet ſhe was fully poſſeſſed of her virginitie. *The yeare of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1033.* Adonias requireth Abiſace to wife.

Bethſabe promiſed him to further his ſuite to the vtmoſt of her power, and willingly to employ
B her ſelfe toward the accompliſhing of the marriage, both for that the king was willing to gratifie her in whatſoeuer ſhe ſhould deſire, as alſo for that ſhee would inſtantly intreat him: ſo that he departed from her with aſſured hope of good ſucceſſe in reſpect of his marriage. Hereupon preſently did *Bethſabe* addreſſe her ſelfe to the king, intending to certifie him both what *Adonias* had requeſted, and what ſhe had granted. When tidings came to *Salomon* that his mother came to viſite him, he went out to meet her, and embraced her, and afterwards conducting her into the place where the royall treaſure was, he ſate him downe, and commanded his ſeruants to place a ſeat on his right hand, for his mother: who ſettled by him, ſpake vnto him after this manner. My ſonne, vouchſafe me one fauour that I ſhall requeſt at thy hands, and ſend me not hence diſcontented, and confuſed through thy refuſall. *Salomon* anſwered her, that ſhe ſhould command him,
C by reaſon that duty tied him to the ſatisfaction and fauour of his mothers ſuites, reproouing her for that inſinuation ſhe had vſed, by reaſon that thereby ſhe euidently expreſſed that ſhe was not thorowly aſſured to obtaine her demand; but that ſhe feared the refuſall and repulſe in the ſame: ſhe therefore required him to giue the Damzell *Abiſace* for wife to *Adonias* his brother. The king diſpleaſed at this her ſuite diſmiſſed his mother, alleadging that *Adonias* hammered high thoughts in his head, and that he wondred that in requiring *Abiſace* to wife, he had not requeſted *Salomon* likewiſe to giue him place in the kingdome: for *Adonias* was elder then he, and had more mightie friends then he had; namely, the Generall *Ioab*, and the high Prieſt *Abiathar*. For which cauſe he incontinently ſent *Banaia* captaine of his guard to kill *Adonias* his brother. Then calling vnto him the high Prieſt *Abiathar*: The paines (ſaid he) that thou haſt indured by accompany-
D ing my father *Dauid*, and attending and bearing the Arke with him, make thee eſcape from death: yet notwithſtanding, for that thou haſt bin an aſſiſtant to *Adonias*, and followed his faction, I condemne thee to depart from my preſence, charging thee not to ſee my face any more, but to retire thy ſelfe to thine owne houſe, and there to liue in thy countrey vntill thou haſt ended thy daies: for hauing in this ſort neglected me, it is not conuenient that thou ſhouldeſt be in honour with me. For this cauſe was the houſe of *Ithamar* depriued of the prieſtly dignitie (according as God had foreprophecied to *Eli*, one of the anceſtors of *Abiathar*) and tranſlated to the race of *Phinees*, and eſtabliſhed in *Sadoc*. Thoſe of the race of *Phinees*, who led a priuate life all that time that the Prieſthood remained in the familie of *Ithamar* (whereof *Elie* was the firſt) were theſe; *Boccias* the ſonne of *Ioſeph*, *Ioatham* the ſonne of *Boccias*, *Maræoth* the ſonne of *Ioa-*
E *tham*, *Aropha* the ſonne of *Maræoth*, *Achitob* the ſonne of *Aropha*, *Sadoc* the ſonne of *Achitob*, who was the firſt high Prieſt vnder king *Dauid*. Adonias is ſlaine. Abiathar is diſpoſſeſſed of the prieſthood. The genealogie of the high Prieſt Sadoc.

Ioab hauing tidings of the death of *Adonias*, was ſeized with ſuddaine and extreame feare: for he loued him more then king *Salomon*, and by reaſon of that friendſhip which he bare vnto him, he iuſtly and vpon good grounds apprehended his owne danger, and in this reſpect he fled vnto the Altar, hoping in that place to be ſecured in regard of that reuerence which the king bare vnto God. But when *Ioabs* reſolution was made knowne vnto the king, he ſent *Banaia* vnto him with commiſſion to bring him from the Altar, and to conduct him to the iudgement ſeat, that he might in that place iuſtifie his actions: But *Ioab* ſaid that he would neuer abandon the Temple, but that he had rather die in that place then in another. When *Banaia* had certified the king of this
F his anſwer, he commanded him to cut off his head in the ſame place, according as he required, and that in that ſort he ſhould be puniſhed by reaſon of the two murthers, which he had curſedly committed vpon the perſons of *Abner* and *Amaſa*: commanding that his body ſhould be buried in the ſame place, to the end that his ſinnes ſhould neuer depart from his race, and that both *Dauid* and *Salomon* might be held guiltleſſe of the death of *Ioab*. This command of his *Banaia* executed, and was afterward made Generall of the men of warre. Moreouer, the king eſtabliſhed Ioab is ſlaine. Banaia is ſubſtituted in his place.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie. 1033.

Sadoc obtaineth Abiathars place in the Priesthood.

blished *Sadoc* solely in the place of *Abiathar* whom he had deposed. He commanded *Simei* also G
to build him a house in Ierusalem, to keepe himselfe therein, without passing the flood of Cedron: for if he chanced to breake that commandement, the penaltie which he should incurre, should be no lesse then death; and to the more serious performance of this his iniunction, he tied him by a solemne oath. *Simei* thanked *Salomon* for the charge he had imposed on him, and swore that he would fulfill the same: so that forsaking his owne countrey, he came and dwelt in Ierusalem, where after he had soiourned for the space of three yeeres, it hapned that he had newes that two of his fugitiue slaues had fled, and retired themselues into Geth: whereupon he went to find them out, and no sooner returned he backe againe with them, but that the king had intelligence that he had neglected his commandement; and that which is more, that he had broken that oath which he made vnto God: wherewith he was wroth. For which cause calling him vnto him,

Simeies punishment and death.

« he spake after this manner; Hast thou not sworne (said he) that thou wilt no waies abandon or H
« issue out of this Citie to depart into another? Truely thou shalt not escape the penaltie of thy
« periurie, but I will see iustice done vpon thee for the same, and for those outrages thou didst offer
« vnto my father during his flight, at which time thou didst shew thy selfe to be a wicked man in
« all things: to the end that thou maist vnderstand that the wicked receiue no priuiledge, although
« that their punishments be for the present deferred, but at such time as they suppose themselues to
« be assured (because they haue suffered no punishment) their punishment is augmented and made
« more grieuous, then it had been if they had presently beene executed for their offences. Whereupon *Banaia* slew *Semei*, according as he was commanded. From that day forward *Salomon* had his royall estate secured, and after that his enemies had receiued condigne punishment, he

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2. 3. King. 3.

tooke to wife the daughter of *Pharao* king of Ægypt, and afterwards builded the walles of Ieru- I
salem, farre greater and more stronger then they were before: and all the rest of his life, he gouerned his Common-weale in peace; so that his youthfull yeeres hindered him not from the obseruation of iustice, and the maintenance of lawes, neither excluded the remembrance of that which his father had charged him at the houre of his death: but behauing himselfe in all things exactly, he executed the affaires of his kingdome with that circumspection, that such as excelled him in yeeres, and were aduanced in prudence, could not surpasse him.

Salomon marrieth the king of Ægypts daughter, and establisheth the kingdome.

CHAP. II.

Of the wisedome, prudence, and riches of SALOMON, *and how first of all he builded the Temple in Ierusalem.*

K

God appeareth to Salomon by night in a dreame, and willeth him to aske that which most of all he desired.

AS soone as he came to Hebron, he determined to pay his vowes vnto God, on that brazen altar which was erected by *Moses*, and sacrificed thereon in burnt offerings a thousand head of cattell; which honourable deuotion of his was most acceptable vnto God. For the very same night, after he had appeared vnto him in a dreame, he commanded him to aske whatsoeuer blessing (as he imagined) sufficient to recompence this his pietie. But *Salomon* required a most high and excellent thing, which God doth most liberally bestow, and men in like sort very happily receiue. For he demanded neither gold nor siluer, nor any other kinde of riches (such as a youthfull man would require) for these are onely affected by the common sort, when the other are onely worthy of the diuine magnificence: But giue me (said he) O Lord, a

Salomon requireth wisedome at Gods hands, who with it giueth him riches and honours also.

ripe iudgement, and a good vnderstanding, to the intent that by these meanes, I may administer L
iustice to this people with truth and equity. With this demand of his God was greatly delighted, and promised him to giue him all other things whereof he had made no mention, namely, riches and glory, and aboue all these, such an vnderstanding and wisedome, as no one man either king or priuate hath had before him. Moreouer, that he would continue the kingdome in his family for many ages, if so be that he continued in the waies of iustice, and obeyed God in all things, and walked in his fathers waies in imitating his chiefest vertues.

After that *Salomon* had receiued these blessings from God, and was made happy by these promises, he forsooke his bed, and worshipping God returned vnto Ierusalem, where he offered great sacrifices before the Tabernacle; and magnifically feasted all those of his household. About M
the same time a very difficult iudgement was brought him to decide; the resolution whereof, was very hard to be discouered. And I haue thought it necessarie to declare the occasions whereon at that present the debate was grounded, to the end that the Readers may vnderstand the difficultie of the cause in question, and that if they happen at any time to be assistant in such like affaires, they might draw as it were from the counterfeit of this Kings wisedome, a perfect

module

A module whereby they may directly ſhape an anſwer to ſuch demands as ſhall be offered them. Two women of looſe and luſtfull conuerſation came vnto him, one of the which (who ſeemed to haue ſuffered the iniurie) began after this manner: I, O King (ſaid ſhe) and this woman dwell together in one chamber; but ſo it fortuned, that both of vs on one day, and at the ſame houre, bare each of vs a ſon: ſome three daies after we were brought a-bed, this woman lying by her infant, hath in ſleepe ouerlaid it, and ſtifled it, and hath taken my childe from betweene my knees and laid it by her, & ſettled the dead child whileſt I ſlept, in my boſome. Now on the morrow when I thought to offer the teate vnto mine infant, I found not mine owne, but perceiued that her child lay dead by me: for I knew it, becauſe I had exactly marked it. This my childe I haue demanded at her hands, and becauſe I could not recouer it, I haue made my recourſe vnto your Maie-

B ſties iuſtice, O king: for in that we were ſole women, and ſhe is obſtinate and feareth not to be conuicted by any, ſhe perſiſteth in her obſtinate deniall of the ſame. After the king had heard this her demand, he inquired of the other if ſhe had any thing to anſwer vnto this accuſation. But ſhe denying the act, and auerring that the childe which remained aliue, was hers; and that the dead one appertained to the other: and beſides that, ſince no man appeared that might determine the controuerſie, but all the aſſiſtants were amazed at the obſcuritie and difficultie of the debate; the king at laſt bethought him of this policie. He commanded that both the children ſhould be brought before his preſence as well the liuing as the dead; and calling one of his guard vnto him, he commanded him with his naked ſword, to cut both the children into two parts, to the intent that both of them might take the halfe of the liuing, and the other halfe of the dead child.

C This ſentence of his was ſecretly condemned by all the people, accounting it very childiſh. In the meane time the true mother began to exclaime, and deſire that the matter might not paſſe ſo far, but rather that they ſhould giue the whole child that was aliue, vnto the other: for that it ſufficed her, ſo as ſhe might ſee him aliue, that he might be ſuppoſed to be an others. The aduerſe part offered her ſelfe to behold the diuiſion of the infant: and moreouer required that the true mother ſhould be puniſhed. But the king coniecturing by the diſcourſe, both of the one, and of the other, which of their meanings was moſt vnfained; adiudged the infant vnto her that cried firſt, (for that in equitie ſhe was the true mother) and condemned the wickedneſſe of the other, who had murthered her owne childe, and laboured as much as in her lay, to procure the death of her companions innocent infant. All the people tooke this iudgement for an aſſured proofe and

D ſigne of the kings prudence and wiſedome; and from that time forwards they reſpected and honoured him as one that was endowed with a diuine ſpirit. The chieftaines and gouernours vnder him thorow all the kingdome were theſe: *Vri* gouerned the countrey of Ephraim, wherein was compriſed the rule of Bethleem. *Aminadab* commanded ouer the quarter of Dura, and the ſea coaſt, and had eſpouſed the daughter of *Salomon*. The great Plaine was ſubiected to *Banaia* the ſonne of *Achila*, who gouerned likewiſe all the countrey that extended towards Iordan. *Gaber* commanded the Galaadites, and Gaulonites, as farre as the mountaine Libanus, and had vnder him ſixtie great Cities, and Forts. *Achinadab* gouerned all Galilee as farre as Sidon, and had eſpouſed alſo one of *Salomons* daughters called *Baſima*: *Banacat* had the countrey that confineth the ſea neere to the Citie of Arce: *Saphat*, the mountaines Itabyr, and Carmel, and the land of

E Galilee as farre as Iordan: *Sonbeia* gouerned the whole land of the Beniamites: *Tabar* had all the gouernment on the other ſide of Iordan, and was elected gouernour generall ouer them all. Thus about this time did the Hebrews wonderfully increaſe in riches, and the tribe of *Iuda* waxed opulent, by reaſon that the people addicted themſelues wholly to the tilling and manuring of their lands. For their peace was vnder ſuch aſſurance, that being diſtracted by no warlike tumults, and beſides that fruitfully enioying a moſt deſired libertie, they eſpecially entended this thing onely, to encreaſe their priuate and particular eſtates. The king alſo had other gouernours who ruled the Syrians, and commanded other ſtrange nations, which are extended from Euphrates as farre as Ægypt, who gathered the tribute of thoſe nations for the king. Theſe Barbarians euery day furniſhed the king for his owne Table, and the maintenance of his houſhold, with

F thirtie Cores of fine floure, and ſixtie of the courſer: ten fat Oxen, and twenty graſſe Beeues, with a hundred fat lambes. All which things, beſides veniſon and buffalles taken in chaſe, birds, and fiſh, were furniſhed daily by the Barbarians to ſerue the kings houſhold. He had likewiſe a great number of charriots, ſo that he had fortie thouſand mangers wherein his coach horſes fed; and beſides theſe he had twelue thouſand horſemen, halfe whereof kept alwaies about the king in Ieruſalem, the reſt were billetted in diuerſe villages belonging to the king, and remained there. And they that had the charge to furniſh the kings expences, prouided likewiſe neceſſarie prouen-

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Nativity. 1033.

Two women accuſe one an other for exchange of their children.

Salomon commandeth both the children to be diuided into two parts.

Salomon by the ſpeech and geſture of the women diſcouereth the true mother.

Salomons gouernours and captaines.

3 Reg. 4.

The happie peace of the Iſraelites in Salomons time.

Salomons daily expences.

Salomons charriots and horſemen.

der for the horſes, conueying it to that place whereſoeuer the king ſoiourned. But ſo great was the wiſedome and prudence which God had beſtowed vpon *Salomon*, that hee ſurpaſſed all his progenitors: and the Egyptians likewiſe, who are eſteemed the wiſeſt of all men, were farre behind him in wit. For he excelled all thoſe that in that time were in tthe greateſt account amongſt the Hebrewes, whoſe names I will not omit; and theſe they were, *Ethan*, *Eman*, *Eman*, *Chalt* and *Dodan* the ſonne of *Imaon*. He compoſed alſo a thouſand and fiue hundred books of odes & canticles, and thirty thouſand bookes of Parables and Similitudes; for to euery kind of plant he alluded his parable from hyſope, vnto the Cedar. The like did he of all liuing creatures that feed on the earth, ſwimme in the waters, or flie in the aire; for none of their natures was he ignorant of: neither had he omitted to ſearch their faculties in particular, but examined & diſcourſed on them all, and had an inward ſpeculation and knowledge of their ſeuetall and ſecret properties. Hee obtained alſo by inſpiration the Art of Magicke, for the profit and health of men, and the exorciſing and caſting out of diuels: for he deuiſed certen incantations, whereby the diſeaſed are cured, and left the methode of coniuration in writing, whereby the diuels are enchanted and expelled; ſo that neuer more they dare returne: And this kind of healing to this day, is very vſuall amongſt thoſe of our nation. For I ſaw a certaine popular and priuate man amongſt the Hebrewes, in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, his ſonnes, tribunes, and other ſouldiers, that cured diuerſe that were poſſeſſed. And the manner of his cure was this: He applied to the noſe of the Demoniack a Ring; vnder the ſeale whereof, was a roote of thoſe things that *Salomon* had declared, which drew the diuell out of the noſtrils of the ſicke, as ſoone as he ſmelleth the roote: and as ſoone as the man was fallen, he adiured him neuer more to returne, intermixing ſome mention of *Salomon*, and rehearſing thoſe incantations that were inuented by him.

The yeare of the world, 2931. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1033

Salomons prudence and wiſedome.

Salomons methode in coniuration whereby he caſt out diuels

The author in this place abuſeth the gifts of God beſtowed on Salomon, in extending the to thoſe artes which are forbidden by the expreſſe word of God.

A Iew caſteth out diuels.

After this, the ſaid *Eleazar* being deſirous to ſhew vnto them that were preſent, the efficacie of his Arte, he ſet a pot or pitcher of water not farre from the place where the poſſeſſed ſtood, and commanded the diuell at ſuch time as he forſooke thee man to ouerturne the pot, and thereby to giue a ſigne vnto the aſſiſtants, that he had forſaken the poſſeſſed: which act of his manifeſtly declareth how great the ſcience and wiſedome of *Salomon* was. For which cauſe I thought good in this place to make mention therof, that the worthy nature of this king might be knowne vnto all men; and how beloued he was of God, and how ſurpaſſing in all kindes of vertue. When *Hiram* king of Tyre vnderſtood that *Salomon* ſucceeded his father in the kingdome, he was glad thereof (for he was *Dauids* friend) for which cauſe he ſent meſſengers vnto him to ſalute him, and to congratulate with him of that good which had hapned to him: by whom *Salomon* returned an anſwer in theſe tearmes. *Salomon* to *Hiram* the king: Know thou, that my father hauing a will to build a Temple vnto God, hath beene withdrawne from the performance thereof, by the continuall warres and troubles he hath had: for he neuer tooke reſt before he either had defeated his enemies, or made them tributaries vnto him. For mine owne part, I thanke God for the peace which I poſſeſſe, and for that by the meanes thereof, I haue opportunitie (according to mine owne deſire) to build a temple vnto God: for he it is that foretold my father that this houſe ſhould be builded during my raigne. For which cauſe I pray you ſend ſome one of your skilfullеſt men with my ſeruants to the wood Libanus, to hew downe trees in that place: for the Sidonians are more skilfull in hewing and preparing timber then our people are, and I will pay the cleauers of wood according to your direction. When *Hiram* had read this letter, he was very glad to peruſe the contents of the ſame, and wrote backe againe vnto him to this effect.

Hirams Embaſſadors to Salomon.

3 *Reg.* 5. Salomon requireth carpenters and workemen from Hiram.

The king *Hiram* vnto king *Salomon*: Thou haſt cauſe to thanke God, in that he hath deliuered thy fathers kingdome into thy hands, to thee I ſay, who art a man wiſe and full of vertue. For which cauſe ſince no newes can come vnto me more gracious, nor office of loue more eſteemed then this, I will accompliſh all that thou requeſteſt: for after I haue cauſed a great quantitie of Cedar and Cyprus wood to be cut downe, I will ſend it thee by ſea by my ſeruants, whom I will command (and furniſh with conuenient veſſels of burthen) to the end they may deliuer the ſame, in what place of thy kingdome it ſhall beſt pleaſe thee, that afterwards thy ſubiects may tranſport them to Ieruſalem. You ſhall prouide to furniſh vs with corne, whereof we ſtand in neede, becauſe we inhabite an Iſland.

Hiram promiſeth Salomon wood, and in ſtead thereof requireth corne.

The copies are yet at this day kept, not onely by thoſe of that nation, but alſo by the Tyrians: ſo that if any man deſire exactly to know what they be, let him ſearch the publique records of the Tyrians, and he ſhall find in them matters accordant to that we haue ſaid. All which I ſay, to that end that the readers might be aſſured, that I outſtrip not the truth in any ſort, and that I inſert not in this hiſtorie matters that are meerely apparant and deceitfull, and onely faſhioned for delight;

A light;neither feare I that any man ſhall examine my writings; neither deſire I likewiſe that euery man giue credit at the firſt ſight to the ſame,or that I be held blameleſſe in ſuffering my ſelfe any waies to vary or improperly dilate ought in this hiſtory: but contrariwiſe, if I cannot approoue the truth by demonſtration, and ſufficient teſtimonies, I deſire not to be allowed. As ſoone as *Salomon* had receiued theſe letters from the king of the Tyrians,he praiſed his facilitie and beneuolence,and preſently ſent him that which he demanded: euery yeare therefore he ſent him two thouſand Cores of wheat,and the like number of Bads of oyle (this Bad containeth ſeuenty and two ſextaries.) He gaue him alſo the like meaſure of wine. From that time forward the frienſhip betwixt *Hiram* and *Salomon* increaſed more and more, ſo that both of them proteſted that it ſhould continue for euer. The king impoſed on his people the tribute of thirty thouſand workemen,whom he gaue in charge to trauell continually,and diſtributed them very diſcreetly. He or-
B dained that ten thouſand of them ſhould cut wood in Libanus for the ſpace of one moneth; and that then they ſhould reſt two moneths,returning euery man vnto his owne dwelling place: vntill ſuch time as the twenty thouſand had in their turne accompliſhed the taske in the time that was prefixed vnto them,and then the firſt 10000. renued their work,& followed the ſame in the fourth month. *Adoram* was conſtituted ſuperintendent ouer this tribute. Beſides theſe,there were 70000 men appointed to carry ſtones and wood, who were the inhabitants of that country,which *Dauid* had left. There were foureſcore thouſand hewers of ſtone, ouer which were 3200. commiſſaries; theſe had the king commanded to cut the greateſt ſtones, to make the foundations of the temple: which after they had hewed and prepared in the mountaine, he commanded ſhould bee drawne and brought into the City,and not onely commanded hee his countrimen to performe
C this,but thoſe workemen alſo that were ſent him by *Hiram*.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

The truth of Ioſephs hiſtorie.

The king ſendeth Hiram a great quantity of wheat, oyle and wine.

The order of the carpenters in Libanus.

Salomon began this building in the fourth yeare of his raigne,in the ſecond month which the Macedonians call Artemiſium,and the Hebrewes Iar; fiue hundreth ninety and two yeares after the departure of the Iſraelites out of Ægypt; one thouſand and twenty yeares, ſince the arriuall of *Abraham* in Meſopotamia; one thouſand foure hundred and fortie yeeres,after the Deluge: And ſince *Adam* the firſt man vntill *Salomon* (who builded the Temple) all the yeeres that are paſſed, haue beene three thouſand one hundred and two. But the beginning of the building of the Temple hapned in the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of *Hiram*, who gouerned in Tyre: and ſince the firſt time that Tyre began to be inhabited, vntill the ſaid building of the Temple, there paſſed two hundred and fortie yeeres. The king therfore laid the foundations of the Temple,and
D made a moſt deep trench,and fortified it with moſt ſtrong ſtones,which might be able to reſiſt all the iniuries of time. Theſe ſtones were ſo cloſely ioyned the one vnto the other, that for the ſtrength of the foundations, they might ſerue to make the baſe and ground, both to fortifie the worke, as alſo to ſuſtaine that which ſhould be builded thereupon, either for embelliſhment or weight of the charge: neither could the foundations be of leſſe ſtrength & hugenes, which were to ſuſtaine a ſumptuous pile of that height,greatnes,magnificence and ornament. The wals were made of white ſtone, and continued of the ſame matter euen vntill the roofe. The height of the Temple was ſixtie cubites, and the length as much, and the bredth twentie. Ouer that was another edifice, hauing the like dimenſions; ſo that the whole height of the Temple was ſixeſcore cubites: and the entrie thereof was to the Eaſt-ward. The porch that gaue entrie thereinto, had
E twenty cubits in length (which was the bredth of the Temple) and in bredth ten cubits: and the height thereof was of ſixeſcore cubits. About the Temple were builded thirtie celles, which inuironed the circuit of the ſame on the outſide, and ſerued to ſuſtaine all the edifice; for that they were of that number, and paſſable the one into the other. The entries were made after the ſame manner, from whence a man might eaſily paſſe from the one to the other. Euery one of theſe Cels had twenty and fiue cubits in bredth,and as many in length,& twentie in height: and aboue them there were other builded: and others likewiſe aboue theſe of like number, and dimenſion: ſo that they were almoſt as high as the other buildings. Ouer theſe there were no buildings; only this,they were couered with Cedar: Euery Cel had his couer apart,& had no dependance on the other roofes. The reſt of the building of the temple was couered with long beames,mortized the
F one within the other,which ſuſtained the whole: ſo that the wals being in this maner faſtned the one vnto the other,were the more ſtronger. To theſe beames were there faſtned certaine roofes of the ſame ſtuffe, which were curiouſly poliſhed,carued and guilded. The walles on the inſide were couered with Cedar planks intermixed with gold: ſo that all the Temple ſhined, and the burniſht gold lightned,aud dazled their eies that entred into the Temple. All the whole building of the Temple was moſt artificially made of ſtones moſt exactly carued, and moſt cloſely and cunningly ioyned together: ſo that they that curiouſly pried into the ſame,could not any waies

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.9. 3. *King.*6.

When the building of the temple began.

The depth of the foundations of the temple.

The height, length and bredth of the temple.

The porch before the temple.

The Cels which were builded in the circuit of the temple.

The beames and walles beautified with gold.

The yeere of the world, 2933. before Christs Nativitie. 1031.

obserue any stroke of the hammer, nor other workmans toole, but all the whole masse seemed to G
be a naturall, and no artificiall frame; and rather gathered in that place of it selfe, then garnished
by the hands of cunning workemen. As touching the ascent into the highest part of the Temple,
the king in that sort deuised it, that in the thicknes of the wall hee included a paire of winding
staires to that purpose. This part had not a great gate towards the Eastward, as the lower had, but
in the sides there were little dores made: All the whole temple both within and without was co-
uered with Cedar planks, tied together with strong chains to fortifie & strengthen the same. The
Temple inwardly was diuided into two parts, the one whereof contained the *sanctum sanctorum*,
of twenty cubits (which was vnaccessible) the rest of the space, of forty cubits was consecrated to
the vse of the Priests. And in the midst of the wall made hee two gates of Cedar, inriched with
store of gold, and diuers curious carued works, and hung them with tapistrie: wherein where em-
brodered diuers flowers of hyacinth, purple, & scarlet intermingled with most pure, white & deli- H
cate linnen. He placed also vpon the holy of holiest (which was 20. cubits broad, & as many long)
2. Cherubins of massie gold, ech one 5. cubits hie, & each of thē had two wings that were spred 5.
cubits broad, by which means they were not far distant the one frō the other, but that the one of
their wings touched the southren wal of the sacred place, & the other the northren wal: the other
wings that touched one another, serued for a couer for the Ark which was placed between them
both. But what the figure of the Cherubins was, it is impossible to expresse: he made the paue-
ment of the Temple also, of plates of beaten gold. To the gate of the Temple also he fastned con-
uenient dores 20. cubits high, answerable in height to the wall, and couered with plates of gold.
In a word, he left not one place either within or without the Temple, that was not garnished with
gold: he likewise adorned the outside of the gates as he had done the inside. But the gate of the I
porch had no such ornament. After this, *Salomon* sent vnto *Hiram* king of Tyre for one, who was
a cunning workman called *Vram*, the son of a woman of the line of *Nepthali*; and of *Vrias* the Is-
raelite. This man had great knowledge in all kind of works, but his especiall excellencie was in
working gold, siluer and brasse, who made all that which couered the Temple, according as
the king commanded. He made two pillars of brasse, foure fingers thicke, and eighteene cubits
high, and twelue in the circumference; on the chapters of each of them, hee planted a foun-
ded lilly, of fiue cubits in height, which he enuironed with certain grates made of brasse after the
maner of enterlaced nets, which couered the lillies on each side, on which there hung down two
hundreth Pomegranats in two ranks. These pillars placed he in the entrance of the porch, the one
on the right hand called Iachin, the other on the left called Boz. He founded also the brazen Sea
made after the maner of a Hemisphеare, & this vessel was called the sea, by reason of the hugenes K
thereof. For it was a lauer that by measured line was ten cubits broad, the thicknes of a hand; the
midst therof was sustained with a piller ten times twisted, whose bignesse was a cubite. This lauer
was sustained by twelue heifers, which by three & three were placed directly opposite against the
quarters of the foure winds: and the hindermost part of these heifers were set somewhat stoo-
ping, to the end that this round and ample vessell might be the more surely supported by them.
This sea contained three thousand Bads. He made also ten brazen bases foure square, for the la-
uers, each one in length fiue cubits, in bredth foure, in height three; thus were the parts of this
worke seuerally fashioned. There were foure little pillars square, and erected at euery corner one,
in which the sides of the bases were adioyned, and diuided into three sorts, according to the place
distinguished betweene the ioynts; with Images, here a Lion, there a Bull, and in an other place an L
Eagle. The pillars likewise were adorned with the same engrauing: and all this whole work hung
vpon foure wheeles, which were made of cast worke, which had certaine naues or spoakes a cu-
bite and a halfe in the Diameter: and it was a wonderful thing to see the circumferences of them,
how cunningly they were wrought, and properly setled to the sides of the bases by their naues, or
strakes. They were thus made: the corners or angels on the vpper part were sustained by certaine
shoulders made after the manner of extended hands, on which was there placed a spire, to which
the lauar was fastned, being vpheld by the pawes of a Lion, and an Eagle, which were fashioned
& so properly vnited, that they that beheld them would haue supposed them rather to be natural
creatures then otherwise: and betwixt them also there were certaine palme trees figured. Such M
was the composition of the ten lauers. Moreouer, he made ten other brazen lauers after the man-
ner of a round cocle shell, each of which contained forty Choes: for they were in height foure
cubites, and from brim to brim, there were likewise foure cubits: which lauers hee placed
vpon ten bases or feete called Mechonoth, fiue of which stood on the left side of the Temple,
that extended to the northward, the other fiue on the right hand toward the southward; yet so
as they affronted the East. Here likewise placed he the sea full of water, to the intent that the
Priests

Winding staires.

The Temple diuided into two parts.

Two Cherubins.

The pauement, gates, & all other things in the temple beautified with gold.

Salomon sendeth to Hiram for Vram a cunning workman.

3. *Reg.*

A vessell called the brasen sea.

Ten brasen bases of the lauer.

Ten round lauers.

A priests entring into the temple, might wash their hands and feete before they went vp vnto the altar. The other lauers serued to wash the inwards and feete of those beasts that were sacrificed. He builded likewise a brasen Altar of twenty cubites long, and as many in breadth, and tenne in height, to offer burnt offerings thereon. He made likewise all the vessels that belonged thereunto of brasse: as kettels, water pots, hookes and forkes, and such like, that in brightnesse equalled the pure gold. The king also dedicated many tables, and amongst these, one great one of golde (on which the sacred bread was laide) the rest not farre inferiour, yet made after diuers manners, held ewers and platters of gold, to the number of twenty thousand, and of siluer forty thousand. He made likewise ten thousand candlestickes (according as *Moses* had commanded) whereof one he dedicated in the temple, that according to the law it might giue light there in the day time. Hee
B made a table also, on which the loaues of bread were laide, on the north side of the temple, hard by the candlestick, which was placed towards the South-ward. The altar of gold was planted betwixt them both. All which things were inclosed in that part of the temple that contained forty cubits, before the tapistry of the holy of holiest, where the Arke should be placed. The king also caused fourescore thousand pots, and a thousand hundreth of ewers of gold, & twice as many of siluer, to be made; and fourescore thousand plates of gold, and twice so many of siluer, to offer the kneaded flower in them vpon the altar; and threescore thousand cups of gold, and twice so many of siluer, to lay the flower mingled with oyle thereon; and two thousand measures of gold, and twenty thousand of siluer, resembling a Hin or an Epha of *Moses*. Twenty thousand of Censors also of gold, wherein the perfume was burnt, to hallow the temple; and other censors like-
C wise in which they carried fire from the great altar, and laid it on the lesser which was within the temple, to the number of fiftie thousand. Hee prepared also a thousand vestments for the vse of the priests, with their surcots, heads, pectorals, and with their precious ouches, notwithstanding there was but one crowne wherein *Moses* had written the name of God, which hath continued euen vntill this day. He made also ten thousand stoales for the priests of fine linnen, with scarlet girdles, for euery one of them; two hundreth thousand trumpets according to the ordinance of *Moses*, and forty thousand instruments of musicke to record and praise God with (as the Psalterie and harpe of a mixt matter, the fift part gold, and the fourth part siluer.) All which *Salomon* most magnificently prepared for the seruice of God, sparing no cost, but imploying himselfe to the vttermost of his power, toward the ornament of the temple; which hee beautified and endowed
D with all these treasures. Hee enuironed the temple likewise with a certen wall some three cubits hie, which in our tongue we call Gison, to exclude the prophane multitude, and admit none but the priests only. Without this wall there stood a temple foure square with great and broad Iles, which opened with very great gates, euery one according to the quarter of the winde; and the doores therof were couered with gold. Into this place all the people that were purified might enter, and they likewise that kept the ordinances of *Moses*. It may not be spoken or scarcely beleeued, although it were seen, how admirable that exteriour temple was: for he filled huge trenches, which by reason of their immeasurable depth, could not be lookt downe into without vehement apprehension of feare (for they were foure hundreth cubits deepe) yet notwithstanding he filled them, and raised them to the height of the hill, whereon the temple was built; and by this meanes
E it came to passe, that the walk without the temple, was equalled with the foundation of the same. This did he begirt with double porches, sustained by pillars of rich stone; the roofe wherof were of polished Cedar, and the gates were of Massiue siluer.

After that king *Salomon* had in seuen yeeres finished these so huge, faire, and magnificent buildings, and all the other necessaries which he had bestowed vpon the temple, and declared thereby his great riches, and confirmed his readines to be such, that that which at the first sight might require a mans whole life to finish, hee accomplished in few yeeres, in respect of the greatnes of the Temple: He wrote vnto the gouernours and elders of the Hebrewes, commanding them to assemble all the people in Ierusalem to behold the temple, and to bring in the Arke of God: and although this assembly was publikely proclaimed, yet scarcely did the people make their appea-
F rance in Ierusalem before the seuenth moneth, which wee call Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberete. About this time fell the feast of Tabernacles, which the Hebrewes most religiously obserue and honour with great festiuals. They therefore tooke the Arke and Tabernacle that *Moses* had before times made, with all those necessaries which appertained to the diuine seruice, and bare them into the temple. The king and all the people with the Leuites marched before, hauing their cattell ready to sacrifice, and filling the way with offerings, and the blood of diuers slaughtered beasts, burning an infinit quantity of perfumes, wherewith the ayre was filled round about,

The yeere of the world, 2932. before Christs Nativitie. 1031.

The vse of the sea & the other ten lauers.

The altar and vessels apperteining to the same.

The Table of sacred bread.

The candlesticke.

The cups and vials.

The bowles.

The Censors.

Priests garments.

Instruments of musicke.

The inclosure before the temple.

The Fane.

The huge trenches wherein the foundation of the temple, was laid, filled

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 4. 3. *Reg.* 8.

Salomons temple was consecrated in the month of October.

The Arke is carried into the temple.

The yeare of the world, 2941. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1023

about, the sent whereof dispersed it selfe farre and neere, to make it knowne that God would be present in that new builded and consecrated place (if we may so speake of diuine things after a humane manner.) Thus ceased they not to sing and dance vntill they came vnto the temple: and after this sort conducted they the Arke. But when as it was to be carried into the holy of holiest, the rest of the multitude departed, and the Priests onely placed it vnder the two Cherubims, who embraced it with their wings, as if it had bin couered with a pauillion or some canapie: for they had bin expressely fashioned after that manner by the workeman. The Arke contained nought els but the two tables of stone, in which were kept in writing the ten commandements pronounced by God on the mount Sinai. For as touching the candlesticke, and the table, and altar of gold, he placed them in the temple before the most holy of holiest, in places correspondent to those where they stood, when they were in the Tabernacle. Then offered they the ordinarie sacrifices, and placed the brazen altar before the temple neere vnto the gate: so that when it was opened, the other stood in sight, and a man might see the seruice and magnificence that was vsed in the sacrifices. And as touching the other vtensils, he gathered them altogether, and placed them in the temple. But after the Priests (hauing giuen order for all things about the Arke) were departed from thence, sodainly there fell amidst the sanctuarie a thicke cloud, not pitchie nor such as resembleth winter clouds loaden with raine; but defused and temperate, which darkned the sight of the priests, so that they saw not one another. But thereby euery mans mind was easily induced, and his opinion confirmed, that God was descended into the temple, and willingly dwelled in the same: In effect all men had no other opinion: But king *Salomon* arising from his throne wherein he was seated, addressed his prayers vnto God, in such words as he thought both to be agreeable to the diuine nature, and conuenient for him to vse: O Lord (said he) thou hast an eternall house, neither are we ignorant that thou hast builded this whole masse of the vniuerse for thy selfe, which consisteth of heauen, earth, ayre and seas: which thou altogither fillest, yet art thou not contained by them. But therefore haue we adorned and erected this temple to thy name, to the end that we might offer vp our sacrifices & praiers in the same, and send them vp to heauen (as a sweet sacrifice) to obtaine thy fauour, assuring our selues that thou art here present also, and wilt neuer be absent from this place. For whereas thou seest all things, heerest all things, yet forsakest thou not vs all: neither dost thou abandon the place where thou dost worthily inhabite; but rather thou art alwaies neere vnto all men, but in especiall present with those that thinke on thee day and night. These words spake he, looking vpwards towards God; and afterwards addressing himselfe vnto the people, he spake vnto them as touching his power and prouidence, how he had foretold his father *Dauid* of all that which should happen: the greater part wherof was already accomplished, and the rest was shortly to succeed. Furthermore, he declared how God himselfe had giuen him his name before he was borne, and that it was known how he should be called: and how at such time as he should be king after the decease of his father, hee should build him a temple; which things they saw brought to passe according as they were foretold: for which they ought to giue God thankes, and not to lose any hope of any of those things that had bin promised them in regard of their happines, hauing occasion of beliefe by the sight of those things which they then beheld.

When the King had spoken after this manner, vnto the people, hee turned againe and behelde the temple, and lifting vp his hands towards the people he began thus: It is impossible (said hee) for men to yeeld effectuall thankes vnto God for those benefites they haue receiued of him: for God (who is more aboundant then all men) hath no need of them: But (O Lord) it behoueth vs, that since of thy grace thou hast made vs more excellent thē other liuing creatures, we should blesse and giue thanks vnto thy maiestie, and in especiall it concerneth vs to honour thee for the benefits thou hast bestowed on our family, & all the Hebrew nation. But with what other means then ought we to appease thee when thou art displeased, and when we are to entertaine thy mercy, then by that voice which we draw from the ayre, and which as we know mounteth backe againe into the ayre? I ought therfore first of all to giue thee thanks in respect of my father, whom from obscuritie thou hast raised to high maiestie: next for that thou hast fulfilled all those things which thou hast foreprophecied of me, vntil this present day; I beseech thee for the time to come to furnish me with those things, that thou maiest giue vnto men that are deere vnto thee, which is, that thou encrease our house euery way, according as thou hast promised my father *Dauid* to performe during his life, and at such time as he was neere vnto his death: namely that the kingdome should continue in our family, and that his race should multiply in innumerable successions. Bestowe thou this benefite vpon vs, and bequeath vnto all mine, that vertue wherein thou

The Priests place the arke of God in the sanctuary, and in it the tables of stone, wherin the tenne commandements were written.

The candlesticke table, and altar of gold.

The brasen altar.

A cloud in the tabernacle.

Salomons praier vnto God.

God immeasurable.

The causes why the temple was builded.

God is true in his promises.

Salomons praier, wherein he thanketh God for his benefits, and beseecheth his future protection.

G H I K L M

A thou takeſt delight. Moreouer, I beſeech thee that a portion of thy ſpirit may come and dwell in the temple, to the intent that we may vnderſtand that thou dwelleſt vpon earth: for not onely this temple; but the whole heauen, and the depth of things that are vnder the ſame, are too little for thy habitation. I beſeech thee therefore that it may pleaſe thee to continue it for thine owne, to the end it may neuer be deſtroyed by the enemy, but that thou wilt alwaies haue care of it, as of thine owne peculiar inheritance. And if it ſhall ſo fall out that thy people runne aſtray, and that afterwards being puniſhed by thee, by ſome puniſhment of death, peſtilence, or any ſuch chaſtiſement (by which thou reclaimeſt thoſe that offend thee, to the obſeruation of thy lawes) they haue recourſe vnto this temple, aſſembling, beſeeching, and requiring thee of mercy; heare them I beſeech thee, as being preſent in this place, and haue compaſſion on them, and deliuer
B them from their aduerſities.

The yeere of the world, 2941. before Chriſts Nativity. 1013.

Salomon humbly beſeecheth God, that he will protect this Temple as his owne houſe.

Neither doe I onely intreat thee for the Hebrewes when they ſhall haue offended thee: but if it happen that any one arriue heere from any part of the world, of what countrey ſoeuer he be, to demand and require the fruition of this mercy, heare thou him I pray thee, and grant his requeſt: For by this meanes all men ſhall know, that it is thy will that thy houſe ſhould be builded in this place, and that we are not inhumane by nature, but that we haue deſired that thy help and the communication of thy bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed, not only on thoſe of our nation, but alſo on all the world. This ſaid, he caſt himſelfe flat vpon his face, and continued in prayer a long time, and afterwards riſing againe, he offered ſacrifices vpon the Altar; and hauing filled the temple with intire offrings, he knew moſt euidently that God did gratefully account & accept of his
C oblations: for a fire trilling thorow the ayre, and lighting vpon the altar in the ſight of all men, conſumed and deuoured the ſacrifice. When this viſion had hapned, the people manifeſtly coniectured that Gods aboad ſhould be in that temple, & with great ioy humbled themſelues on their faces, and lay proſtrate on the pauement. But the king began to praiſe God, and incited the people to do the like, conſidering they had already receiued the teſtimonies of his mercy, exhorting them to pray that he would be alwaies mercifull vnto them, & that he would keep them for euer in cleannes and vncorrupt minds, and that they might iuſtly and religiouſly lead their liues, in obſeruing thoſe commandements which he had giuen them by *Moſes*. For in ſo doing, the people of the Hebrewes ſhould proſper and grow more happie, then all the nations of the world. Moreouer, he exhorted them to keepe in their remembrance thoſe means, by which the benefits they
D poſſeſſed had beene gotten; aſſuring them that by the ſame they ſhould retaine continuance, increaſe, and multiplication thereof. For they ought to thinke that they receiued them not, but for their pietie and iuſtice; and that it was all one for men to get that which they wanted, and to keep that which was gotten, without defaulting in any thing. When the king had ſpoken after this manner vnto the people, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly (hauing firſt of all accompliſhed the ſacrifices both for himſelfe and the people, by offering vp twelue thouſand oxen and ſixeſcore thouſand ſheepe.) For then firſt of all was the temple embrued with the blood of the ſlaughterd ſacrifices, and all the Hebrewes with their wiues & children, were banqueted therein. The king alſo feaſting with the whole people, celebrated the ſolemnitie of the Tabernacles for the ſpace of 14. daies in great pompe and magnificence. And when as all things were ſufficiently performed, and nothing
E was deficient that concerned the ſeruice of God, euery one (diſmiſſed by the King) departed to his owne dwelling place, giuing him hartie thanks for the care he had of them, and for the works he had done for them, praying God that it might pleaſe him to grant their king *Salomon* a long life. And thus they returned home with ioy, praiſing and ſinging hymnes vnto God, ſo that they rid their way, and returned to their families with great treaſure, and without any trauell.

A fire from heauen conſumeth Salomons ſacrifice *3. Reg. 8.*

Salomon exhorteth the people to praiſe God, and to giue him thankes, and to pray vnto him.

3. Reg 8.

Salomons ſacrifices in the dedication of the Temple. The feaſt of Tabernacles. The king diſmiſſeth the people. *3 Reg. 9.*

After then that they had conducted the Arke into the temple, and had beheld the greatnes and beauty of the ſame, and had celebrated moſt excellent ſacrifices, and made great ſolemnities, they returned euery one vnto his Citie. But a viſion that night appeared vnto the king during his ſleep, which gaue him aſſurance that God had heard his praier, & that he wold keep his temple & dwel in the ſame for euer (if ſo be his poſterity and all the people addicted themſelues to liue vertuouſ-
F ly:) promiſing himſelfe in eſpecial, that if he cõtinued in the obſeruation of thoſe aduertiſements which his father had preſcribed him, he would raiſe him to the full infinitie of felicitie, and thoſe of his poſterity ſhould obtaine the royalty ouer all the country, & ouer the tribe of *Iuda*: but if he forgot the exerciſes of pietie, & exchanged them for the ſeruice of ſtrange gods, he would pluck him vp by the roots, without leauing any remainder here to raigne after him. Neither ſhould the people of Iſrael remaine vnpuniſhed, but ſhould be exterminate by infinite wars and aduerſities, and be caſt out of the countrey which he had giuen vnto their anceſtors, and become baniſht

God appeareth againe to Salomon, and promiſeth him all bleſſings if he ſwarued not from his fathers precepts. A grieuous commination againſt the Iſraelites, if they fall from the way of righteouſnes.

men

The yeare of the world, 2941. before Christs Natiuitie. 1023.

men, and runnagates in a forraine land. And as concerning the Temple which is builded at this present, I will (said he) deliuer it to the enemies to ransacke and burne it, and the Citie shall be destroyed by the hands of the enemies: and their miseries shall be so notorious thorow the world, and to such extreamitie shall they be driuen, as it shall hardly be belieued: so as their neighbours round about them, hearing tidings of their calamities shall be astonished, and shall seeke out the cause why the Hebrewes are thus hated by GOD, who before times haue beene so aduanced by him in riches and honours: and they shall vnderstand thereof by those that suruiue, in hearing them confesse their sinnes; and the transgressions they haue committed against the ordinance of their forefathers. These things that were declared vnto him in a dreame, are registred in the sacred letters. G

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 5. Salomons palace finished in thirteene yeeres.

Seuen yeeres after the Temple had beene thus builded (as it hath beene heretofore declared) he began the building of his Palace, which he scarely finished in thirteene yeeres space (for he was not so intent and earnest in building thereof, as he was in the structure of the Temple.) For although the temple were very great, and of incredible and maruellous magnificence, yet so it is, that God (for whom it was made) assisting the workemen, it was thorowly finished within the terme of the yeeres aforesaid. But the royall Palaces, being farre lesser then was the Temple, were builded more slowly, because the stuffe had not beene prepared so long time before, neither with so great affection; and the rather, because the Palaces that were builded, were not for God, but for Kings: Notwithstanding, this house was builded very magnificently, according as the wealth of the countrey and the power of the Hebrew King required. But it shal not be amisse if I declare all the order and disposition of the same house, that by the description thereof the Reader may both gather and consider the whole amplitude thereof: It was a great and goodly lodging, sustained by diuers pillars, prepared to receiue and containe much people at the time of their assemblies, wherein they intreated of affaires and held pleas. It was a hundred cubites in length, and in breadth fiftie, and in height thirtie, compriséd vnder sixteene square pillars couered with Corinthian worke, with staires of the like measure, and carued gates, both pleasant for sight, and fit for fortification. H I

The hall. The tribunal

In the midst of this space, and hard by the temple, there was another square Pauilion thirty cubits large, sustained with strong pillars, within which there was another magnificent Tribunall, on which the King sate to giue iudgement: vnto which there was annexed another Palace prepared for the Queene. All the chambers, as well those that were ordinarily in vse, as those for recreation after he had retired himselfe from publike affaires, were adorned with planks of carued Cedar, and were builded partly of stone ten cubits square, partly of curious marble, and very rarely and cunningly wrought (such as are wont to adorne temples and palaces) and are found out by the most curious and cunning Masons. And that which made it more beautifull, were three panes of tapistry, and the fourth admirable for the artificiall engrauings: for the workmen had made therein trees and plants of diuers sorts, shadowed with their branches and leaues, hanging in such sort, that to behold them, a man would haue thought that they shooke, the workmanship was so exquisite and curious that couered the stone. The rest, as farre as the roofe, was enchased, and flourished with diuers antiques and pictures. Furthermore, he builded other places of pleasure, with very long porches to beautifie the palace; amongst which, there was one most magnificent to make banquets and feasts in, which altogether was adorned with gold: and all the necessaries belonging thereto, and to the entertainment of those that banquetted, were of gold. It is a great matter to number the hugenesse and variety of these royall lodgings, both greater and lesser; of those that were hidden vnder the earth, as of those, which being lifted vp in the ayre, did most apparantly manifest their beautie: The pleasant arbors likewise delightfull to behold, and most contenting in summer, for that they were couered and warranted from the heate. To speake in a word, all the building was made of white marble, of Cedar, of gold, and of siluer: the floores and walles were figured with diuersitie of flowers and of precious stones, inchased in gold, after the manner of the temple of God, which shined with such like ornaments. There was likewise erected a most mightie throne, made in forme of a Tribunall, with sixe steps of pure Iuorie: on each side of which there stoode two ramping Lyons, and the like number were placed aboue. The stage of the throne was after the forme of hands, that laid hold on the King: and hee sate vpon a halfe Oxe looking backwards: and this throne was all inuironed with gold.

The Queenes house, and other palaces of pleasure. The ornaments of Salomons palace. Chambers of pleasure with houshold-stuffe of gold. 3. Reg. 10. Salomons throne made of Iuory. 3. Reg. 5. K L M

Salomon builded all this that hath beene spoken of, in the space of twenty yeeres, being furnished by *Hiram* King of the Tyrians for these his buildings, with great summes of gold, and farre more greater of siluer, besides a quantity of Cedar and Pine-trees. *Salomon* also remunerated him,

A him, and gaue him great preſents, and ſent him euery yeere ſufficient of corne, wine and oyle (as we haue heretofore declared) whereof he ſtood in great neede, by reaſon that his Countrey was an Iſland. And beſides that, he gaue him twentie Cities in Galilee, not farre diſtant from Tyre. *Hiram* hauing viſited them, and not well pleaſed with them, ſent vnto *Salomon* to certifie him thereof, that he had no vſe for his cities: and from that time forward they were called the countrey of *Chebal*, which is as much to ſay in the Phœnician tongue, as vnpleaſant. *Hiram* likewiſe ſent vnto *Salomon* certaine myſteries and difficult queſtions requiring him to decide the ſame, and to diſſolue thoſe doubts and difficulties that occurred in his demands. *Salomon* beeing a man of ripe iudgement and vnderſtanding, pretermitted none of them; but after hee had attained their reſolution in his owne opinion, and had gathered the ſenſe, he expreſſed and opened the ſame. Of theſe two kings, *Menander* (who tranſlated the antiquities of the Tyrians out
B of the Phœnician tongue into the Greeke) maketh mention, ſpeaking after this manner. After the deceaſe of *Abibale*, *Hiram* his ſonne ſucceeded him in the kingdome, who liued fiftie and three yeeres, and raigned thirtie and foure. He annexed the field which is called Ample, vnto the Iſland, and dedicated a golden pillar in *Iupiters* Temple. He alſo cauſed a great quantitie of wood to be hewed downe in the mountaine Libanus, to make couers and roofes for Temples. For hauing pulled downe ſome ancient temples, he builded that of Hercules, and that of Aſtrate, and made this firſt building of Hercules in the moneth Peritien, and made warre againſt the Eucecans, who refuſed to pay their tributes: and after he had once againe brought them vnder his ſubiection, he returned to his owne pallace. In his time liued the yong ſonne of *Abdimon*, who alwaies reſolued thoſe queſtions which *Salomon* king of Ieruſalem propoſed. *Dius* alſo maketh
C mention of him in theſe tearmes. After the deceaſe of *Abibale*, his ſonne *Hiram* raigned: he it was that fortified the quarter of the Citie to the Eaſtward, and enlarged the ſame, and conioyned the Temple of Olympian *Iupiter* to the Citie, which before that time was in another place, and filled all the place betweene them with earth, and adorned it with pendants of gold: and afterwards going vp to Libanus, he hewed downe timber to build temples withall. He ſaid alſo, that *Salomon* raigning at that time in Ieruſalem, ſent vnto *Hiram* certaine ſubtill queſtions, demanding the expoſition thereof vnder this condition, that if he declared them not, in way of penaltie he ſhould pay a great ſumme of money; and afterwards that a certaine Tyrian called *Abdimon*, expounded that which had beene propoſed: and in lieu thereof propoſed certaine others, which *Salomon* could not expound, and for that occaſion he paid a great ſumme of money
D vnto *Hiram*. This is it that *Dius* writeth.

The King ſeeing that the Citie wanted both bulwarks and towers to ſecure the ſame, and that the ſtrength of the ſame was no way anſwerable to the dignity therof, he repaired the walles, and erected great towers on the ſame. Moreouer he builded certaine Cities, which deſerue to be memorized among the moſt renowned, namely, Aſor and Magedon, and for the third, the citie of Gaza in the country of the Philiſtines: againſt which *Pharao* king of Ægypt led out his army, and tooke it by force, and after he had put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword, hee deſtroyed the ſame, and afterwards hee gaue it in dower vnto his daughter, which married with *Salomon*. For which cauſe the king fortified it, ſeeing it to be already ſufficiently defenced by nature, and that it ſtood very commodiouſly for the war, and to hinder the inuaſions of the enemy that might hap-
E pen. Not far from thence he fortified two other Cities, whereof one was called Betachor, and the other Baleth. Beſides theſe he builded others, which were Cities of recreation and pleaſure, by reaſon of the good temperature of the aire, and the pleaſantneſſe of the fruits, and in eſpecially the ſweete ſtreamy riuers, wherewith they were watered. Afterwards entering into the deſart that is aboue Syria, and conquering the ſame, hee builded another great Citie two daies iourney diſtant from the higher Syria, a daies iourney from Euphrates, and ſixe from the great Babylon. The cauſe why this Citie was inhabited farre from the ciuill and peopled quarters of Syria, was, becauſe in no place of the lower countrey there was water to be found, and in this Citie only there were fountaines and ſprings. Hee therefore builded this Citie, and begirt it with ſtrong walles, and called it Thadamor (which is the name which the Syrians tearme it by, euen at this day: and
F amongſt the Greekes it is called Palmyra.) And theſe were *Salomons* works in that time. But for that there are diuers that demand the queſtion how it commeth to paſſe, that all the Kings of Ægypt that haue beene ſince *Minæus* the founder of Memphis, and who raigned diuers yeeres before our great anceſtor *Abraham*, who (I ſay) haue beene till *Salomons* time, for the ſpace of more then thirteene hundred yeeres, haue beene called *Pharaohs*, deriuing that name from one that raigned in the mid-time betweene both: I haue thought it requiſite to manifeſt the ſame to the

The yeare of the world, 2941. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1023.

Salomons gratuitie to Hiram for the benefits he receiued. 3. *King.* 9.

3. *King.* 5.

Salomon interpreteth certaine hidden queſtions ſent vnto him by Hiram.

Menander the hiſtoriographer maketh mention of Hiram and Salomon.

Dius maketh mention of Hiram.

Dius of Salomon

Salomon repaireth the wals of Ieruſalem, and erecteth towers.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 6.

Salomon buildeth certaine cities.

Azor, Magedon, Gaza.

Betachor, Baleth.

Thadamor, or Palmyra.

Why the Ægyptian kings were called Pharaohs.

The yeere of the world, 2953. before Christs Nativity. 1011.

the intent to resolue that doubt and expresse the cause of that name. The name of *Pharao* amongst the Ægyptians, signifieth as much, as King. But I thinke that from their childhood they had other distinct names; and that afterwards when they are created kings, they take vpon them that name, which in their mother tongue signifieth no lesse, then Authoritie. For the kings of Alexandria hauing beene before time called by other names, at such time as they are introduced into the kingdome, they are called Ptolomies, by the name of their first king.) The Romane Emperours likewise, notwithstanding they haue other names at the time of their birth, yet are they called Cæsars; because the soueraignetie and honour whereunto they are raised, imposeth that title on them: and the name that was giuen them by their fathers is no more retained. For this cause it is (as I thinke) that although *Herodotus* of *Halicarnesseus*, saith, that since *Minos* the founder of Memphis, there haue beene three hundred and thirtie kings of Ægypt; yet declareth he not their names, because they were called *Pharaohs*. For when after these a woman had obtained the kingdome, he called her by her owne proper name, *Nicaule*: Whence it appeareth that the men who haue beene kings, were vsually called by this name, and that it had not beene communicated vnto this woman: for which cause it was necessarie to declare her owne first name. For mine owne part, I haue found in the bookes of our nation, that since *Pharao*, who was father in law to *Salomon*, no one of the kings of Ægypt haue beene called by that name: and that some little while after, the aforenamed woman came vnto *Salomon*, who raigned in Ægypt and Æthiopia: of whom a little after we will make some discourse. And at this present I haue made mention of it, to make it knowne that our records and the Chronicles of the Ægyptians, accord in many things.

The Egyptian kings called Pharaohs. Ptolomei, Cæsars.

Herodotus writeth not the names of the Egyptian Kinge.

Nicaule queene of Egypt and Ethiope commeth to Salomon.

But king *Salomon* conquered the Chanaanites (which till that time were not vnder his subiection) and those that inhabited the mountaine Libanus, as farre as the Citie of Amath, and made them tributaries, and chose out amongst them euery yeere such, as he might employ in seruile actions, and in domesticall businesse, and tillage of the land. For no one Hebrew was a slaue: neither was it conuenient, that since God had subiected diuers nations vnder them (whom they might make slaues of) that they should tie those of their owne nation to that bondage; who were all of them employed in armes, and rather tooke delight to mount Chariots, and to ride horses, then to drudge like slaues. Ouer the Chanaanites (whom he employed in his seruice) he appointed fiue hundreth and fiftie commissaries, who had their charge and authoritie from the king, and tasked them to those workes and handie labours wherein they imployed them. He builded a nauy also in the gulfe of Ægypt, in a certaine place of the red sea called Asiongaber, which is named Berenice, not farre from the Citie of Elana (which countrey in times past appertained to the Iewes.) And toward the building of this nauie, he obtained of *Hiram* king of Tyre, a very conuenient furtherance: for he sent him modules of ships, and men that were skilfull in nauigation, whom he charged to saile with his procurers and factors, to the countrey at that time called Ophir, and at this present the land of Gold, in the countrey of India, to bring gold from thence: who returned backe againe vnto the King, after they had gathered about foure hundreth talents.

3 Reg. 10. Salomō compelleth the remainder of the Chanaanites to pay tribute.

The thraldome of the Chanaanites. *3. Kmg. 10.*

The queene of Egypt and Ethiope resorteth to Salomon.

About this time the Queene of Ægypt and Æthiopia (a woman adorned with wisedome, and admirable in all other things) hauing heard of the renowned vertue and prudence of *Salomon*, was touched with a desire both to see him, as them also that were reported daily to attend him: and for that cause, came in person vnto the king, vnder purpose to confirme her beliefe by experience, and not by heare-say. For oftentimes report is no other thing, but a false opinion, which is beleeued by one or other, and is but onely grounded on relation. She therefore resolued to come and see him, & especially to make triall of his wisedome: which she narrowly sifted, by proposing certain difficult questions vnto him, which she had conceiued in her mind. She therfore repaired vnto Ierusalem with great pompe, glorie, and riches; for she brought with her certaine Camels charged with gold, odors, and pretious stones of great value. After that the king had graciously entertained her, and honoured her in all things, hee easily comprehended in his minde those doubts which she had proposed vnto him, and gaue her a more speedie solution of the same, then might be expected: so that she was rauished with the incredible wisedome of *Salomon*; knowing by effect that it exceeded the report which she had heard of him. But in especiall she wondered at his palace, considering the greatnesse and beautie thereof; and aboue all, the rich furniture and curious architecture of the same; wherein she perceiued the great wisedome of the king: but aboue all, the house, called Liban, and the magnificence of his ordinarie table, and the apparell and seruice of the same, made her astonished. The attire of his seruants likewise, and the

The queene of Ethiope wondreth at Salomons wisedome.

A the goodly order which they obſerued in their ſeruice; Moreouer the ſacrifices that were euery day offered vp vnto God, and the care and diligence of the Prieſts in diſcharging their offices; raiſhed her more then all the reſt, when ſhe obſerued them daily: and not able to containe her ſelfe within the tearms of aſtoniſhment at that ſhe ſaw, ſhe manifeſtly expreſſed how wonderfully ſhe was affected, expreſſing to the King in her plaine and publike diſcourſe, that ſhee knew not what to thinke of thoſe things which ſhe had beheld. O King (ſaid ſhe) all that which a man knoweth by heare-ſay may bee misbeleeued. But the renowne which is come vnto our eares as touching your riches, both thoſe which you haue in your ſelfe (I meane your wiſedome and prudence) as thoſe alſo which your kingdome hath brought you, is neither falſe nor fained; which notwithſtanding, yet doth it make your felicitie farre leſſe then that which I ſee before mine eyes: for re-

B port dependeth only on heare-ſay, neither giueth it ſo certaine a notice of things, as the ſight diſcouereth and repreſenteth, when one is neere vnto the ſame. For mine owne part, in that I gaue no credit to the greatneſſe and multitude of that I haue heard, I haue ſeene farre more then I could expect, and repute the people of the Hebrewes to be moſt happy; and your ſeruants and friends moſt bleſſed, who are continuall witneſſes and hearers of your wiſedome. And each one of you ought to giue God thanks, that hee hath ſo much loued this region and the inhabitants thereof, that he hath eſtabliſhed you in the royall ſeat. I will diſcouer likewiſe, how beſides her words ſhe expreſſed her affection ſhe bare vnto the king, in teſtifying the ſame by diuers preſents which ſhee offered vnto him. For ſhe gaue him twenty talents of gold, and an innumerable quantity of ſweet odours and precious ſtones. It is ſaid likewiſe, that we haue that plant which diſtilleth balme, and

C which our country bringeth forth at this day, by the gift of this Princeſſe. *Salomon* for his part requited her boũtifull preſents with the like, which ſhe made choiſe of according to her own liking: for there was nothing which ſhe could require, which he granted not vnto her: ſhewing himſelfe moſt ready to giue her ſatisfaction with a liberall and royall heart. When the Queene of Ægypt and Æthiopia had receiued theſe fauors at the kings hands (according as it hath beene ſpoken) and he likewiſe had magnificently requited her, ſhe returned backe againe into her owne countrey.

The yeare of the world, 2953. before Chriſts birth, 1011.

The Queene of Ethiope praiſeth Salomons wiſedome.

The Queene giueth Salomon many ſumptuous preſents.

Salomon remunerateth the Queenes bountie.

Hegio & Ruffinus. chap. 7.

About the ſame time there was brought vnto the King from the countrey called the Region of gold, a quantity of precious ſtones, and of Pine-trees. This wood was imployed to make ſupporters in the Temple, and in the Kings houſe, and to make inſtruments of muſicke likewiſe, as Harpes and Cymbals, on which the Leuites might praiſe God. Amongſt all the gifts that were

D euer preſented vnto *Salomon*, that which was giuen him at that time, was moſt excellent in greatneſſe and beautie. But let no man thinke, that the Pine-wood (which we ſpeake of) had any reſemblance with that which we call by that name at this day, or which the merchants to delude their chapmen, ſell for the ſame. For they are like vnto fig-trees, but that they are more white and clearer: which I thought good to manifeſt in this place, leaſt any man ſhould be deceiued thorow ignorance, in diſcerning the one from the other: becauſe the affaires of *Salomon* haue drawn vs to make mention of this matter. The waight of gold which this nauy brought vnto the King, was ſixe hundreth, ſixty and ſixe talents: beſide that which the merchants bought themſelues, or that which the kings and princes of Arabia had ſent vnto him in way of preſent. This gold cauſed he to be moulten downe, and made thereof two hundreth targets, each one waighing ſixe hun-

E dreth ſicles; and three hundreth bucklers, each of them waighing three mines of gold, and placed and hung them in the lodging of the wood of Libanus. Hee cauſed alſo diuers veſſels of gold and precious ſtones to be made for the vſe of his table, laboured with as curious conceit as might be; the reſt of his neceſſaries alſo were of gold: for nothing was either bought or ſold for ſiluer. For the king had many ſhips vpon the ſea called Tharſis, which vpon his command caried diuers merchandiſe into the remote countries, by vent whereof they brought him home much gold and ſiluer, and much Iuory and Æthiopian Moores, and Apes, and this nauigation in ſayling to and fro, was finiſhed in three yeeres. The renowne and fame alſo of *Salomons* vertues and wiſedome ſpred farre and neere throughout all nations: ſo that the kings of what country ſoeuer they were, had a deſire to ſee his preſence, becauſe they beleeued not the report, and deſired to manifeſt their

F affection to him by magnificent preſents. They therefore ſent him veſſels of golde and of ſiluer, ſcarlet robes, and all ſorts of aromatique drugges, horſes and charriots, moyles and ſumpter-horſes, wherein (as it was reported vnto them) the King tooke pleaſure, by reaſon of their force and beauty: ſo that to the number of horſes and charriots which he had before, there were annexed foure hundreth more, which had been ſent him in way of preſent. For before that, he had a thouſand chariots, and twentie thouſand goodly horſe, excellent for ſhape and ſwiftneſſe: ſo that the like were not to be found, that were comparable with them for beautie and pace. And that which

Salomons ſhips ſpent three years in their iourney.

Many kings preſent Salomon with ſundry preſents.

The horſes & other gifts preſented to Salomon.

gaue

The yeare of the world, 2953. before Christs birth. 1011.

gaue them the greater grace was, that they had squires to backe them, who were in their pride of youth, of goodly personage to behold, and surpassing all other in height, hauing long locks which they daily intermixed with wires of gold, that when as the sunne did reuerberate his beams vpon their heads, they should be more glorious and bright. The King mounted on his chariot, and apparelled in a white raiment, was accustomed to ride abroad about the sunne-rise, inuironed with these yong armed men, hauing bowes and quiuers. G

Ittan.

There was a certaine place called Ittan, some eight leagues distant off of Ierusalem, delightfull and enriched with gardens and pleasant fountaines of water, whither he vsually and willingly retired himselfe for his pleasure, vsing in all things a most admirable prouidence and promptitude, and taking pleasure in those things that were well contriued. Hee forgot not likewise to make causeys, but caused the hie wayes that led to Ierusalem (where he made his abode) to be paued with blacke stone, both to the intent to make them more accessible for those that trauailed to and fro, as to shew the magnificence and riches of his gouernment. He then diuided his Chariots, and placed them in such sort, that in euery Citie there was a prefixed number, and some few he kept about himselfe, and those Cities he called the Cities of Chariots: he stored Ierusalem also with abundance of siluer, so that it was as plentifull as stones; and with Cedar wood (whereof before that time there was no quantity) hee stored the countrey, that it was as plentifull to bee had as wilde fig-trees. Hee commanded the Merchants of Ægypt also, to buy him certaine chariots drawne by two horses, for the price of sixe hundreth dragmes of siluer, which hee sent vnto the Kings of Syria, and to those on the other side of Euphrates. H

The wayes about Ierusalem paued with flint.

The Cities of Chariots.

The abundance of siluer in Salomons time.

Ægyptian horses.

Now although he were the most magnificent and intirely beloued of God, surpassing both in prudence and riches all those that before him had the gouernment ouer the Hebrewes; yet continued he not in this estate vntill the end. For, forsaking the obseruation of the ordinances of his fathers, his latter yeeres were not correspondent to his former conuersation, which heretofore we haue declared: for he grew altogither dissolute and immoderately giuen ouer to women, and was not content onely with those of his owne country, but tooke also strange women for his wiues, as Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, and Idumæans, whereby hee transgressed the lawes of marriage instituted by *Moses*, who inhibited to marrie with those of forraine nations. Afterwards he began to honour their gods also, to gratifie and expresse the loue which he bare vnto them: which thing the law-maker foreseeing, hee had forbidden the Israelites to marrie with those that were not of their owne nation, for feare least conforming themselues vnto forraine fashions, they should fall and transgresse the ordinances of their forefathers: and vndertake to honour those gods, and forsake and forget the honour due vnto the true God. But *Salomon* transported with these brutish pleasures, made no account of these things, but tooke him wiues of the daughters of Princes and Nobles, to the number of 700. and three hundreth concubines, besides the daughter of *Pharao* king of Egypt: by which meanes he was excessiuely ouercome by them, insomuch as he followed their examples, and was forced to giue a testimony of the good-will and extreame affection that he bare them, in ordring his life according to the fashion of their countries. As therefore hee increased in yeeres, and his iudgement grew weake, hee was in such sort misled, that hee could not retaine in memorie the customes of his countrey, but grew more and more in neglect of God, and continued the worship of those gods which were introduced by his wiues. Before all this he chanced to sinne and default in the obseruation of the law, at such time as hee made the similitudes of beasts of brasse to vnderprop the vessell called the great sea, and those of Lyons, which he caused to bee set vnto his throne: For that action of his ill beseemed him, who had a most excellent and domesticall example of vertue in the person of his father, besides the glory that he had left him, by being a faithfull seruant of God; whence it came to passe, that by neglecting to follow his steppes (notwithstanding that God had exhorted him thereunto by appearing vnto him at two seuerall times) he died most ignominiously. There came therefore vnto him a Prophet sent from God, telling him that his sinnes were manifest and notorious in Gods sight, threatning him that ere long hee should repent the wickednesse hee had committed. Yet notwithstanding the realme should not bee taken from him during his life, because God had promised *Dauid* that he should be his successour in the same: but after his decease his sonne should beare the penaltie of the same; not so as all the people should reuolt, but that he would giue ten tribes vnto his seruant, and leaue two vnto the grand-childe of *Dauid*, because hee had loued God, and by reason of the Citie of Ierusalem where it pleased him to make his habitation. I K L M

2. Reg. 11. Salomon marying strange women is seduced by the.

The yeere of the world, 2964. before Christs Natiuitie, 1000.

The punishment inflicted on Salomon for honoring strange gods.

When *Salomon* heard these things, hee sorrowed, and was sore troubled in that all his felicitie (for

A (for which he to-fore-time was admired) began to decline. Neither paſſed there long time after this denunciation of the Prophet, but that (God ſo pleaſing) there roſe vp an enemy againſt him, who was called *Ader*, by nation an Idumæan, and of the princely ſtocke, who vpon this occaſion grounded his rebellion and inſurrection. For, at ſuch time as *Ioab* Generall of *Dauids* army, had conquered Idumæa, and in the ſpace of ſixe moneths defeated all the youth, and thoſe that were capable to beare armes, he fled vnto *Pharao* king of Egypt: who entertained him very curteouſly, and gaue him an houſe, and lands for his maintenance, and loued him deerely when hee came to mans eſtate: ſo that he married him with *Taphines* his wiues ſiſter, on whom he begat a ſonne, who was brought vp with the Kings children: who hauing intelligence in Egypt of *Dauid* and *Ioabs* death, addreſſed himſelfe vnto *Pharao*, and beſought him to giue him leaue to repaire into his owne countrey.

The yeare of the world, 1954. before Chriſts birth, 1000.

Ader, enemy to Salomon.

Ader fled into Egypt.

Ader beſeecheth Pharao to diſmiſſe him that hee might returne into his countrey.

B The King asked him what he wanted; or what the cauſe was that mooued him to be ſo haſty to forſake him? Notwithſtanding therefore that he importuned and requeſted him diuers times, yet preuailed he nothing with him for that time. But when *Salomons* fortunes began to decline (by reaſon of his iniquities aboue mentioned, and the wrath of God prouoked againſt him) *Ader* by Gods permiſſion came into Idumæa, after he was licenced by *Pharao* to depart. But being vnable to mooue the people to reuolt from *Salomon*, by reaſon of the ſtrong garriſons he held; and knowing that without hazzard of his owne perſon, he could mooue no alterations or innouation in that place, he departed from thence, and went into Syria: where confederating himſelfe with a certaine man called *Raas* (who was fled from his Maſter *Adarezer*, King of Sophone, and liued like an outlaw in that Region) he contracted friendſhip with him, and a great ſort of outlawes, and

Ader returneth into Idumæa, & from thence departeth into Syria

Raas and Ader enemies to Salomon.

C theeues that were his followers, and went into Syria, and taking ſeazure of that countrey, proclaimed himſelfe King thereof. From whence making excurſions into the lands of the Iſraelites, hee ſpoiled and pillaged the ſame, during *Salomons* life time. Thus were the Hebrewes enforced to ſuſtaine theſe outrages at *Aders* hands.

Moreouer, a certaine man called *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, by nation a Iew, rebelled againſt *Salomon*, and raiſed his hopes aboue his eſtate, perſwaded thereunto by a prophecie that concerned him, and incited him vnto the action. For beeing left very yong by his father, and carefully inſtructed by his mother, as ſoone as *Salomon* perceiued him to be of a noble and couragious ſpirit, he made him Commiſſarie ouer the building of the walls, at ſuch time as he immured and fortified Ieruſalem. In this office he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that the king thought very well there-

Ieroboam rebellethagainſt Salomon.

D of, and in way of recompence, gaue him the eſtate of Generall ouer the tribe of *Ioſeph*. Towards which, whilſt he trauailed from Ieruſalem, a certaine Prophet met him vpon the way (who was of the citie of Silo, called *Achias*) who approching neere vnto him, and ſaluting him, drew him out of the way into a place, where none but themſelues were preſent, and there renting the garment which hee wore vpon his backe into twelue pieces, hee commanded *Ieroboam* to take tenne, telling him that God had ſo decreed, and how hee would rent the gouernment from *Salomon*, and reſerue onely one tribe vnto his ſonne, with that other which was annexed vnto it, by reaſon of the promiſe made to *Dauid*; and to thee (ſaid hee) hee giueth the other tenne, becauſe *Salomon* hath offended GOD, and addicted himſelfe to the loue of ſtrange women, and the ſeruice of forraine gods.

Achias the Prophet foretelleth that he ſhould beking ouer the ten tribes.

E Now ſith thou knoweſt the cauſe wherefore God hath alienated the kingdome from *Salomon*, be thou iuſt, and obſerue thou the lawes: for if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe in ſuch ſort as thou knoweſt *Dauid* did, a great reward of thy piety, and recompence of thy obſeruance attendeth thee: ſo that thou ſhalt become as mighty as *Dauid* hath beene before thee. *Ieroboam* confirmed in great hopes by theſe words of the Prophet, beeing by nature haughty, in yeeres yong, and beſides that, deſirous of authority: he tooke no reſt, but being poſſeſſed of the place of Generall, and remembring himſelfe of that which had beene told him by *Achias*, he preſently began to perſwade the people to reuolt from *Salomon*, and to chuſe him for their King. *Salomon*, hearing newes of this his deliberation and enterpriſe, ſought the meanes to lay hands on him, and to put him to death: but *Ieroboam* preuenting him, fled vnto *Suſac* king of Egypt, with whom hee remained vntill the

Ieroboam flieth into Egypt and remaineth there vntill Salomons death.

F death of *Salomon*. And thus for that time eſcaped he puniſhment: and thus was hee reſerued to the fortune of a kingdome.

CHAP. III.

After the death of SALOMON *the people reuolt from* ROBOAM *his ſonne, and proclaime* HIEROBOAM *king of the tenne tribes.*

The yeare of the world, 2974. before Chriſts birth. 1000.

The death of Salomon. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. al. 4. 3 *Reg.* 12.

BVT when *Salomon* was very old, he died, after he had raigned foureſcore yeeres, and liued ninetie foure, and was buried in Ieruſalem; of all Kings the moſt happy, rich, and prudent (except that ſinne whereunto hee was drawne by women in his old age) of whom and thoſe calamities that preſently after befell the Hebrewes, wee haue ſufficiently ſpoken. After the death of *Salomon*, as ſoone as his ſon *Roboam* (whom hee begat vpon an Ammonitiſh woman called *Nooma*) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, the Gouernours of the people ſent certaine meſſengers, into Ægypt to recall *Ieroboam*: who arriuing in the Citie of *Sichem*, *Roboam* came thither alſo, reſoluing himſelfe in that aſſembly of the Iſraelites, to take the kingdome vpon him by the peoples conſent. To him therefore the Princes of the people reſorted with *Ieroboam*, beſeeching him that he would remit ſomewhat of their ſeruitude, and ſhew himſelfe more mercifull then his father had beene: for that vnder his gouernment they had beene ſorely oppreſſed, aſſuring him that by that meanes his kingdome ſhould be the more aſſured, if ſo be hee had rather be beloued then feared. Hee ſome three dayes after promiſed them to returne an anſwer to their demands, and by that meanes drew them into ſuſpicion, that vpon the motion hee miſliked of the offers they had propoſed: for they thought it became his yeeres to be affable and ready to deſerue wel, yet remained there ſome hope in them, that they had not preſently ſuffered the repulſe. Meane while, hee calling about him his fathers friends, conſulted vpon the matter, what anſwer, hee ſhould giue the people: Who for that they wiſhed his welfare, and knew the nature of the people very well, perſwaded him to ſpeake familiarly vnto the people, and remitting a little of his kingly auſterity, to apply himſelfe to the fauour and good liking of the multitude: for that by this his affability he might the more eaſily draw their hearts vnto him, becauſe that by a naturall inclination, ſubiects take delight in thoſe kings that are curteous, who with a certaine decent familiaritie, entertaine themſelues amongſt them. But *Roboam* reiected this counſel of theirs (which was both good & profitable in all occaſions, but eſpecially at ſuch time, when it is vpon the point to be inſeated in a kingdome) and that not without Gods prouidence, ſince contrary to all reaſon he neglected the right courſe, and followed the peruerſe: ſo that calling vnto him certaine young men of his owne humour and diſpoſition, he certified them what the Elders had counſailed him, and willed them to diſcouer their opinion in that matter: but neither their age, nor Gods permiſſion ſuffered them to knowe that which was expedient. For which cauſe they counſailed him to anſwer the people, that his little finger was more great then the loynes of his father, and that if they had experimented and indured grieuances vnder him, that he would be farre more rigorous, and if that his father had chaſtiſed them with the ſtroke of the whip, that they ſhould expect to be puniſhed by him with rude torments. The king delighted herewith, ſuppoſed the anſwer to be anſwerable to the dignity of his Empire. When as therefore the people were aſſembled on the third day to heare his reſolution, and all of them were in ſuſpence, expecting and deſirous to heare him ſpeak, from whom they hoped nought elſe but ſweetnes: *Roboam* contemning the counſell of his friends, propoſed vnto himſelfe that of the young men. All which hapned by the will of God, to the end that that which *Achias* had prophecied might be fulfilled.

The people require Roboam to mittigate their burthen.

The wholſom aduiſe of the Elders

The yeare of the world, 2971. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 993.

Roboam reiecteth the aduiſe of the Elders, and followeth the counſaile of the yonger.

The Iſraelites mooued with their repulſe, reuolt from Roboam.

They touched by theſe his anſwers, no leſſe then if they had bin wounded with the ſword, conceiued a moſt harty griefe, and were diſpleaſed with him, and no leſſe moued, then if they had already felt the miſchiefe that was threatned: ſo that they beganne all of them to cry with a loud voice, that from that time forward, they had nothing to do with *Dauids* alliance, neither with his ſucceſſion, telling him that they would onely leaue the temple his father had builded, vnto his charge, & threatning him to abandon him. Furthermore, they were ſo hainouſly and grieuouſly incenſed, (that *Roboam* hauing ſent vnto them *Adoram* the Superintendent of the tribes to pacifie their wrath, and to perſwade them to pardon his youth, if hee had ſpoken any thing lightly, and vnreſpectiuely vnto them) they could not endure to heare him ſpeake, but ſlew and welnigh ouerwhelmed him with ſtones. Which when *Roboam* perceiued (ſuppoſing that it was himſelfe, who in the perſon of his officer was put to death, & ſtoned by the people) he feared leaſt in effect his life, and the fortune of his kingdome ſhould fall into the like diſaſter. For which cauſe he ſuddainly aſcended his chariot & fled to Ieruſalem, where the tribe of *Iuda*, and that of *Beniamin* (by their

A their common ſuffrages) made him king. But as touching the reſt of the people, from that day forward they reuolted from the ſucceſſors of *Dauid*, and proclaimed *Ieroboam* king of their eſtates. *Roboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* being ſore diſpleaſed herewith, aſſembled the two tribes of his obeiſance, with an intent to muſter one hundreth and foureſcore thouſand choſen men, to make warre on *Ieroboam* and his people, and to enforce them by warre to acknowledge him for their Soueraigne. But God reſtrained him by the meanes of a Prophet, who forbad him to make warre; ſaying, that it was ill befitting that warre ſhould be waged betwixt two parties of one nation, and the rather for that this their reuolt had hapned by the will of God: by which meanes and perſwaſion he diſmiſſed his army. But firſt of all I will rehearſe that which *Ieroboam* king of Iſrael did, and afterwards ſubſequently I will declare the acts of *Roboam* King of the two Tribes, and thus ſhall the courſe of the hiſtorie continue in due order euery waies.

The yeare of the world, 2971. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 993.

Roboam intending to make warre on thoſe tribes that reuolted is inhibited.

B After that *Ieroboam* had planted his royall court in the citie of Sichem, he made his ordinarie aboad in that place, except that ſometimes he ſoiourned in the Citie of Phanuel. Not long after this, the feaſt of Tabernacles being at hand, *Ieroboam* (ſuppoſing that if he permitted the people to goe vp and worſhip God in Ieruſalem, and ſolemnize the feaſt in that place, they might either repent themſelues of the reuolt, or being retained and withdrawne by the temple and ſeruice that was celebrated therein, they might be perſwaded to forſake him, and ſubmit themſelues to their firſt King; and by that meanes he might be drawne into danger of his life) practiſed and plotted this inuention. He cauſed two golden calues to be caſt, and builded two ſeuerall temples, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan (which is ſituate neere vnto the ſource of little Iordan.) In each of the chappels of theſe two townes, he placed one of theſe calues, and afterwards aſſembling

The court and palace of Ieroboam.

Why Ieroboams calues were made.

C the ten tribes that were vnder his ſubiection, he ſpake vnto them in manner following: My friends and countrey-men, I know that you are not ignorant how God is in all places, and that there cannot be any place wherein he aſſiſteth not, nor time wherein he heareth and beholdeth them not, that ſerue him with true affection: For which cauſe I thinke it not conuenient, that you goe vp vnto Ieruſalem at that time, which is a Citie enemie vnto vs; neither that you make ſo long a iourney in way of deuotion: for it was a man that builded that temple, euen as I haue conſecrated two golden calues, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that euery one of you that inhabite neere vnto thoſe Cities, tranſporting your ſelues to the ſame, may adore God. Neither ſhall you want Prieſts and Leuites: for I will elect ſome ſuch among you, to the intent you haue no more neede of the tribe of Leui, or the ſonnes of *Aaron*. Whoſoeuer therefore

Ieroboam perſwadeth the people to Idolatrie.

D amongſt you would be a Prieſt, let him offer calues and muttons vnto God: which as it is reported *Aaron* the firſt Prieſt did. By ſuch like ſpeeches ſeduced he the people, and cauſed them to fall from their forefathers religion, and tranſgreſſe the ordinances of their countrey, and this was the beginning of all thoſe miſchiefes that afterwards fell vpon the Hebrewes: by which meanes being ouercome in warre, they fell into captiuitie and ſubiection of ſtrangers (whereof we will intreat further in place conuenient. Now when the feaſt of Tabernacles (which hapned in the ſeauenth moneth) was at hand; he himſelfe intended to celebrate in Bethel after the ſame manner, as the two other tribes had feaſted in Ieruſalem, and erected an altar before the calfe, and was himſelfe the high Prieſt, aſcending vp to the altar being aſſiſted by the Prieſts.

The neglect of Gods ſeruice is the cauſe of all euill.

Now at ſuch time as he was about to ſacrifice, and to offer vp burnt offerings in the ſight of the

E people, there came a Prophet and ſtood by him called *Iadon* (ſent from Ieruſalem by the commandement of God, who ſtanding vp in the midſt of the people, and in the hearing of the king, turned himſelfe towards the altar, and ſpake after this maner: Thou Altar, Thou Altar (thus ſaith the Lord) there ſhall a man riſe of the tribe of *Dauid* called *Ioſias*, he ſhall kill vpon thee the falſe prophets of his time, and ſhall burne the bones of the deceiuers and ſeducers vpon thee: And to the intent that each man may beleeue that this prophecie is true, it ſhall be confirmed by a prodigie. This Altar ſhall ſodainly breake, and the fat of the ſacrifices that are laid thereon, ſhall be powred on the ground. *Ieroboam* diſpleaſed with theſe words of the Prophet, ſtretched out his hand, commanding them to lay hold on him. But the hand that he ſtretched out, became in-

3 Reg. 13. The prophecy againſt the Altar in Bethel.

The prophecy is confirmed by a miracle.

F ſtantly withered, ſo that he could no more draw it backe againe to himſelfe, but held it hanging down aſtoniſhed and mortified. On the other ſide, the altar cleft in twaine, and all that was thereon fell downe, according as the Prophet had foretold.) The king perceiuing that the man had a true and diuine ſpirit of Prophecie, beſought him to pray vnto God, that his hand might be reſtored him againe in his full ſtrength and vigor: which he performed: ſo that his hand recouered againe his naturall abilitie; wherewith *Ieroboam* was very much contented, and inuited the Prophet to dine with him. But *Iadon* anſwered him and ſaid, that he neither might enter into his

Ieroboams withered hand reſtored.

The yeare of the world, 2971. before the Nativitie of Christ. 993.

house, nor taste any bread or water within the Citie, becauſe God had prohibited him: further- G
more he told him that it was not lawfull for him to returne the ſame way that he came. But the King admiring at the continencie of the man, began the more ſeriouſly to ſuſpect his eſtate, and (coniecturing by thoſe things which hee had both ſeene and heard) hee diuined the aſſured diſaſter of his eſtate and fortunes. There dwelt in that Citie a certaine falſe Prophet, whom *Ieroboam* held in great honour (in that hee ſoothed him vp in whatſoeuer was beſt pleaſing to his eares.) This man at that time lay ſicke vpon his bedde, beeing faint through age; and when hee was enformed by his ſonne that there was a Prophet come from Ieruſalem, and what wonders hee had wrought, and how *Ieroboam* by his prayers recouered againe his withered hand; hee fearing leaſt the King ſhould make more account of this ſtranger, then of himſelfe, commanded his ſonnes preſently to ſaddle his Aſſe, and to haue him in a readineſſe againſt his departure. Which when they had haſtily performed, hee mounted thereon, and went after the H
Prophet, whom hee ouertooke, where hee reſted himſelfe vnder a thicke ſhadowie Oake; and vpon the firſt encountry, ſaluted him, and afterwards expoſtulated with him, for that hee had not viſited him, neither accepted of that hoſpitalitie which hee willingly would haue affoorded him. *Iadon* anſwered him, that God had interdicted and charged him not to taſte any kinde of ſuſtenance in any mans houſe, that dwelt within that citie. Truely, ſaid the other, with me thou mightſt eate, for I alſo am a Prophet, and honour the ſame God that thou doeſt: and now alſo come I vnto thee by his commandement, to conduct thee backe againe into my houſe, and to entertaine thee with a friendly dinner. Theſe words of the falſe Prophet made *Iadon* credulous, ſo that he turned backe againe with him. But as they ſate at their banquet and were making merry together, God appeared vnto *Iadon* and ſaid vnto him; that ſince he had broken his commandement, I
hee ſhould ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame: and withall expreſſed vnto him the manner: which was, that in his returne homewards, he ſhould be torne in pieces by a Lyon; and that he ſhould not be buried in the monument of his fathers. This thing hapned in my opinion by the will of God, to the intent that *Ieroboam* ſhould not reſpect *Iadons* words, who had beene found a liar. As therefore *Iadon* returned backe to Ieruſalem, a Lyon met him on the way, and tore him in pieces from his Aſſe and ſlew him, yet offered he no violence to the Aſſe that bare him, which he preſerued with the body of the Prophet, ſtanding faſt by the ſame, vntill ſuch time as certaine paſſengers beholding the ſpectacle, brought newes thereof into the towne vnto the falſe Prophet, who ſent his ſonnes to bring backe the body: which by their aſſiſtance hee honourably buried, charging them that after his death they ſhould burie his body by him, aſſuring them that all that which he had prophecied againſt that Citie, againſt the altar, the Prieſts, and falſe prophets, was K
very true. And as touching himſelfe, he commanded that after his deceaſe they ſhould bury him by him, becauſe that beeing buried with him, there might no difference bee made betwixt their bones, and his tombe might be more honoured. When as therefore he had interred the Prophet and giuen his ſonne theſe things in charge (beeing other waies a moſt wicked and impious man) he addreſſed himſelfe vnto *Ieroboam*, and ſaid vnto him: Why art thou troubled at the words of this mad man? The King told him all that which had hapned about the Altar, and his hand, and
" aſſured him that he accounted him a true and diuine Prophet, and one ſent by God. But the falſe
" prophet began moſt maliciouſly to ouerthrow his opinion, and diſguiſe the truth of that which
" hapned, by his perſwaſiue words. For hee inforced himſelfe to inferre, that his hand was aſtoniſhed through the trauell he had taken in bearing the ſacrifices, and that after he had a little reſted, L
" that it came into his owne naturall eſtate againe: and that the Altar being freſhly built, and diuers
" great ſacrifices loaded thereupon, it cleft in twaine, and fell downe through the waightineſſe of
" the charge. Conſequently he declared vnto him the death of him, that had foretold theſe ſignes
" that were to come, and how he had beene ſlaine by a Lyon: For which cauſe he perſwaded him
" to thinke that he in no ſort was a Prophet, neither any waies partaking with the truth of prophecie. By ſuch like allegations he made the King beleeue that which hee ſaid; and hauing wholly diſtracted his thoughts from God and good workes, and obſeruation of Gods lawes, he drew him to all wickedneſſe and impietie: by which act of his he outraged God, and offended his lawes, and ſought daily after no other thing, then to inuent ſome new and curſed wickedneſſe, that was farre M
more hainous then all that which before time he had attempted. This is all that at this time wee haue to write, as concerning *Ieroboam*.

As touching *Roboam Salomons* ſonne (who was King of the two Tribes, as wee haue before this declared) hee builded theſe great and ſtrong Cities, Bethleem, Itama, Thecos, Bethſur, Socoth, Odolam, Epan, Mareſa, Zipha, Adoraim, Lachis, Zipha, Saraim, Elon, and Hebron, which

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

The Prophet is brought backe by the ſubtiltie and fraud of the falſe Prophet.

The diſobedience of the Prophet, his puniſhment and buriall.

Iadons prophecy is detracted to Ieroboam by the falſe Prophet.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 10 Roboams defenced cities. 2. *Paral.* 11.

A which being within the confines of Iuda, he builded firſt. He builded alſo other great Cities in the countrey of the Beniamites, which he walled, and placed garriſons and gouernours in euery one of them, and great ſtore of corne, wine and oyle: and generally in euery Citie he made a great ſtore-houſe with all ſorts of prouiſion, and victuals, with an infinite number of targets and launces. To him the Prieſts and Leuites annexed themſelues, who were diſperſed thorow Iſrael, who came and dwelt in Ieruſalem. For they tooke no pleaſure to adore by compulſion thoſe calues that *Ioroboam* had erected; and during the terme of three yeeres, they increaſed the kingdome of *Roboam*: who being married to one of his owne line had three children, and was afterwards married alſo with *Maacha* the daughter of *Thamar* daughter to *Abſalon*, who was of his parentage likewiſe, of whom he begat his ſonne called *Abiah*. He had alſo diuers other children

B by other women; but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Maacha* moſt entirely. He had eighteene legitimate wiues, married vnto him according to the law, and thirtie concubines: he had eight and twentie ſonnes and threeſcore daughters, and declared for his ſucceſſour in the kingdome *Abiah* the ſonne of *Maacha*, and committed all his treaſures and ſtrong forts vnto his hands. But mortall men moſt vſually are corrupted by the vntoward flatteries of wauering fortune, as appeareth by this King. For *Roboam* ſeeing his kingdome thus increaſed, he bent himſelfe to all vniuſt and impious actions, and contemned the ſeruice of God: the people alſo conformed themſelues to his impieties. For the life of the ſubiect is oftentimes peruerted, by reaſon of the corrupt and diſſolute life of their princes; and thoſe that are inferiours, beholding the ryot of their ſuperiours, will eaſily be withdrawne from all modeſtie, and follow thoſe vices they profeſſe, as if they had b'n

C their profeſſed vertues: for ſhould they do the contrary, they ſhould ſeeme to diſanull and miſlike the actions of their Princes: As it hapned vnder the gouernment of *Roboam*, wherein the ſubiects addicted themſelues to impietie, and all errors: for they would not make profeſſion of honeſtie, for feare leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſtudie the meanes to be offenſiue vnto the king.

The yeere of the world, 2971. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 993.

The godly Iſraelites returne to Roboam.

Roboams wiues and children.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

CHAP. IIII.

SVSAC *king of Aegypt after the ſpoile of Ieruſalem, tranſporteth the riches of that Citie into Aegypt.*

D BVT God ſent *Suſac* king of Ægypt to take vengeance for that exceſſe, which was committed againſt his maieſtie by *Roboam* (whoſe actions *Herodotus* wrongfully aſcribeth to *Seſoſtris*.) For this *Suſac* in the fift yeere of *Roboams* raigne, aſſembled a huge army of diuers thouſands of men, and brought them out againſt *Roboam*: wherein it is reported that he had twelue hundreth chariots, threeſcore thouſand horſemen, and foure hundreth thouſand footmen. The greater part of theſe were Libyans, and Æthiopians: breaking therefore into the Hebrewes countrey with this power, without ſtroke-ſtriking he ſeized the ſtrongeſt places of the kingdome of *Roboam*, and fortified them, and at laſt came and incamped before Ieruſalem. But *Roboam* and his aſſociates, ſeeing themſelues begirt with a ſtrong ſiege on euery ſide by *Suſacs* army; at laſt had his recourſe vnto prayers: yet could he not mooue God to encline and fauor

E him with the victorie. For the prophet *Samæas* threatned and told him, that God would abandon both him and his, in like ſort, as they had forſaken him and his ſeruice. Which when they heard, they ſodainly loſt their hearts, and ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, they all of them began to confeſſe that God had iuſtly forſaken them, becauſe they had ſhewed their impietie againſt him, and had peruerted all his lawes. But God ſeeing them thus diſpoſed, and making confeſſion of their ſinnes, ſaid vnto the Prophet, that he would not vtterly deſtroy them: yet notwithſtanding that he would deliuer them into the hands of the Ægyptians, to the end that they might learne whether it were more difficult to ſerue God, or men. When as therefore king *Suſac* had without bloodſhed or reſiſt taken and ſurpriſed the City, and was receiued into the ſame by diſcomforted *Roboam*; he kept not thoſe conuentions that were made betwixt them, but ſpoiled the Temple,

F and tooke away with him thoſe treaſures that were dedicated vnto God, and the ſeruice of the King, rauiſhing from thence innumerable thouſands of gold and ſiluer, not leauing any thing behind him. He carried away alſo thoſe Target and bucklers of gold, which were made by king *Salomon*: neither left he behind him the quiuer of gold, which was offered by *Dauid*, and receiued by him of the king of Sopheni: Which done, he retired back againe into his own countrey. Of this expedition *Herodotus* of Halicarnaſſus maketh mention (who differeth only in the name of the king) and ſaith that he aſſailed diuers nations, and ſubdued Paleſtina and Syria, and

Alias, chap. 5. Suſac inuadeth Iudea with great forces.

Ieruſalem beſieged Samæas the Prophet reprehendeth the Iewes of their impiety. 2. Paral. 7. Samæas comforteth the people.

Ieruſalem and the temple are ſpoyled. 3. Reg 14.

What Herodotus wrote of this expedition.

The yeere of the world, 2975. before Christs Nativity. 989.

tooke many men prisoners without any resist: whereby it is manifest that he meaneth no lesse then that our nation hath beene ouercome by the Ægyptian. For he saith that in their gates who yeelded themselues vp vnto him without inforcement, he erected pillars which were figured with the secret parts of a woman. But our king *Roboam* yeelded vp the Citie into his hands without contradiction. It is said that the Æthiopians haue learnt of the Ægyptians the vse of circumcision of the prepuce. For the Phenicians and Syrians that are in Palestine, confesse that they haue learnt it of the Ægyptians. But it is a matter very manifest, that no other are circumcised in Palestine of Syria, but our selues. But let each one speake of these things, according as him list. G

Roboam for the golden shields and bucklers, maketh new of brasse

Roboam dyeth and Abias raigneth after him.

After the retreat of *Sisac*, king *Roboam* made shields and bucklers of brasse, in stead of those of gold, and gaue the like number vnto his guard: and in stead of liuing in a braue army, in a royall and princely estate, he raigned after a seruile and fearefull manner, being all his life time enemy to *Ieroboam*. He died after he had liued fiftie seauen yeeres, whereof he raigned seuenteene. He was a haughtie and vndiscreet man, who lost his estate, because he would not giue credite to his fathers friends. He was buried in Ierusalem in the sepulcher of the kings, and his sonne *Abias* succeeded him in his raigne, at such time as *Ieroboam* had already raigned eighteene yeeres ouer the tenne tribes. H

The yeere of the world, 2988. before Christs Nativitie, 976.

Hedio & Ruffinus ch. 11. 3. *Reg.* 14.

Thus were these things terminated. It behoueth now at this present to declare that which *Ieroboam* did afterwards, and how he died. He, obseruing no meane or end of his impietie, imployed himselfe continually in making of Altars and high places, and presumed to ordaine common sacrificers. But God with-held not long time to heape the punishment of those his impieties on the head of him, and of all his posteritie. Whereas therefore his sonne *Obimes* was sicke about that time, he commanded his wife to lay aside her royall garment, and to apparell her selfe like a common woman, and afterwards to goe to *Achias* the Prophet, assuring her that he was admirable for his knowledge in foretelling things to come, and had foretold him that he should be king: for which cause he willed her to repaire vnto him after the manner of a stranger, and enquire of him if her sonne should escape that sickenesse. Whereupon shee disguised her selfe according as her husband had commanded her, and came vnto the Citie of Silo where *Achias* dwelt: and as she was vpon entring his house (notwithstanding he had lost his sight thorow age) God appeared vnto him, and certified him in these two points: first that *Ieroboams* wife came vnto him; and next, all that he should answer to her demand. At such time therefore as she entred into his house, after the guise of a common and strange woman, *Achias* cried with a loude voice; Enter thou wife of *Ieroboam*, wherefore hidest thou thy selfe? Thou canst not hide thy selfe from God, who hath certified me of thy comming, and hath informed me what answer I shall giue vnto thee. He therefore said vnto her, that she should returne vnto her husband, and certifie him of Gods answer to this effect: Of little and nothing that thou wert, I haue made thee great; and hauing dismembred the kingdome from *Dauids* posteritie, I haue giuen it vnto thee: but thou hast forgotten the same; and hauing forsaken my seruice, hast molten downe new gods, whom thou honourest: so also will I exterminate thee, and abolish all thy posteritie, and cast them off for a prey vnto dogs, and fowles of the ayre. For I will constitute a king ouer my people that shall leaue no one of *Ieroboams* race aliue. The people also shall haue part of this punishment, and shall be depriued of this their fruitfull countrey, and be scattered among the regions on the other side of Euphrates, because they haue followed the impieties of their king, and adoring those gods that were forged by him, haue giuen ouer my sacrifice. And, as concerning thy selfe (O woman) haste thee, and certifie thy husband of these things. For thou shalt finde thy sonne dead; for no sooner shalt thou enter into the Citie, but he shall finish his daies. He shall be buried with the lamentation of the whole people in generall. For he onely was good of all the race of *Ieroboam*. I K L

Ieroboams sonne falleth sicke, his mother is sent to Achias the Prophet.

The punishment of Ieroboam and the miserie of the people foreprophecied.

When *Achias* had finished his prophecie, the woman started backe, sore troubled and dismaied thorow the danger of her sonne, and went lamenting onward on her way, wounded with the future death of him, and by reason of her so earnest affection, she was afflicted with incredible torments. The haste which she vsed was importunate, because of her sonne whom she should see dead; by so much the sooner she hasted homeward, but it behooued her to vse expedition in the behalfe of her husband. When as therefore she was arriued, she found her sonne expiring, as the Prophet had foretold her, and recited the rest vnto *Ieroboam*. M

CHAP.

A

CHAP. V.

The yeare of the world, 2988. before Christs birth. 976.

IEROBOAMS *expedition against the sonne of* ROBOAM, *the ouerthrow of his armie, and how* BASANES *rooted out the whole posteritie of* IEROBOAM, *and made himselfe king.*

Alias chap. 6. The expedition of Ieroboam against Abias King of Iuda.

BVT *Ieroboam* was nothing mooued therewith, but leuied a great armie, with an intent to make warre against *Abias* the sonne of *Roboam*, who had obtained his fathers kingdome ouer the two tribes. For he despised him because he was yong in yeeres. This notwithstanding, the yong King was no whit dismaid (although hee vnderstood of *Ieroboams* comming)

B but with greater wisedome then was incident to his yeeres, and beyond all expectation of his forward aduersarie, hee leuied an army of two tribes, with which hee encountred *Ieroboam* at the mountaine of Samaria; where incamping his host neere vnto him, hee prouided all things in a readinesse that were requisite for the battell, and had with him foure hundreth thousand fighting men, but *Ieroboam* had twice as many. Now when the armies were arranged, and expected to giue the allarum and charge, *Abias* stood vp in a certaine high place from whence hee might bee seene and heard, and making a signe with his hand, hee required that *Ieroboam* and the people would first of all heare him peaceably: which granted to him, and each one attending in silence, he brake out into these words; There is none of you but knoweth, that God hath promised the kingdome to *Dauid* and his posterity for euer; I therefore greatly admire how you haue reuol-

C ted from my father, to submit your selues to *Ieroboam* his seruant, whom at this present you accompany to warre against those whom God hath ordained to raigne, and to take the kingdome from them, the greater part whereof *Ieroboam* vsurpeth vniustly euen at this day, and which, as I suppose he shall not enioy long time. For he shall be punished by God, and shall cease to contradict his lawes, and to dishonour them as hee doth continually, in perswading you to doe the like. You haue receiued no iniurie at my fathers hands; but by reason that he was misled by the sinister counsailes of certaine wicked persons, and spake vnto you certaine words which in apparance seemed vnfitting in your eares, you haue forsaken him in your displeasure: but in effect, you haue separated your selues from God and his commandements. Truely you should haue pardoned a yong man vntrained and vntaught in Oratorie, not onely for the rude words which hee vsed, but

D although his youth and ignorance should haue mooued him to commit some churlish and indiscreet action and errour, yet should you haue indured the same. For the fathers demerits ought to serue and satisfie the childrens defects. But you haue had no regard of all this, neither then nor at this present, but lead forth a great army against vs. But whereupon ground you the hope of your victory? Is it on your calues of gold? It it on your Altars on the mountaines, which are witnesses of your impietie and irreligion? Is it your great number that surpasseth ours by far, that maketh you confident? Truely the force of many thousands is of no value, whereas the army fighteth in an vniust quarrell. For in onely iustice and pietie towards God, consisteth the most assured hope of obtaining victory ouer a mans enemies: which must needes bee on our side, who obserue at all times the ordinances and seruices of our God, whom mens hands haue not fashio-

E ned of corruptible matter, nor the subtiltie of a cunning King could not forge to deceiue a communaltie, but such a one, whose worke is the beginning and ending of all things. I therefore aduise you, that presently you repent your selues, and that taking a better way you desist from your warre, and acknowledge the lawes of your forefathers; finally, those ordinances, which haue aduanced you to so great felicitie.

Abias leuied an armie against Ieroboam.

Abias oration to the Hebrewes, wherein he vpbraideth them of their superstition, and forsaking of their religion.

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Thus spake *Abias* to the people. But whilst he yet continued his discourse, *Ieroboam* sent certaine of his souldiers by by-waies to inclose *Abias* within two streights, before his followers could discouer them. Now when *Abias* was thus inclosed in the midst of his enemies, his armie began to bee discomforted, and to lose their courage: but hee incouraged them, and exhorted them to put their trust in God, who could not be inclosed by his enemies: so that all together hauing cal-

F led vpon God to assist them, and after that the Priests had sounded the trumpet, they thrust in amongst their enemies with a great shout, and God so blinded the vnderstanding, and abated the force of *Ieroboams* souldiers, that they fled, and those on *Abias* side had the vpper hand. Neuer was there war recorded by the historians either amongst the Greekes or Barbarians, that was pursued with so great a slaughter as the army of *Ieroboam*: whereby it appeared that this wonderfull and admirable victory came from God. For they discomfited fiue hundred thousand of their enemies, and tooke their most defenced places by force and spoiled them. Bethel and Ithan also with their

lands

lands and signiories belonging vnto them: so that as long as *Abias* liued, *Ieroboam* was neuer after of force to raise any power since the losse he receiued. *Abias* surviued after this his victory, onely for the space of 3. yeeres; and was buried in Ierusalem, in the Sepulcher of his ancestors, leauing twenty two sons and sixteene daughters behind him, all which he begat on sixteene women. His sonne *Asa* succeeded him in the kingdome, whose mother was called *Maacha*: vnder his gouernment the countrey of Israel enioyed a firme peace for the space of ten yeeres. This is that which we haue obserued of *Abias*, sonne of *Roboam*, the son of *Salomon*: *Iereboam* the king of the tenne Tribes died likewise, after he had raigned twenty two yeeres, and *Nadab* his son succeeded him, at such time as *Asa* had already raigned two yeeres. The sonne of *Ieroboam* gouerned two yeeres, resembling his father in impietie and wickednesse. During these two yeeres, he made war against Gaban, a City of the Philistines, and encamped thereabout to surprise it by force: but being betraied by the trecherie of a certen friend of his called *Baasa*, the son of *Machil*, he died. This *Baasa* taking possession of the kingdome, exterminated all the posterity of *Ieroboam*: and it came to passe that they of *Ieroboams* race that died in the Citie, were torne in pieces, and deuoured by dogges; and they that were in the fields, were made a prey vnto birds, according as Gods prophet had pronounced. By this meanes the house of *Ieroboam* suffered a deserued punishment, for their impietie and wickednesse.

The yeere of the world, 2988 before Christs Nativitie. 976.

The death of Abias.

3. Reg. 15.

Asa king of Iuda.

The yeere of the world, 2991. before Christs Nativitie, 973.

The yeere of the world, 2992. before Christs Nativitie, 972.

The yeere of the world 2993. before Christs Nativity 971.

G

H

CHAP. VI.

The Ethiopians besiege Ierusalem during the raigne of ASA, *and are ouercome.* I

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 12. al 8.

Asas pietie.

BVT *Asa* king of Ierusalem, was a man of vpright and honest life, and such a one as feared God, neither did he, or enterprised he any thing, that had not a naturall relation to pietie, and the prescript of the lawes. He corrected whatsoeuer was vitious and irregular in his kingdome, redressing whatsoeuer was erronious in the same, and purging it from all impietie. He had an army of three hundred thousand men of the tribe of Iuda, armed with bucklers & iauelins, and two hundred and fiftie thousand of the tribe of *Beniamin*, bearing bucklers and bowes. After he had raigned ten yeeres, *Zaræus* king of Ethiopia came out against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsmen with three hundred charriots, and destroied all the land as farre as Maresa, a City of Iuda: in which place *Asa* came and met with him, and opposed army against army in the valley of Saphath, not far from the City. Where seeing the great number of the Ethiopians, he besought God that he would giue him the victory and slaughter of diuers thousands of his enemies: for he said that he came out against *Zaræus*, not assuring himself in any other thing, except onely of Gods assistance, who had the power to make a handfull of men superiours ouer many, and the feeble to ouercome the mightie.

3. Reg. 15. The Ethiopians warre against Asa.

K

Whilst *Asa* praied thus vnto God, a certaine signe of victory was giuen him; so that, reioyced and confirmed in that God had giuen him a token that he would assist him, hee assailed his enemies, and slew a great number of the Ethiopians: as for the rest that were put to flight, he pursued them as farre as the countrey of Gerar; and after they had conquered their enemies, they sacked the city of Gerar, and brought from thence a great masse of gold, and a huge quantity of booty, with Camels, Dromodaries, and herds of diuers kinds of cattell.

2. Paral. 14.

The yeare of the world 3000. before Christs Nativity 964.

Asas victory.

L

When *Asa* and his had thus by this means obtained at Gods hands such a victory, and so great riches, they returned back againe to Ierusalem: and when they drew neere vnto the city, the prophet *Azarias* came out to meet them, who staied them, and beganne after this manner to speake vnto them: That sith they had obtained from God so notable a victory, they ought to behaue themselues like vertuous men, and such as feared God, conforming themselues vnto his will in all things; protesting that if they persisted in the same, God would giue them the continuall victory ouer their enemies; and besides that, happy life: but if they forsooke the seruice of God, that all things should fal out contrary vnto them. That the time should come, when neither true prophet or priest should be found amongst them, that should instruct them in righteousnesse, when their Cities should be ouerthrowne, and their nation should bee scattered ouer the face of the whole earth, and liue like wanderers and vagabonds. In the meane while therfore, while they had time, he counselled thē to liue vprightly, wishing them that they would not deprive themselues of that fauour which God bare vnto them. When the King and all the people heard these words, they were very ioyfull, and euery one both in generall and particular, were carefull to serue God. The

The exhortation of Azarias the prophet.

2. Paral. 15.

M

King

A King alſo ſent out certaine Deputies ouer the countrey, who were charged to ſee the lawes duly obſerued and executed. In this eſtate were the affaires of *Aſa* king of the two Tribes.

The yeare of the woald 3000. before Chriſts Natiuity. 964.

Now will I returne to *Baſa* king of the multitude of Iſrael, who (hauing ſlaine *Madab* the ſon of *Ieroboam*) vſurped the kingdome. He made his aboad in the city of Therſa, and raigned foure and twenty yeares, ſhewing himſelfe more wicked and impious, then either *Ieroboam* or his ſonne had bin. He plagued the people many waies, and diſhonored God very greatly, who ſent the prophet *Gimon* vnto him, to foretell him that his whole race ſhould periſh, and that his houſe ſhould be perſecuted with as many miſeries as himſelfe had inflicted on *Ieroboams* poſteritie: becauſe that hauing receiued the gouernment from God, he ſhewed himſelfe vngratefull vnto him for his goodneſſe, and gouerned his people impiouſly and vniuſtly: wheras iuſtice and piety are both profitable vnto thoſe that practiſe them, and wel-pleaſing vnto God. Further, in that he had con-

Religion renewed in Iſrael.

Baſaes impietie. *3 Reg. 16.*

B formed himſelfe in life, to the diſſolute courſe that *Ieroboam* vſed, and was wholly contaminated with all his vices, hee might aſſure himſelfe that reſembling him in wickedneſſe, hee ſhould vndoubtedly equall him in puniſhment. When *Baſa* heard all thoſe euils (that ſhould ſhortly fall on him and his poſterity, by reaſon of his wickedneſſe) he redeemed not the time, neither indeauoured himſelfe to gaine the reputation of a reconciled life, or to obtaine pardon at Gods hands, by repenting himſelfe of his forepaſſed ſins: but euen as they that haue a recompence propoſed vnto them to make them more affectionate in exploiting any thing, do diligently indeuour themſelues to performe the ſame: ſo *Baſa*, notwithſtauding the Prophet had fore-told him of that which ſhould happen, perſiſted in his wickedneſſe as if it had beene in vertue, and became worſe and worſe, to the vtter ruine and confuſion both of him and his houſhold: and daily addicted

A prophecy againſt Baſa.

C himſelfe vnto all wickednes, with no leſſe greedines, then if he had enterpriſed to beare away the honor in ſuch a combat. In the end he aſſembled an army, and aſſailed Ramath once more, which was a great City ſome foure leagues diſtant off of Ieruſalem: which he tooke, and determined to leaue a garriſon therein, and fortified the ſame; with a reſolution, from thence to make his roads into *Aſas* kingdome. But *Aſa* fearing the inuaſion of his enemy, and conſidering that the ſouldiers who were left in Ramath, did moſt grieuouſly ſpoile all the dominions that were vnder him, ſent Embaſſadours to the king of Damaſco with gold and ſiluer, to induce him to a ſocietie in warre, and to renue that amity betweene them, which was confirmed betwixt both their fathers. Who willingly receiued thoſe treaſures that were ſent him, and made a league with him, and brake the truce which he had with *Baſa*: ſo that he ſent the gouernors of his dominions againſt thoſe cities

Baſa ſurpriſed Ramath, and fortified it.

The yeare of the world, 3006. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 958.

Aſa inciteth thoſe of Damaſco to inuade Baſa.

D that were vnder *Baſaes* ſubiection, with commandement to deſtroy them.

Of theſe they burned ſome, and ranſackt other ſome, amongſt which were Elon, Dan, and Abellane. Which when the King of Iſrael vnderſtood, he gaue ouer the fortifying of Ramath, and with all expedition turned to yeeld thoſe of his ſubiects his aſſiſtance, who were vtterly diſtracted. But *Aſa* in the meane while builded two ſtrong townes, Gabath and Maſpha, of that ſtuffe which *Baſa* had prepraed to build withall. *Baſa* afterwards (preuented by the common debt of death) had no more opportunity to make warre againſt *Aſa*. He was buried in the Citie of Arſane, and his ſon *Ela* ſucceeded him in his kingdome: who after he had raigned ſome two yeeres, was traiterouſly ſlaine by *Zimri*, a captaine of a halfe regiment of horſmen. For whileſt *Ela* banquetted with *Oſa*, who was the Steward of his houſe, *Zamri* wrought effectually, that hee

The yeere of the world 3016. before Chriſts Natiuitie 948.

Alias, chap. 9

The death of Baſa.

E perſwaded ſome of his horſemen to aſſault *Ela*, who at that time was alone, and deſtitute of men of war and captaines, for that all of them were at the ſiege of Gabathon, a city of the Philiſtines.

CHAP. VII.

BASAES *off-ſpring being extinct amongſt the Iſraelites,* ZAMRI *raigned in Iſrael; and after him* AMRI, *and his ſonne* ACHAB.

The yeere of the world, 3017. before Chriſts Natiuity. 947.

F AFTER that *Ela* was ſlaine, *Zamri* tooke the kingdome vpon him, and wholly rooted out *Baſaes* poſterity (according as the Prophet *Gimon* had foretolde.) For after the ſame maner was his family vtterly ouerthrowne for their impietie, as *Ieroboams* progenie was extinguiſhed for their iniquitie (as wee haue to-fore-time declared.) For the army which beſieged Gabathan, hearing newes of the kings death, and that *Zamri* had murthered him, and ſeiſed the kingdome, they made *Amri* generall of the army, and annointed him for their king: who leuying the ſiege before Gabathan, came before the royall city of Therſa, which hee beſieged and tooke perforce. *Zamri* ſeeing the city deſtitute of defence, had retired himſelfe into the moſt

Baſaes ſtocke deſtroyed.

The yeere of the world, 3017. before Christs Natiuitie, 947.

moſt ſecret and retired place of the palace; where ſetting it on fire, he burned both himſelfe and it, after he had raigned ſeuen daies. Suddainly after this, the Iſraelites fell at controuerſie amongſt themſelues, becauſe that ſome of them ſought to preferre *Thaman* to the kingdome, and others were wholly addicted to *Amri*; but they of *Amries* ſide had the better, and beeing of the better ſort, ſlew *Thaman*, and made *Amri* ſoueraigne ouer the people. The thirteenth yeere of *Aſa*, *Amri* began his raigne, and was king for twelue yeeres ſpace; ſixe yeere gouerned he in Therſa, and ſixe in Mareon (which the Greekes call Samaria) himſelfe impoſed this name of Samaria, calling it by the name of Samar, who had giuen him the land on which he builded this City. He differed in nothing from the other kings his predeceſſors, but in that he was worſer then any of them: for all of them buſied their heads on this thing onely, that by daily impieties they might alien the people from God. For which cauſe God being diſpleaſed, cauſed the one of them to cut off the other; and finally extinguiſhed both the poſterity and name of one another. This *Amri* died in Samaria, and *Achab* his ſonne was his ſucceſſor.

Diuers factions of the people.

Amri king of Iſrael.

The yeere of the world 3021. before Chriſts Natiuity. 943.

Amri dieth, & Achab his ſon ſucceedeth him.

Hereby a man may truely and eaſily perceiue, what care the diuine maieſtie hath of humane affaires, and how he loueth the vertuous, and vtterly rooteth out the vicious. For the kings of Iſrael, through their impietie, in a ſhort and ſucceſſiue courſe the one after the other, were cut off and confounded with al their families. But *Aſa* (king of Ieruſalem and the two Tribes) liuing happily in the fauour of God, for his piety and iuſtice attained to a reuerend and old age: and after he had raigned one and forty yeeres, he died a good death. And after his death, *Ioſaphat* his ſonne (whom he begat on his mother *Abida*) ſucceeded him; who in all things that concerned either piety or fortitude, ſeemed to emulate and equall his grandfather *Dauid*, according as it ſhal be declared hereafter. But *Achab* king of Iſrael made his aboad in Samaria, & gouerned the kingdome for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres, without any alteration of thoſe ordinances which his progenitors kings of Iſrael had eſtabliſhed; but that he exceeded them daily in complotting worſer wickedneſſe. For he imitated all their impieties and wickedneſſe (but eſpecially the Apoſtaſie of *Ieroboam*) for he adored thoſe calues that were erected by him; and beſides that, hee added farre worſe impieties then the former. He tooke to wife *Iezabel* the daughter of *Ithobal* king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, of whom he learned to adore the gods of her nation: for ſhee was a buſie and audacious woman, and of ſuch immeaſurable madneſſe, that ſhee feared not to build a temple in honour of *Bel* the god of the Tyrians, and to plant a wood furniſhed with all kinde of trees, and to ordaine prieſts and falſe prophets alſo in honor of that god. The king alſo tooke delight to haue theſe kinds of men oftentimes about him, exceeding all other kings before him in madnes and malice. To him came a certaine prophet ſent by the Almighty God, that was borne in Thesbon in Galaad, telling him that he foreprophecied, that neither deaw nor rain ſhould fall on the earth a long time, vntill that himſelfe, who was prepared to depart from him, ſhould appeare againe vnto him: and binding the ſame with an oath (for the better confirmation thereof) he retired himſelfe to the Southward, where he liued by a certaine riuer, from whence he fetcht his drinke: for his meat was daily brought him by certaine Crowes.

Alias, chap. 10 Aſa dieth, Ioſaphat ſucceedeth him.

The yeere of the world, 3031. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 933.

Iezabel. 3. *Reg.* 17.

The dearth of victuals propheciced to the Iſraelites

The yeere of the world, 3037. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 927.

Crowes feede Elias.

Now when the riuer thorow want of raine was waxen dry, God commanded him to repaire vnto Sareptha (a City not farre from Sidon and Tyre, and ſituate in the midſt betweene them both) where he ſhould find a widdow-woman, who would furniſh him with food. As ſoone therfore as he drew neere vnto the gate, he ſaw a woman that liued by her labour, gathering of ſticks; and God gaue him to vnderſtand that it was ſhe who ſhould nouriſh him. Whereupon he came vnto her and ſaluted her, praying her that ſhe would bring him ſome water to coole his thirſt; and as ſhe was ready to depart, he called her backe againe, and willed her to bring him ſome bread alſo. Whereupon ſhe ſwore that ſhe had nothing in her houſe, but a handfull of flower and a little oyle, and that ſhe was come forth to gather ſticks, to the end ſhe might bake the ſame, and make bread for her ſelfe and her ſonne, and when they had eaten the ſame, they muſt needly periſh thorow famine, becauſe they had not any thing more left them. Go, ſaid the Prophet, and be of good courage, and conceiue better hopes, and when thou haſt prepared meate for me, bring it me: for I tell thee that thy pitcher of meale ſhall neither faile, nor thy pot of oyle be empty, vntill that God ſend raine vpon the earth. When the Prophet had ſpoken thus, ſhee approched neere vnto him, and performed that which he commanded, and ſhe her ſelfe had ſufficient to feede vpon, and ſhe gaue the reſt vnto her ſonne and to the Prophet: ſo that they wanted nothing ſo long as the drought continued.

The widow of Sareptha entertaining Elias, neither floure nor oile faile.

Menander of the famine during the time of Elias.

Menander maketh mention of this default of raine, in the acts of *Ithobal* king of the Tyrians, ſpeaking after this manner. In this time there was a ſeaſon without raine, from the moneth of October

A October vntill October in the next yeere after, but vpon his ſupplication and requeſt there fell great ſtore of thunder. He builded the citie of Botris in Phenicia and Auzate in Libya. Doubtleſſe he expreſſed hereby the drought that hapned in *Achabs* time: for about that time *Ithobale* raigned ouer the Tyrians, as *Menander* teſtifieth in his hiſtorie. The woman (of whom we haue ſpoken heretofore, that nouriſhed the Prophet) ſeeing her ſonne fallen ſicke, and lying ſenſeleſſe, as if he had bin already dead, or yeelding vp of the ghoſt; wept, and brake out into ſuch paſſionate laments, as were anſwerable to her deſolate eſtate; and ſaid, that the cauſe of her misfortune was, in that the Prophet was come into her houſe, and had diſcouered her ſinnes, and that for the ſame cauſe her ſonne was dead. But he recomforted her, and willed her to be of a good courage, and commanded her to bring the childe vnto him, aſſuring her that he would reſtore him to life. *The yeere of the world, 2038. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 917.*

Now when ſhe had brought him, he tooke the childe and bare him into his lodging where he B remained, and laid him on his bed, and cryed out vnto God, ſaying, that he had but ſlenderly recompenced her that had receiued and nouriſhed him, if ſo be her ſon ſhould be taken from her: he therefore beſought him, that he would returne the ſoule into the body, and reſtore life vnto the infant. Whereupon, GOD hauing compaſſion on the mother, and being willing to gratifie the Prophet, and to the intent that no man might ſuppoſe that he came vnto her to endomage her; he reſtored the childe to life beyond all expectation. For which the mother gaue thankes vnto the Prophet, ſaying, that by this meanes ſhe was thorowly perſwaded, that GOD had ſpoken vnto him. Not long after, he ſought out *Achab*, according as God had commanded him, to let him vnderſtand that he ſhould haue raine. At that time the famine raigned ouer the whole countrey, and there was great want of neceſſary victuals, ſo that men did not onely faint for want C of bread; but the earth alſo for want of raine, could not bring forth that which was requiſite for the ſuſtenance of horſes and other cattell. The king therefore calling *Obediah* vnto him (who was the maſter of his heards) he commanded him that he ſhould each way ſeeke out for fountaines and brookes, willing him that if he found out any graſſe, he ſhould mowe the ſame, and giue it to his cattell for their ſuſtenance. And whereas by his command the Prophet *Elias* was ſought in diuers places, and could not be found: he willed *Obediah* alſo to follow him. So taking both of them ſeuerall waies, the king followed one, and the maſter of the cattell another. Elias reſtoreth the widdowes ſonne to life. 3. *King.* 18. Elias is ſent by God to prophecie raine to Achab. *The yeere of the world, 3040. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 924.*

This *Obediah* was a godly and vertuous man, who when the Prophets were put to death, hid one hundred of them in dens, and ſuſtained them with bread and water. After this man was departed from the king, *Elias* met with him and asked him what he was: which when he had certi- D fied him, he humbled himſelfe on his face before him. *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the king, and to certifie him that he was hard at hand. *Obediah* asked him wherein he had offended him, that he would make him a miniſter and meſſenger vnto him, who had ſought to kill him, and had by-laid the countrey to apprehend him? For there was not any ſtreight, whither he ſent not ſome of his men to finde out *Elias*, with charge, that if they found him, they ſhould put him to death. Now it may ſo be (ſaid he) that whilſt I repaire vnto the king, the Spirit of GOD wherewith thou art fulfilled, will carry thee away, and the king not finding thee heere, and fruſtrate of his deſire, will reuenge himſelfe on my head. Be thou not therfore ſo ſecure by my danger, whereas thou maiſt know how carefull I am of ſuch holy men as thou art, who haue deliuered a hundred Prophets from *Iezabels* furie, and now at this time conceale and ſuſtaine them in ſecret pla- E ces. Notwithſtanding all theſe words, *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the king, and to caſt off all feare, ſwearing vnto him by an oath, how that day he would make himſelfe ſeene and knowne vnto *Achab*. Achab ſeeketh for Elias. Obediah concealeth and ſuſtaineth a hundred prophets.

When *Obediah* had certified the king that *Elias* was at hand, *Achab* went out to meet him, and being fraught with indignation, ſaid vnto him. Is it thou that heapeſt ſo much miſchiefe on the Hebrewes heads? Art thou the man that art the cauſe of this ſterilitie? To whom *Elias* replied without flattering him any waies, that it was he and his race that were the occaſions of theſe miſchiefes, becauſe they had brought ſtrange Gods into their countrey; whom they adored, and had forſaken the true God, who was and is onely to be worſhipped. He therefore willed him preſent- F ly to aſſemble all the people on the mount Carmel, and bring with him his wife & her prophets, whoſe number he reckoned vp: the Prophets likewiſe of the woods, who were in number foure hundred. When as therefore all of them being ſummoned by the king were gathered together in that place: *Elias* ſtood vp in the midſt of them and ſaid; How long will you liue thus, hauing both your ſoules and opinions diſmembred and diuided? For, if you thinke that the Hebrewes God is the true and onely GOD, why follow you him not? and why keepe you not his commandements? But if you thinke that the honour belongeth not to him, but to forraine Achab accuſeth Elias of impietie. Elias reprooueth the ſuperſtition of the people.

gods

The yeare of the world, 3040. before Christs Nativitie. 924.

gods, follow you them. When *Elias* perceiued that the people replied nothing hereunto, hee G prayed them (in confirmation of that infinite and distinct power of God from that of strange gods) that whereas he was but one onely Prophet of the true GOD at that time present, and the other were foure hundred that worshipped the false; that he might take an Oxe and kill the same, and lay it vpon wood, without putting any fire thereto to consume the sacrifice; and that they also might doe the like, and call vpon their gods, and beseech them to send downe fire to consume their sacrifice: which if they should doe and confirme the same by miracle, that then the true nature of their gods should be knowne.

This counsell of his was generally allowed. Whereupon, *Elias* commanded the false Prophets first of all to chuse themselues an Oxe, and to kill the same, and afterwards to call vpon the assistant of their gods: and when it manifestly appeared that their prayer and inuocation was of no force; *Elias* began to mock them, saying, Why call you not out vpon your gods with a loud H voice? for it may be they are on some voyage, or else haply they sleepe. Whilst thus they had inuocated from the morning vntill mid-day (cutting themselues with kniues and launcers, according to the custome of their countrey) *Elias* that was to make his sacrifice, commanded the false Prophets to stand aside, willing the people to draw neere vnto him, and obserue, for feare least secretly he should conuey fire vnder the wood. When the people were approched, he tooke 12. stones, according to the number of the 12. tribes of Israel, and made an Altar, and digged a deepe trench round about the same; and afterwards heaping wood vpon the Altar, and laying his sacrifice thereupon, he commanded them to fill foure tunnes with fountaine water, and to poure it vpon the Altar, in such sort as the trench might receiue and drinke vp the water. Which done, he began to pray and call vpon God, beseeching him that it might please him to manifest his power I vnto his people, who had so long time run astray: no sooner had he finished his prayer, but fire fell from heauen vpon the Altar in the sight of all the people, and consumed all the sacrifice; so that the water was consumed, and the place dried vp. Which when the Israelites beheld they fell downe on their faces vpon the earth, adoring one onely God: confessing him to be the most mighty and only true God, and auowing that all other were but forged names, and fruits of an euill and truthlesse opinion; and laying hands themselues vpon their false Prophets, they slew them by the commandement of *Elias*. He willed the king also to depart, and take his refection, and to take care for nothing, because he should very shortly see that God would send him raine; and thus departed *Achab* from him. But *Elias* ascended the top of the mount Carmel, and sate him downe on the earth, leaning his head vpon his knees: whilest thus he sate, he commanded his seruant also to get vp vpon a certaine rock, and to looke towards the sea, and to tell him if he saw any K cloudes arise in any part (for til that time the ayre had bin alwaies cleere.) His seruant hauing often ascended the rocke, and returned him answer that he saw nothing: at length mounting vp the seauenth time, in descending he returned him this newes; that he saw some blacke appearance in the ayre, not much vnlike to a mans footstep. When *Elias* vnderstood this, he sent vnto *Achab*, wishing him to retire himselfe within the Citie before the raine fell: who had no sooner recouered the citie of Iezrael, but that the ayre was presently clouded and couered with a shower, and a vehement wind intermixed with raine fell vpon the earth, and the Prophet seised by the Spirit of God, ranne with the kings chariot as far as Iezrael a citie of Asser. When *Iezebel*, *Achabs* wife, had notice what wonders *Elias* had performed, and how he had slaine her prophets, she was sore displeased, and sent messengers vnto him, threatning him in like sort to reuenge her selfe on him, L as he had slaine her prophets. Which for that *Elias* feared, he fled into the citie of Bersabe, which is vpon the borders of the tribe of Iuda, bounding vpon Idumæa: in which place he left his seruant, and retired himselfe into the desart: where, whilest he praied God that he would take him out of the world, by reason he was no better then others, for which cause he should desire to liue after them; he fell asleepe vnder a certaine tree, and after that some one had awaked him, he arose and found bread and water ready prepared by him. When as therefore he had eaten and was recomforted, he went vnto the Mount Sinai (where it is said that *Moses* receiued the lawes from God) where finding out a hollow caue, he entred into it, and remained therein. And being demanded by a certaine voice which spake vnto him, he knew not from whence, wherefore he M remained in that place, and forsooke the citie; He answered, for that he had slaine the prophets of the false gods, and for that he had perswaded the people that there was but one onely God, who ought to be honoured by all men; and that for this cause he was sought for by the kings wife, that he might be done to death. The voice replied againe, and commanded him to shew himselfe openly, assuring him that he should vnderstand that which it behoued him to performe.

Elias doctrine and office confirmed by miracle.

Fire from heauen deuoureth the sacrifice.

Bels priests slaine.

Elias foreprophecieth raine.

3. *Reg.* 10.

Elias flieth from Iezabel.

Gods care for his seruants.

God speaketh to Elias in the desart.

Hereupon,

A Hereupon as ſoone as it was day, hee forſooke the caue, hee heard an earthquake, and ſaw a light: and after all things were appeaſed, the heauenly voice which proceeded he knew not from whence, willed him, that he ſhould in no waies be diſcomforted with that which he ſaw: for that no one of his enemies ſhould haue power to hurt him; charging him to returne vnto his houſe, to the intent to proclaime *Iehu* the ſon of *Nimſi* King of the people, and *Azael* of Damaſco King of the Syrians; certifying him that in his place, *Elizeus* of the citie of Abela ſhould be Prophet; and that the wicked people ſhould be deſtroied, the one by *Azael*, and the other by *Iehu*. When *Elias* had heard theſe things, hee returned into the countrey of the Hebrewes, and met *Elizeus* the ſon of *Saphat* at the cart, and with him diuers others driuing before them twelue couple of oxen: him did he approach, and caſt vpon him his garment, who inſtantly began thereupon to prophetize, ſo that forſaking his oxen, he followed *Elias*. Yet required hee him, that before his departure, hee B might take leaue of his parents; which licence when he had obtained, he committed them vnto God and followed *Elias*, attending on him during all the terme of his life like his diſciple and ſeruant. This iſſue had the affaires of this ſo excellent a Prophet. But a certaine Citizen called *Naboth* of the Citie of Azar, had a vineyard neere vnto the lands of *Achab*, who required him that hee would ſell him the ſame, at what price he thought conuenient at his owne election, to the intent he might annexe the ſame to his owne lands, and make them all but one poſſeſſion: wiſhing him, that if hee would not ſell it him for ſiluer, to chooſe in exchange thereof, any one field of his that beſt liked him. *Naboth* anſwered him, that he would not doe it, but that hee intended to gather the fruit of his owne land himſelfe, which he had receiued as an inheritance from his father. The King no leſſe tormented then if he had loſt his owne inheritance (in that hee might not bee C maſter of an other mans patrimony) would neither waſh nor receiue any ſuſtenance. For which cauſe *Iezabel* his wife queſtioned with him as touching the cauſe of his diſcontent, and how it came to paſſe that he neither waſht, din'd, nor ſupt: who told her of *Naboths* rude behauiour, and how hauing vſed all iuſt and reaſonable compoſition vnto him, in abaſing himſelfe more then his royall authority permitted, hee had beene outraged by him, in that hee obtained not the thing which hee requeſted at his hands. Hereupon *Iezabel* willed him to bee of good cheere, aduiſing him, that diſmiſſing his diſpleaſure hee ſhould continue his ordinarie entertainment, becauſe ſhee her ſelfe would take vpon her to reuenge him on *Naboth*. Wherupon ſhe preſently ſent letters in *Achabs* name to the gouernours of the countrey, whereby ſhee enioyned them to celebrate a faſt, and to aſſemble the people, charging them that in that place *Naboth* ſhould haue a ſeate prepared D for him, by reaſon of his birth and nobilitie; willing them afterwards, that ſuborning three impudent and falſe witneſſes to depoſe againſt him, that he had blaſphemed againſt God and the king: they ſhould by this meanes and for this occaſion, cauſe him to be ſtoned and put to death by the people. All which was performed, according as the Queene had written, and *Naboth* (conuinced by falſe witneſſe, for ſcandalizing both God and the King) was ſtoned by the people and put to death. When *Iezabel* had tidings hereof, ſhe repaired to the Kings preſence, and told him that he ſhould enioy *Naboths* vineyard, and diſburſe nothing for the ſame.

But God diſpleaſed with this her wickedneſſe, ſent the Prophet *Elias* purpoſely to meete with *Achab* in *Naboths* ground, and to tell him that hee iniuſtly poſſeſſed the lawfull inheritance of a legitimate heire, whom he had done to death. As ſoone as the king perceiued that he came vn- E to him, ſuppoſing it to be vnſeemely for a king to be reproued, he firſt of all confeſſed the fault, and offered him to make reſtitution according to his arbitrement. Then did the Prophet foretell him that in the ſame place where *Naboths* carcaſſe was conſumed by dogs, that both his and his Queenes blood ſhould be ſhed, and that all his race ſhould be deſtroyed, for that they durſt commit ſuch an impietie, and ſo wickedly ſlaughter (againſt all law) ſo good and guiltleſſe a Citizen. At length *Achab* vpon theſe words was ſeized with diſpleaſure, and repented for the offence hee had committed: ſo that apparelling himſelfe in ſackcloth, and walking barefoote, hee taſted not any meate, but confeſſed his ſinnes, vnder hope to appeaſe Gods wrath. For which cauſe God certified him by the Prophet, that during his life time the puniſhment of his race ſhould be deferred, becauſe hee had repented him of his miſdeeds: but that the threats and menaces ſhould take F effect in his ſonnes time; all which *Elias* ſignified vnto the King.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 924.

Iehu King of Iſrael.

Elizeus calling.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14 al. 11.

3. King. 21. The ſtorie of Naboth, who was ſtoned to death for denying Achab his vineyard.

Elias propheſieth what reuenge God will take of Achab and Iezabel.

Achabs repentance.

CHAP. VIII.

ADAD *King of Damasco and Syria, fighteth at two seuerall times with* ACHAB, *and is ouerthrowne by him.*

The yeare of the world, 3040 before Christs birth. 924.

3 *Reg* 20. Adads warre against Achab

WHILEST *Achabs* affaires were after this manner disposed, the sonne of *Adad* (that raigned ouer the Syrians, and those of Damasco) assembled the forces of his whole countrey, and associated with himselfe two and thirty other Kings, with whom hee came and made warre against *Achab*. Who beeing farre inferiour to him in forces, came not out into the open field to bid him battell, but closing vp his souldiers in his strongest Cities, hee himselfe retired into Samaria (which was begirt with a very strong wall, and generally very hard to be surprised.) For which cause the Syrian (taking his army with him) resorted to Samaria, and H encamping before the same, intended to scale and batter the Citie. But first of all hee sent a Herault to *Achab*, to require him to giue audience to his embassadours which hee would send vnto him, by whom he should be certified what his resolution was. As soone as the King of Israel had granted them free accesse, the embassadours came, and (according to the Kings directions) required that *Achabs* goods, his children and wife should be at *Adads* command: which if hee would confesse, and suffer him to seize so many of them as best liked him, hee would leuie the siege and batter the Citie no more. *Achab* gaue the embassadours commission to certifie the King of Syria, that both himselfe, and all whatsoeuer was his, was at his command. Vpon which answer the King sent a second message vnto *Achab*, enioyning him the next day to admit such of his seruants as hee should send vnto him, to search his royall palace, and the houses of his friends and kinsmen, I and take from thence that which was best liking, and in greatest estimate with them, and leaue the rest with him whereof they made least reckoning.

The Syrians embassage to Achab.

Achab amazed at this second embassage of the King of Syria, assembled his people, and certified them, that he was ready to deliuer vp into the enemies hands his wiues and children, for their safetie and repose; and to abandon all that likewise which was in his possession (for that the Syrian had demanded no lesse at his hands in his first embassage: But that now he required that his seruants might be admitted to ransacke all their houses, to the end they may leaue nothing therin that was worthy regard; willing by this meanes to take a pretext of making warre, knowing well (said he) that I will spare nothing that is mine for your safety. At this present he proffereth and seeketh occasion of hostility, proposing vnto you a thing, which is vnpleasing to you all, as touching your goods: notwithstanding, I will doe whatsoeuer you shall thinke good of. To this the K people answered, that they could not endure that any of his demands should bee listned vnto, or respected; but that the King should prepare for warre. Whereupon he called for the embassadors and dismissed them with this answer, That they should report vnto their Master, that *Achab* persisted in those things, which of all were required by him (because he had a desire of the conseruation of his subiects:) but as touching his second demand, that hee would no waies condescend thereunto: and thus sent he them away. When *Adad* heard this answer, he was sore mooued and sent vnto *Achab* the third time, threatning him that his souldiers should make a bulwarke more high then the walles (hee so much trusted in) yea though onely each of them should bring but a handfull of earth, with them (which boast hee vsed towards him to terrifie him, and to expresse thereby how great a multitude of men he had to oppose against him.) But *Achab* answered, that L he ought not to glory in his army, but that his true glory was, when he had the better in the battell. When the embassadors were returned backe, they found the king at dinner with 32. kings his allies, to whom they made report of *Achabs* answer. Hereupon *Adad* gaue commandement to begirt the Citie with Pallisadoes, and to raise bulwarks of earth, and busily to intend the siege. Whilest these things were in hand, *Achab* was grieuously troubled, and all the people with him: but at length hee grew confident, and cast off all his feare, through the arriuall of a certaine Prophet, who said vnto him, that God promised to deliuer all those thousands of souldiers, and his boastfull enemies which he beheld, into his hands. The same Prophet being afterwards demanded by him, by whose meanes this victory might be gained? Hee said, that it should bee by the M sonnes of the gouernours, whom the king himselfe should lead forth, by reason of their vnexperience. *Achab* therefore calling vnto him the gouernours sonnes, found that their number amounted to two hundreth thirty and two: and hauing notice that the Syrians intended nought else but pleasure and banquetting, hee opened the Citie gates, and sent these yong men out against them. Now when the sentinels of the aduerse part had discouerd them, they certified *Adad* there-

His answer to the Legates.

Adads confidence in his souldiers.

The Israelites God promiseth victory against the Syrians.

of,

A of, who ſent out certaine ſouldiers againſt them, commanding them that if they were come out in warlike ſort to bid the battell, they ſhould bring them vnto him faſt bound; and if they came in peace, they ſhould doe the like. Now had *Achab* within the City arraunged another army, and kept them in a readines. When as therefore the young men had charged the Syrian guard, and ſlaine a great number of them, and had purſued the reſt euen vnto their owne camp; *Achab* ſpying his preſent victory and aduantage, cauſed his whole army to breake foorth; who giuing an vnexpected charge vpon the enemies, diſcomfited the Syrians (who little expected for ſuch a ſtratageme from the Hebrewes) and aſſailed them diſarmed and drunken: ſo that they left both armour and weapon behind them; and fled from their campe; and their king likewiſe was ſo hotly purſued, that he ſcarcely had opportunity to ſaue himſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe. *Achab* B made a long chace in following the Syrians and ſlaughtering them that fled: hee ſpoiled their campe likewiſe; and carried thence great riches, and a huge quantity of gold and ſiluer. Hee tooke *Adads* charriots and horſes alſo, and with them returned backe into the city.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 924.

Achabs victory againſt the Syrians.

But whereas by the aduice of the ſaid Prophet, he was perſwaded to prepare and keepe an army in readines againſt the next yeere (for that the Syrians was like, nay rather reſolued to charge him againe) the King intermitted no preparation that concerned the warre. For *Adad* (beeing eſcaped from the fight with thoſe few forces that remained after the battell) conſulted with his friends, how hee might warre againſt the Iſraelites. Who aduiſed him from thenceforth neuer more to fight with thē in mountainous places, for that their God was powerfull vpon the mountaines, and for that cauſe they had beene ouercome by them: but if he fought with them in the C Plaine, both he and his ſhould bee aſſured to haue their vpper hand. Moreouer they counſelled him, that he ſhould diſmiſſe thoſe kings that he had confederated with him, to the end that each of them might returne into his owne countrey, and that in their ſtead he ſhould retaine their forces, ouer which he ſhould ordaine Chiefetaines; beſides (to ſupply their places that were loſt) they aduiſed him to leuy horſmen and chariots through al his country. *Adad* ſuppoſing that they had diſcreetly counſelled him in this matter, ordered and leuied his army according as they had aduiſed him. And as ſoone as the ſpring-time was come, he aſſembled his army, & led them forth againſt the Iſraelites; and arriuing neere vnto the city of Aphec, he incamped in a plaine field. But *Achab* with his forces (marching out to meet with him) pitched his tents and arraunged his battell neer vnto him (although he were far inferior both in force and number.) To him the prophet D appeared anew, telling him that God would once more haue the victory, to make it knowne that his power was not onely in the mountaines (as the Syrians perſwaded themſelues) but in the Plaines alſo. Thus continued both the armies, oppoſed and encamped the one againſt the other, for the ſpace of ſixe daies. On the ſeuenth, when the enemy forſooke their trenches early in the morning, and placed themſelues in battell ray; *Achab* drew out his army and affronted them, and preſently charged them: where after a long and dangerous fight betweene them, the enemies were put to flight, and many of them ſlaine in the chace. For ſome of them were intangled with their owne charriots, otherſome ſlew one another pell-mell; and ſome few of them found the meanes to flie vnto their city of Aphec, who periſhed likewiſe to the number of ſeuen and twenty thouſand (beeing ſlaine by the ruine of the walles that fell vpon them) beſides one hundreth E thouſand men that gaue vp the ghoſt in that fight. But *Adad* attended by ſome of his faithfull friends, went and hid himſelfe in a certaine caue vnder the ground: who proteſting vnto him, and concluding amongſt themſelues, that the kings of Iſrael were curteous and mercifull, and that there was hope of pardon to be had (if after the manner of ſuppliants they might be attired and ſent vnto him) *Adad* permitted them: Whereupon they incontinently preſented themſelues to *Achab* cloathed in ſackecloath, and hauing their necks wreathed about with cords (according to the manner of ſuppliants amongſt the Syrians) telling him that *Adad* beſought his maieſty to grant him his life; promiſing on his behalfe, that from thencefoorth hee would alwaies continue his ſeruant, and acknowledge his fauour. *Achab* anſwered them, that highly contented him that their king was as yet aliue, and had eſcaped from the fury of the fight, offering him by them F that good will and honour, which one brother ought to ſhew vnto another. After this they drew an oath from *Achab*, that he ſhould offer him no wrong, if ſo be he diſcouered himſelfe vnto him, & withall preſently reſorted vnto *Adad*; whom they drew out of the place where he was hidden, and afterwards brought him vnto *Achab*, who was mounted vpon a charriot. *Adad* proſtrated himſelfe before him: but *Achab* ſtretching out his hand made him incontinently mount vp with him into his charriot, and kiſſed him, willing him to bee of good courage, aſſuring him that hee ſhould receiue neither iniurie nor iniuſtice at his hands. Hereupon *Adad* gaue him thanks, proteſting

Adads ſecond expedition againſt the Iſraelites.

The yeere of the world, 3041. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 923.

Adad is receiued into fauour by Achab and diſmiſſed vpon condition.

The yeere of the world, 3041. before Christs Natiuitie, 923.

testing that during his life time he would neuer be forgetful of his fauours: promising him more- G
ouer to restore vnto him those cities which his predecessors, kings of Syria, had taken from the Israelites. He likewise gaue him power to come into Damasco (in like manner as before time his ancestors had the credit to repaire vnto Samaria.) When these accords were made and confirmed by oath, *Achab* gaue him many worthy presents, and sent him backe into his kingdome. Thus ended the war betwixt *Adad* and the king of the Israelites. After this a certen prophet called *Micheas* came vnto another Israelite, commanding him to wound him vpon the head, assuring him that God was so pleased, and had so commanded him. When as this Israelite would in no sort condescend hereunto, he prophecied vnto him, that since he had disobeyed Gods commandement, he should meet with a Lion, which should rent him in pieces. Which comming to passe, according as it was foretold, the Prophet addressed himselfe againe vnto another, commanding him to do the like: and when he had wounded him in the head, he bound vp the wound & came H
vnto the king, telling him that he had bin in warre, and had receiued a prisoner in charge from his Captains hands: and how that (his prisoner being fled from him) he feared least he that had committed him to his charge, should for that cause take his life from him; the rather for that he had threatned no lesse. *Achab* answered him, that he was iustly condemned. Whereupon *Micheas* discouered his head, and made it knowne who he was. And to this intent vsed the Prophet this policy, that his words might be of greater force and value. For he told the king that God would bend himselfe against him, because he had permitted the blasphemer *Adad* to depart vnpunished; assuring him, that God would cause him to be slaine by *Adad*, and suffer the people of Israel to bee slaughtered by the Syrian army. The king displeased with the liberty and free speech of the Prophet, commanded him to be cast into prison: and being vehemently affrighted with this his prediction, he departed home vnto his house. I

Achab was reproued for dismissing Adad.

The reward of learned preachers.

CHAP. IX.

Of IOSAPHAT *King of Ierusalem.*

The yeere of the world, 3042. before Christs Natiuitie, 924.

HITHERTO haue we spoken of *Achabs* estate: but now I must return vnto *Iosaphat* king of Ierusalem; who hauing inlarged his kingdome, & planted garrisons in those cities that were subiect vnto him (and in those likewise which his grandfather *Abiah* had possessed in the portion of *Ephraim*, at such time as *Ieroboam* raigned ouer the ten tribes. This king had perpetuall assistance and fauor at Gods hands, in that he was a iust and vertuous Prince, studying day and night for nothing more, then how he might please and honor God. The kings his neigh- K
bors round about him honored him with presents: so that his riches were great, and his honours excellent. In the third yeere of his raigne he assembled the gouernours and priests of his country, enioyning them to ride their circuit about the prouinces, and to teach the inhabitants of euery city the law of *Moses*, training them vp in the obseruance thereof, aud in the study of pietie. Which all the Citizens embraced and entertained so willingly, that they seemed to emulate and striue the one with the other, which of them should exceede the rest in the seruice of God. The Nations likewise that dwelt round about him, loued *Iosaphat*, and were at peace with him. The Philistines also payed those tributes which were imposed on them. And the Arabians furnished him euery yeere with sixe hundreth and threescore lambes, and the like number of horses. He fortified also other great cities of importance, and made preparation of munition of L
war and armes against the enemy. He mustered in the tribe of *Iuda* three hundred thousand men, ouer whom he placed *Edraus* Generall, & two hundred thousand vnder the conduct of *Iohanan*. Who besides these had two hundred thousand Archers on foote of the tribe of *Beniamin*. Another Chieftaine called *Ochobat* leuied and led for the king one hundred and fourescore thousand men armed at assay (besides those which hee sent into defenced cities.) Hee married his sonne *Ioram* to *Athalia* the daughter of *Achab* king of the ten tribes. And not long after (resorting to Samaria) *Achab* receiued him very curteously, and magnificently entertained his army with bread, wine, and flesh in all aboundance; requiring him to yeeld him his assistance against the king of Syria, to the intent he might recouer the city of Ramath in the country of Galaad, which M
Adads father had wonne and conquered from his father. *Iosaphat* promised to assist him: and being no waies inferiour vnto him in force, hee sent his army from Ierusalem to Samaria. When these two kings were departed out of the city, and each of them were seated vpon their thrones, they distributed their pay to euery one of their souldiers. At that time *Iosaphat* commanded, that if at that present there were as yet any Prophets amongst them, they might be sent for, to giue notice

Iosaphats pietie. 3. Paral. 17.

The peace in Iosaphats time.

Iosaphats armie.

Iosaphats expedition with Achab against the Syrians. 3. Reg. 22.

A notice what the issue should be of this their warre against the Syrians; and whether they thought it good to make warre against them, by reason that at that time there was amitie and peace betwixt *Achab* and the Syrians, confirmed for the space of three yeeres, since the time that he tooke *Adad* prisoner and deliuered him, to that present. *The yeare of the world, 3047. before Christs birth, 917.*

CHAP. X.

ACHAB *fighteth against the Syrians, and is ouercome and slaine in the battell.*

B HEREVPON *Achab* called for the Prophets (who were in number foure hundreth) and commanded them to enquire of God whether hee would giue him the victory in that battell which he enterprised against *Adad* or no, and whether he should recouer the Citie which hee intended to besiege? Who answered and counselled him to hazzard the battell in that he should haue the vpper hand ouer the Syrian, and should take him prisoner as he had done before time. *Iosaphat* vnderstanding by their words that they were false Prophets, asked *Achab* if he had not any other Prophet of God, who might more exactly certifie him of that which might succeed. *Achab* answered, that he had one as yet remaining, but that he hated him because he prophecied nought else but mishap and misery vnto him, and had foretold him that if he should fight against the Syrian, he should be ouercome and slaine; and for that cause he held him at that time in prison, signifying vnto him that his name was *Micheas* the sonne of *Imlah*. *Iosaphat* required C that he might be brought into his presence (which was accordingly performed by one of his Eunuchs; who by the way certified *Micheas*, that all the other prophets had prophecied to the king victory.) But *Micheas* told him that it was not lawfull for him to lie against God, but that it concerned him to speake that which God should informe him of, concerning the king. As soone as he came before *Achab*, and was adiured to speake the truth, he said that God had shewed him the Israelites put to flight, and dispersed by the Syrians, that pursued them no otherwise then sheepe without their shepheard. All which signified (he said) no lesse (said hee) but that the rest of the people returning home in safetie, *Achab* onely should be slaine in the battell. When *Micheas* had spoken after this manner; *Achab* turning himselfe towards *Iosaphat*, said vnto him, I told you before this, how this fellow was affected towards me. But *Micheas* constantly auowed, that he prophecied D nothing but that which God had commanded him to speake, assuring *Achab* that he was sollicited by the false prophets vnto warre vnder hope of victory, whereas he should assuredly perish in the battell. These words of his made *Achab* much discomforted. But *Sedechias* one of the false prophets stepped forth, and exhorted him to set light by *Micheas* words, the rather for that hee spake vntruely. And in confirmation of this his allegation hee alleadged *Elias*, who was a farre more skilfull Prophet in foretelling things to come, then *Micheas* was) yet that the same *Elias* had foretold that the dogs should licke *Achabs* bloud in the citie of Iezarel in the field of *Naboth*, because *Naboth* had beene stoned to death by the instance of *Achab*. Whereby it appeared manifestly, that since he contradicted a Prophet so excellent as he was, he lyed in saying that the king should die within three daies. Moreouer (said he) it shall appeare whether he be truely sent from E God or no, if as soone as he shall receiue a buffet from me, he cause my hand to wither, according as *Iadon* made *Ieroboams* hand shrinke, at such time as he thought to apprehend him. For I thinke (said he) O King, that thou art assuredly informed hereof: which said, hee strooke him, and for that no inconuenient fell vpon him, by reason of that his audacious attempt, *Achab* assured himselfe, and recouered his courage, and forwardly set forth against the Assyrian army. For as it is to be supposed, the will of God was of such power, that it caused the false prophets to triumph ouer the true: which was the cause that the false prophets were trusted more then the true, to the intent that Gods preordained will might be fulfilled. But *Sedechias* made him yron hornes, and said vnto *Achab*, that God by them signified vnto him that he should ruinate all Syria. But *Micheas* prophecied to the contrary, that within very few daies *Sedechias* should walke from caue to caue F to hide himselfe, and auoide the punishment of his falshood. *Achab* displeased hereat, commanded that he should be led thence, and kept prisoner with *Achmon* the Gouernour of the citie, yeelding him no other allowance but bread and water for his sustenance. Thus marched these two kings with their armies against Ramath which is in Galaad: which when the king of Syria vnderstood, he drew his army into the field, and came out to meete with them, and incamped neere vnto Ramath. Now was it concluded betwixt these two confederate Kings, that *Achab* should enter the battell in a priuate habite, and *Iosaphat* should bee inuested with the royall ornaments, and supply

The false prophets prophecie plausibly.

Micheas the true Prophet.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 15.

3. Reg. 22. ad 12. Achab and Iosaphats war against the Syrians.

Achabs perſon in the battell, to the intent that *Micheas* prediction might be made fruſtrate. But notwithſtanding this popular diſguiſe, Gods iuſtice preuented him: For *Adad* king of Syria commanded his armie, that they ſhould put no one of the enemie to the ſword, but onely the king of Iſrael. G

The yeere of the world, 3047. before Chriſts Nativity. 917.

As ſoone as charge was giuen, the Syrians perceiuing *Ioſaphat* in the front of the army, and coniecturing that it was *Achab*, they made head altogether againſt him, and hauing inuironed and preſſed him very neerely, they perceiued that it was not he: for which cauſe they retyred backe againe. But although they had fought from the morning vntill the euening, and had the vpper hand; yet ſlew they no man (becauſe they ſought after no other but *Achab* to put him to the ſword (whom notwithſtanding they could by no meanes meete withall. At length one of *Adads* ſeruants called *Aman*, ſhot at random amongſt the enemies, and by fortune hurt *Achab* in the breaſt, and ſhot him thorow the lungs. This hurt of his concealed he from his ſouldiers, for feare leaſt they ſhould be diſcomforted. For which cauſe he commanded his coachman to driue his charriot out of the battell, for that he felt himſelfe grieuouſly and mortally wounded: and although he were terribly pained, yet ſat he in his chariot vntill ſunne-ſet; at which time his heart failed him, and he gaue vp the ghoſt. When night came, the Syrian army withdrew themſelues into their campe: and receiuing tidings by an Herault, that *Achab* was dead, euery one retired home vnto his houſe: but *Achabs* body was conueyed to Samaria, and interred in that place. As for his charriot, it was waſhed in the fountaine of Iezrael, becauſe it had beene bebloodied, by reaſon of the kings hurt: whereby the truth of *Elias* prediction was ratified, and confirmed: for the dogs lickt his blood; and from that time forward the common women continually waſhed themſelues in that fountaine. He died alſo in Ramath (according as *Micheas* had foreprophecied.) Whereas therefore all things befortuned *Achab*, according as two Prophets had foretold him, it appeareth that we ought to honour and magnifie the Maieſtie of God in all places, and to reuerence his prophecies deliuered by them, and to aſcribe alwaies more credit vnto them, then to the vaine and plauſible ſpeech of ſuch as curry fauour; and no leſſe to reſpect them, then things of infinite profit, ſince by them we are diuinely admoniſhed what we ought to take heed of. It behoooueth vs alſo to conſider what force the ordinance of God is of, by examining thoſe things which befell *Achab*. For it is impoſſible to auoide the preordinance of God, notwithſtanding that men flatter and nouriſh themſelues with vaine hopes, which inueigle them ſo farre, that finally they are ouertaken in the ſnares thereof. For this careleſſe inconſideration was fatall to king *Achab*, in that he beleeued not his death which was foretold him; but being deceiued by the flattering perſwaſions of falſe Prophets, ran headlong vpon his owne danger and death. After him ſucceeded his ſonne *Ochozias*. H I K

Achab wounded by an arrow in the battell dieth.

The dogges lick Achabs blood according to Elias prediction.

The oracles of the Prophets are to be reuerenced.

The matchleſſe neceſſity of fate.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS. L

The Contents of the Chapters of the ninth Booke.

1 Ioram Achabs *ſonne ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.*
2 Ioram *King of Ieruſalem obtaining the crowne, killeth his brothers and his fathers friends.*
3 Iorams *armie is ouerthrowne by his enemies, and his ſonnes are ſlaine, onely one excepted, at length he himſelfe dieth a miſerable death.*
4 *The king of Damaſco warreth againſt the king of Iſrael.*
5 Ioram *with all his poſteritie is ſlaine by* Iehu, Ochozias *king of Ieruſalem is ſlaine alſo.* M
6 Iehu *raigneth amongſt the Iſraelites in Samaria, and his poſteritie after him till the fourth generation.*
7 Athalia *raigneth fiue yeeres in Ieruſalem: and after ſhe is ſlaine by the high Prieſt,* Ioas Ochozias *ſonne is proclaimed king.*
8 Azael *King of Damaſco gathereth an armie, firſt againſt the Iſraelites, and afterwards againſt Ieruſalem.*
9 Amaſias

A 9 Amaſias *king of Ieruſalem maketh warre againſt the Idumeans and Amalechites, and obtaineth the victorie.*
10 Amaſias *making warre againſt* Ioas *king of the Iſraelites is ouercome.*
11 Ozias *ouercommeth the nation round about him.*
12 Raſin *or* Rabe *King of Damaſco vexeth the inhabitants of Ieruſalem with warre.* Achar *their king is compelled to call the king of Aſſyria to aſsiſt him.*
13 *The King of Aſſyria taketh Damaſco by force, and ſlaieth the King, and tranſlateth the people into Media, and planteth other Colonies in the ſame.*
14 Salmanazar *taking the King of Iſrael captiue, tranſlateth ten of the twelue Tribes into Media, and cauſeth the Cuthæans to inhabite their region.*

B

CHAP. I.

IORAM ACHABS *ſonne, ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.*

C AS ſoone as King *Ioſaphat* was returned backe againe to Ieruſalem (from the warre wherein he had giuen ſuccour to *Achab* againſt *Adad* the king of Syria, as we haue heretofore declared) the Prophet *Iehu* (in his returne) came forth and met him, and reproued him becauſe he had giuen *Achab* (who had bin a man both impious and wicked) his aſſiſtance, aſſuring him that God was diſpleaſed with that his confederacy; yet notwithſtanding that he of his goodneſſe had deliuered him from his enemies, although contrary vnto his dutie, he had demeaned himſelfe vniuſtly. After this admonition, *Ioſaphat* began to celebrate ſacrifices, and to offer vp thankeſgiuings and peace offerings vnto God: Which done, he rode in progreſſe and circuit round about thoſe countries that were vnder his dominion, giuing order that the people ſhould be inſtructed in thoſe ordinances which were deliuered from God by the hands of *Moſes*, and exhorted his ſubiects to the practiſe of pietie, contained in the ſame. He planted iudges likewiſe in euery city, commanding them to execute iuſtice vnto the people, without reſpect of any thing, but onely iuſtice. He charged them likewiſe, that they ſhould not be corrupted with rewards, or ſeduced by dignitie, riches, or nobilitie, but that they ſhould doe iuſtice
D indifferently vnto all men, knowing that God ſeeth all things, how ſecretly ſoeuer they be carried or contriued. Hauing in this ſort ordered euery thing in each Citie of the two Tribes, he returned againe into Ieruſalem, where he likewiſe choſe iudges from amongſt the Prieſts and Leuites, and the Elders among the people, exhorting them in all things to giue vpright and exact iudgement. And if they of other cities had any cauſes of greater conſequence (which ſhould be referred to their finall determination) he charged them with earneſt induſtrie, to decide them with as vpright and iuſt meaſure as might be: for that it was very conuenient that the moſt exact and accompliſhed ſentences ſhould be deliuered in that citie, where as God had his temple, and the King made his ordinarie aboad. Ouer all theſe he placed his two friends, *Amaſias* the Prieſt, and *Zabadias* of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did the King diſpoſe of his eſtate.

The yeare of the world, 3048. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 916.

4. Reg. 2. 2 Paral. 19. 20.

Iehu the Prophet reprehended Ioſaphat for helping Achab.

Ioſaphat reneweth the true ſeruice of God.

Ioſaphat placed iudges and Magiſtrates in euery citie.

E About this very time the Moabites and Ammonites (and with them their confederates a great number of Arabians) aſſaulted and aſſembled themſelues againſt him, and encamped themſelues neere vnto Engaddi (a Citie ſituate neere vnto the lake Aſphaltites, and diſtant from Ieruſalem ſome three hundreth ſtounds) in which place flouriſh thoſe goodly and holeſome Palme-trees, whence diſtilleth the pure and perfect liquor of Balme. When *Ioſaphat* had intelligence that the enemies had paſt the lake, and were already farre entred into his countrey, he was afraid, and aſſembled the people of Ieruſalem in the temple, and ſtanding vpright, and turning his face toward the propitiatorie, he beſought and requeſted God that he would giue him power and force to ouercome his enemies. For ſuch had beene the forme of their ſupplication, who in times
F paſt builded the temple: namely, that it might pleaſe him to fight for that Citie, and oppoſe himſelfe againſt thoſe that durſt attempt or aſſault that place, to the intent to diſpoſſeſſe them of that country which he himſelfe had giuen them in poſſeſſion; and in pronouncing this praier he wept: and all the people likewiſe both men, women and children made their requeſts vnto God. Preſently vpon this, a certaine Prophet called *Iaziel* aroſe vp in the midſt of the congregation, and cried out, and certified both the people and the King, that God had heard their praiers, and promiſed them to fight for them againſt their enemies, enioyning them the next day to ſally out in armes, and go & make head againſt their aduerſaries, whom they ſhould encounter in the mountaine

The Moabites and Ammonites arme againſt Ioſaphat.

Ioſaphats praier in the temple of Ieruſalem for victorie.

Iaziel the prophet aſſureth them of victorie.

The yeare of the world 3048. before Christs Nativity 916.

taine ſituate betwixt Ieruſalem and Engaddi, in a place called the hillocke of *Sis* (which place in Hebrew ſignifieth Eminency) willing them not to fight againſt them, but onely to arreſt in that place, and ſee how GOD would fight and make warre for them. When the Prophet had ſpoken theſe words, the king and all the people proſtrated themſelues vpon their faces, giuing thanks vnto God and adoring: meane while the Leuites ſung continuall hymnes, with inſtruments and voices. About the beginning of the day, the king departed into the deſart that is vnder the city of Thecoa, aduiſing the people to beleeue al that which the Prophet had ſaid vnto them, and not to arrange themſelues in battell ray: hee commanded the Prieſts to march before them with their trumpets, and the Leuites that they ſhould ſing hymnes and thankſgiuing vnto God, as if (ſaid he) our countrey were already deliuered from our enemies. G

The manner and weapons wherby Ioſaphat ouercame his enemies.

This aduiſe of the kings ſeemed pleaſing vnto them all; ſo that they performed whatſoeuer he counſelled them. But God ſent a great terror & diſorder among the Barbarians: ſo that ſuppoſing themſelues to be enemies the one againſt the other, they ſlew one another in ſuch ſort, that of ſo great and huge an hoſt, there was not one that eſcaped. But *Ioſaphat* looking downe into the vally (wherin the enemies had pitcht their tents) and ſeeing it full of dead men, reioyced greatly at the vnexpected ſuccors that God had ſent him, who had giuen them the victory, not by the dint of their owne ſwords, but by his prouidence and power onely. He therefore permitted his army to make pillage of the enemies camp, and to ſpoile the dead; and ſo great was the multitude of them that were ſlaine, that ſcarcely they could gather the ſpoiles of them in three daies ſpace. On the fourth day, the people aſſembled together in a valley and hollow place, where they bleſſed God for the power and ſuccours he had ſent them, by reaſon whereof the place was called the valley of Benediction. From thence the king led backe his army into Ieruſalem, and for diuers daies hee ſpent the time in offering ſacrifices and making feaſts. After this diſcomfiture of his enemies was publiſhed abroad in the eares of forraine nations, they were all of them afraid, ſuppoſing that God did manifeſtly expreſſe his power, and extend his fauour towards him. And from that time forwards, *Ioſaphat* liued in great glory, in iuſtice, and piety. He likewiſe was a friend to the king of Iſrael that raigned at that time, who was *Achabs* ſon, with whom he aduentured in a voyage by ſea, intending to traffique with certaine Merchants of Tharſis, but he had a great loſſe: for his ſhips were caſt away by reaſon they were ouer-great; and for this cauſe hee had neuer more minde to exerciſe nauigation. Hitherto haue we ſpoken of *Ioſaphat* king of Ieruſalem. H

The Ammonites & their confederates kill one another.

The ſpoiles of the Ammonites.

The fame & praiſe of Ioſaphat in euery place.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 2.

Ochozias Achabs ſonne king of Iſrael.

But as touching *Ochozias*, *Achabs* ſonne, who raigned ouer Iſrael, and was reſident in Samaria, he was a wicked man, and reſembled his father and mother euery way in his impieties, and was nothing inferiour to *Ieroboam* in wickednes, who firſt fell from God, and made the Iſraelites reuolt from him. The tenth yeere of his raigne, the king of the Moabites rebelled againſt him, and denied to pay him thoſe tributes which he was wont to pay vnto *Achab* his father. But it came to paſſe, that as *Ochozias* aſcended the ſtaires of his palace, he fell downe from the top thereof: and being ſick of the fall, he ſent to Accaron vnto the God called the Myiodis or flie, to enquire whither he ſhould recouer that ſickneſſe or no. But the God of the Hebrewes appeared to *Elias* the Prophet, and commanded him to goe and meet thoſe meſſengers that were ſent by *Ochozias*, and to aske them if the people of the Iſraelites had not a God, but that the king ſent to forraine gods to enquire of his health? and to charge them to returne and declare vnto their king, that he ſhould not eſcape that ſickneſſe. *Elias* did that which God had ordained; and the meſſengers of the king hauing vnderſtood that which was declared vnto them, returned backe againe with all expedition vnto him. K L

4. Reg. 1.

Ochozias hauing a grieuous fall, ſeeketh to be informed of a falſe Oracle, and is reproued by Elias.

Ochozias maruailing much at their ſuddaine repaire, asked them the cauſe thereof: who anſwered him, that a certaine man came vnto them, who forbad them to paſſe any further, but to ſhorten their way to let your Maieſtie know (ſaid they) from God, that your ſicknes ſhall waxe worſe and worſe. Hereupon the king commanded them to deſcribe what manner of man he was that ſpake theſe words vnto them: who anſwered, that he was a hairy man, girded with a leatherne belt. And vnderſtanding hereby that it was *Elias*, he ſent a captaine with fiftie ſoldiers vnto him, commanding him to bring the Prophet priſoner vnto him. This captaine that was ſent, perceiuing *Elias* ſitting on the top of a mountaine, commanded him to come downe and repaire vnto the king, who had ſent for him; which if he performed not preſently and willingly, he threatned him to make him doe it perforce. *Elias* anſwered and ſaid vnto him: To the end thou maiſt know by thine owne experience that I am a true Prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heauen, and conſume both thee and thy ſouldiers. And incontinently after *Elias* had prayed, lightning fell downe from heauen, and conſumed both the captaine and his ſouldiers. M

Elias forme and habit.

Ochozias ſoldiers ſent to fetch Elias are conſumed with lightning.

When

A When the king had tidings of this losse, he was sore displeased, and sent another captaine to *Elias*, with the like number of souldiers as the first had, who threatned the Prophet that if he wold not willingly come downe, he would violently pull him thence; but *Elias* prayed that fire might fall from heauen, and incontinently both he and his were consumed in like manner as the first. When the King had vnderstanding likewise how his second messengers had sped, he sent a third vnto him, who being a discreet man, and curteous in condition, arriuing in the place where by chance *Elias* was, he saluted him very curteously, and said vnto him, that contrarie to his owne will, and to no other purpose but to fulfill the kings pleasure, he was come vnto him; and that they that were sent with him, came not thither voluntarily, but by the same command: He therefore required him to haue compassion both of him and of his souldiers, and to vouchsafe to come downe, and to come after them vnto the king. *Elias* tooke pleasure in this his discreet and curteous demeanour, so as he descended and followed him. As soone as he came before the kings pre-

The yeare of the world 3048, before Christs Nativity 916.

B sence, he prophecied, and told him that God said, that sith he had despised him, and so lightly accounted of him as if he had beene no God, or else such a one as had no power to foretell him any truth as touching his sickenesse; but that he had sent to the gods of the Accaronites, to demand of them as touching the successe of his sickenesse: Know (said he) that thou shalt die. And not long time after (according to the prophecie) he died in such manner as *Elias* had foretold him, and his brother *Ioram* succeeded him in the kingdome, because he departed without issue.

The yeere of the world, 3049. before Christs Nativity 915.

Ochozias dying without issue, Ioram his brother raigned in his steade.

This *Ioram* was a wicked man also, and as impious as his father: for, abandoning the seruice of the true God, he restored strange gods. In all things else he was a man of execution. In his time *Elias* was no more seene amongst men, and vntill this day no man knoweth what his end was. But

C he left a disciple behind him called *Elizeus* (as we haue heretofore declared.) It is written in holy writ as touching *Elias*, and *Enoch* who was before the Deluge, that they vanished: for no man hath knowne of their deaths. After that *Ioram* had taken possession of the kingdome, he resolued to make war vpon *Misa* the king of the Moabites (who paid *Achab* his father before him the tribute of two hundred thousand sheepe bearing wooll.) When as therefore he had assembled his forces, he sent vnto *Iosaphat*, requiring him that sith he had beene his fathers friend, he would likewise second and send him aide in his intended warre against the Moabites, who had as then newly reuolted from his gouernment. *Iosaphat* not onely promised him to yeeld him succours, but moreouer he assured him that he would draw the king of Idumæa (who was his subiect) into their association. When *Ioram* vnderstood these things by those whom he had sent vnto *Iosa-*

Elias, according as Enoch was taken from the sight of men. Hedio & Rufinus, chap 3. 4 Reg. 2. Elizeus. Ioram asketh aide against the Moabites.

D *phat*, he tooke his army with him and repaired to Ierusalem, where he was magnificently receiued and entertained by the king of that citie: where, after they had concluded to march thorow the desart of Idumæa, and that way to charge the enemy (in that they expected nothing lesse then to bee endangered on that side) these three Kings departed together from Ierusalem, namely the King of Ierusalem, the King of Samaria, and the King of Idumæa. Now when they had marched some seauen daies iourney, they found a great scarcity of water amongst them, both to water their horses, and to refresh their whole army, by reason that their guides had led them astray out of the high way: so that they were in great want, and in especiall *Ioram*, who by reason of the necessity wherewith hee was pressed, cried vnto God, expostulating with him for what offence of his hee would betray three such kings as were there present, into the hands of the king of Moab without

Want of water in the Hebrew armie.

E stroke strooken. But *Iosaphat*, who was a vertuous man, encouraged him, and sent into the armie to know whether there were any Prophet of God that had followed them to the battell, to the intent (said he) that we may vnderstand by God what we ought to doe: and whereas one of the seruants of *Ioram* said, that he had seene *Elizeus* the sonne of *Saphat*, the disciple of *Elias*, all the three Kings (by the sollicitation of *Iosaphat*) resorted vnto him. Now when they drew neere vnto the Prophets tent (which he had pitched apart from the rest of the company) they asked him what should become of the army? and *Ioram* in especiall questioned with him. To whom *Eli-*

The kings seeke for counsell at Elizeus hands.

zeus answered, that he had no reason to sollicite him in this sort, but to repaire vnto his fathers and mothers Prophets, who would certifie him the truth. Notwithstanding, *Ioram* intreated him

F that he would prophecie, and continue the preseruation of the army, and the defence of his life: but *Elizeus* sware by the liuing GOD, that hee would answer him nothing, except for *Iosaphats* sake, who was an vpright man, and such a one as feared God. Afterwards calling vnto them a certaine man that could cunningly play vpon instruments (for so had the Prophet commanded) whilst he sung, *Elizeus* was rauished with a diuine spirit, and enioyned the Kings to make certaine trenches in the channell of the riuer: for (said hee) you shall see the riuer full of water without either winde, cloud, or raine: so that both the whole Armie and all their Cattell shall be saued,

Elizeus foreprophecieth store of water, and their victorie.

and

The yeere of the world, 3049. before Christs Nativity 915.

and sufficiently sustained: and God will not onely bestow these benefits on you, but will giue you G
the vpper hand of your enemies also; and you shall surprise the faireſt and strongeſt Cities of the
Moabites; and you shall cut downe their trees, ruinate their countrey, and fill vp their fountaines
and riuers. When the Prophet had spoken thus, the next day before sunne rise the riuer flowed a-
boundantly with water: for some three daies iourney off, God had suffered a very strong and set-
led raine to fall in Idumæa; so that both the souldiers and their horses were sufficiently refreshed
and watered. When the Moabites were informed that the three kings came out against them,
and tooke their way thorow the desart, their king presently assembled his armie, and commanded
A wonderfull blindnesse of the enemie grounded on the rednesse of the water that flowed.
them to keepe the passages of the mountaines, to the end they might hinder the enemie from en-
tring their countrey vnawares. Who beholding about the sunne rise, that the water of the riuer
was blood red (for at that time it arose in the countrey of Moab, and at this houre the water is H
red) they conceiued a false opinion, that the three kings being pressed by thirst, had slaine one
another, and that the riuer flowed with their blood. Being in this sort seduced with this imagina-
tion, they besought the king to giue them leaue to gather their enemies spoiles: which when
they had obtained, they altogether considerately marched forth as if to a prey alreadie prepared
for them, and came vnto the kings campes vnder hope to finde no man to resist them. But their
hope deceiued them: for their enemies enuironed them round about, and some of them were
cut in peeces, the rest turned backe and fled towards their owne countrey, and the three kings en-
tring into the territories of the Moabites destroyed their Cities, pillaged the champaine coun-
trey, disfigured their inclosures, filling them with stones and mud taken out of the riuer, cut I
downe their faireſt trees, stopped vp the sources of their waters, and leuelled their walles with
the ground. The king of the Moabites himselfe, seeing himselfe pursued and besieged, and that his
The victory of the Hebrewes against the Moabites.
Citie was in danger to be taken perforce, sallied out very valiantly with seuen hundred men, ho-
ping by the swiftnesse of his horse, to breake thorow the Israelites campe on that side where he
thought it was least defenced. Which when he had attempted and could not execute, because he
charged on that side which was best defended, he returned backe againe into the Citie, and com-
The king of the Moabites sacrificeth his owne sonne.
mitted a desperate and hatefull action: for he tooke his eldest sonne, who ought in right to suc-
ceede him in the kingdome, and set him on the wal of the Citie, and in the sight of all his enemies
offered him for a burnt sacrifice vnto God. The kings beholding this wofull spectacle, were
mooued with compassion of his necessitie, and ouercome with humanitie and mercie, leuied the
siege, and returned backe againe into their countries. After that *Iosaphat* was returned into Ieru- K
salem, he enioyed a peaceable gouernment, but liued not long time after this exploit, but died
Iosaphats death.
when he was threescore yeeres old, in the fiue and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and was magni-
ficently buried in Ierusalem, according as the successour of *Dauids* vertue and kingdome ought to
be entombed.

CHAP. II.

IORAM *obtaining the kingdome of Ierusalem, slew his brothers and his fathers friends.*

The yeare of the world 3050. before Christs Nativity 914.

HE left behind him diuers children, the eldest of whom he appointed his successor in the L
kingdom, who was called *Ioram* (as his vncle was, who was his mothers brother and
Achabs sonne whilome king of Israel.) The king of the ten tribes turning backe vnto
Samaria, kept with him the Prophet *Elizeus*, whose actions I will here recite, because they are no-
table & deserue to he registred in writing, according as we haue gathered them out of holy scrip-
tures. *Obedias* wife (who was sometime steward of *Achabs* house) came vnto him & told him, that
Ioram Iosaphats sonne king of Ierusalem. 4 Kg. 4.
he was not ignorant that in that persecution wherein *Iezabel* sought to murther the Prophets,
how her husband saued one hundreth of them, for whose priuate maintenance he had borrowed
much money of other men; and that now being dead, his creditors stroue to draw both her & her
children into seruitude. For which cause she besought him in consideration of this act, to haue
compassion on her husband, and to yeeld her some succour. Hereon *Elizeus* asked her if she had M
Elizeus commandeth the widdow to fill her empty vessels with oyle.
any thing in her house: who answered him, that she had nothing but a very litle oyle left her in an
earthen pot. Whereupon the Prophet commanded her to depart, and to borrow diuers emptie
(vessels of her neighbour: that done, he willed her to locke vp her doores, and to poure oyle into
the vessels, in that it was Gods pleasure to fill them all. The woman did according as he had com-
manded her, and all the vessels were found full, so as none of them were emptie: whereof when
she had certified the Prophet, he aduised her to goe and deliuer her oyle, and pay her debts,

and

A and when all was paide, he assured her that there would be some remainder, that might serue to sustaine both her and her children.

The yeere of the world, 3050. before Christs Nativitie. 924.

By this meanes *Elizeus* discharged the widow of her debts, and that trouble which her creditors intended against her. He admonished *Ioram* likewise, by certaine messengers, that he should take heed of a certaine place wherein the Syrians lay in ambush, intending to slay him: hy meanes of which admonition the king went not out on hunting. But *Adad* being sore displeased, because his ambushment was discouered, began to suspect his owne followers: whereupon calling vnto him his houshold seruants, hee maliciously tearmed them traitors; and furthermore threatned them with death, for that they had discouered a matter, which was only committed to their trust, vnto his enemy. Wherupon one of the assistants told him, that he ought not to conceiue that false opinion of them, neither suspect that they had discouered his intended ambush to cut off his e-

Elizeus aduiseth Ioram to auoid Adads ambush, who lay in wait to kill him.

B nemy: but rather that he ought to conceiue, that the prophet *Elizeus* had discouered and discoursed all that which was intended against him. Wherupon he sent out his souldiers with an expresse charge, to know in what City *Elizeus* made his ordinary aboad: who returning backe, brought him newes that he remained in Dothaim: For which cause *Adad* sent a great number of horsemen and chariots to Dothaim to lay hold on *Elizeus*, who begirt the city by night, and laide watch round about the walles, that no man might escape them. Early in the morning when the Prophets seruant had notice hereof, and was aduertised that the enemies sought to surprise *Elizeus*, he fearefully hasted and discouered their intent to his master, who encouraged him and commanded him to shake off his feare, for that he held himself both secured and assured of Gods help: wherupon he praied God that at that present he would shew his power and assistance both

4. Reg. 6. Elizeus is besieged in Dothaim by his enemie.

C toward the reliefe of his necessitie, and the confirmation and incouragement of his seruant. At that time God hearing his praier, presented to the Prophets seruants sight, a number of chariots, and horsemen that inuironed *Elizeus*; so that he laid his feare aside, and was assured when hee perceiued these succors. That done, *Elizeus* besought God againe that he would blind his enemies eies, and to cause a thicke cloud to fall vpon them, to the end they might not discouer him. Which done, he presently thrust himself amongst the thickest of his enemies, demanding of them whom they came to seeke for? They answered him that they sought for the Prophet *Elizeus:* he promised them to deliuer him into their hands, if so be they would come with him into the Ci-

The Angels about Elizeus the Prophet.

Elizeus leadeth the Syrians blinded into Samaria: where by his perswasion they are courteously entertained and presented by Ioram, and sent home.

D ty where he was. They blinded in eyes, and depraued in vnderstanding by God, followed the Prophet willingly, who marched before them. When as therefore *Elizeus* had brought them into Samaria, he willed king *Ioram* to locke the gates and to inuiron the Syrians with his souldiers. This performed, he prayed God that he would cleere the Syrians sight, and take away the cloud that obscured their eies, who being deliuered from their blindnesse, perceiued that they were in the midst of their enemies. Whereas being sore astonied, and vncertaine whence this diuine and vnexpected act had befallen them, King *Ioram* asked the Prophet whether he should kill them with darts. But *Elizeus* forbad him to doe so: for (said he) it is a iust and conuenient matter, that they who are taken by order of warre should lose their life, but that they had done no euill vnto his countrey; but by Gods prouidence came thither without their owne knowledge: for which cause he counsailed him to giue them presents and present them meate, and afterwards to suffer them to depart without any iniurie.

E *Ioram* giuing credit to the Prophets words, entertayned the Syrians magnificently and with great humanity, and sent them backe vnto *Adad* their king, to whom vpon their arriuall they declared all that which had hapned vnto them. *Adad* astonished at this vnexpected euent, and wondring at the apparition and power of the God of the Israelites; lastly admiring the Prophet whom God so wondrously assisted; he concluded from that time forward, neuer more to attempt the king of Israel in secret, because he feared *Elizeus*; but concluded to make open warre against him, hoping to haue the vpper hand of his enemies, by meanes of the great number and force of his army: So that he issued out with a mighty power against *Ioram*; who supposing himselfe to be ouermatched by the Syrian army, locked himselfe vp within Samaria, putting his trust and confidence in the fortification and strength of the wals thereof. *Adad* hoping to surprise the

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 4.

F city if not by engins, at leastwise by famine & default of things necessary, drew neere vnto Samaria to besiege it. But *Ioram* was so destitute of conuenient supplies, that by reason of the incredible want of victuals, an Asses head was sold in Samaria for eightie pieces of siluer, and a measure of pigions doung at fiue peeces of siluer, which they vsed in stead of salt: neither was there any thing that more troubled the king, then that hee feared least some one constrained by famine, should deliuer or betray the City vnto the enemy. For which cause hee euery day walked the round

Samaria besieged by the Syrians.

The yeere of the world, 050. before Christs Nativity 914.

round about the walles,and visited the Sentinels of the city, for feare least any one should lie hid- G
den within: and with al care and diligence he gaue order, that if any one had such a siniſter intent, the meanes to execute the same should be taken from him. And whereas a certaine woman cried out vnto him. Haue mercy vpon me, O King; he incensed with wrath,and supposing that she asked him some meat,began to raile on her,telling her that he had neither grange nor presse wherby he might any waies supply her necessity.

The woman answered him,that she had no neede thereof, and that shee was not troubled for want of food, but onely desired that he would determine a debate betwixt her and another woman: Whereupon he commanded her to expresse and declare what shee required. Hereupon

The famine so great in Samaria,that women eate their owne children.

she said,that she had made an accord with another woman her neighbor and friend, that sith the famine and scarcitie was such, as they could find no redresse for the same, that they should kill their children (for each of them had one) and in this sort should nourish one another euery day. H
As for my selfe(said she) I haue first of all strangled mine,and we haue both of vs yesterday eaten thereof: but now she will not do the like,but breaketh the accord betwixt vs, and concealeth her child. *Ioram* was grieuously tormented to heare these words,and rent his garments, and cried out with a loud voice,and afterwards wholly enraged against the Prophet, he deuised in his heart to

Ioram threatneth Elizeus death. 3. *Reg.* 7.

put him to death, because he praied not vnto God to grant him meanes to escape those euils that inuironed them round about: so that he sent a man presently to cut off his head; who prepared himselfe with all expedition to the slaughter. But *Elizeus* was not ignorant of this resolution of the kings: for sitting at home with his disciples in his house,he told them that *Ioram* the murtherers son sent a man to take away his head: but(said he) when as he that hath the matter in charge shall come hither,suffer him not to enter,but make him attend and stay at the gate; for the king I
will follow him,and will resort to me in his owne person,hauing altered his resolution: and they according as they were commanded,shut him out of the doores whom the king had sent. *Ioram* repenting himselfe of that displeasure which he had conceiued against the Prophet, and fearing least he that had the commission to murther him should speedily execute the same, hasted himselfe all that he might to hinder the slaughter,and saue *Elizeus*. When as therefore he came into his presence,he accused him,for that he had not besought God to deliuer them from those many euils which they suffered; considering that he himselfe was an eye-witnesse, they were miserably consumed by them. *Elizeus* promised him the next day(about the same houre that the king came vnto him)that he should haue so great aboundance of victuals,that two measures of barley should be sold in the market for a sicle,and a measure of flower for a sicle.

By these words of his, the King with all his attendants were wonderfully comforted, and K
made no difficultie to beleeue the Prophet, because that before time they had beene ascertained by their experience of the truth of his prophecies; and the expectation of this day,was the cause that the necessitie and miserie of the present was more patiently endured. But a certaine friend of the kings,and the gouernor of the third part of his army (on whose shoulder the king at that time

3. *Reg* 7. hapned familiarly to leane) spake vnto him after this manner: Prophet, thou tellest vs incredible
" matters: for as it is impossible that God should raine down heapes of barley and floure from heaue
" uen,so cannot that which thou speakest come to passe. To whom the Prophet replied: Thou thy selfe(said he)shalt see the issue hereof,but shalt partake no part therof. Which prediction of his had a most certaine effect,according as hereafter it appeareth.

It was a custome in Samaria, that they that were defiled with a leprosie should liue without L
the City walles,for feare least their conuersation might infect others: and at that time also there were some who for this cause had their dwelling without the gate. These, for that (by reason of the extreame famine that raigned within the City)they receiued no reliefe or sustenance out of the same,& whether they had licence to returne into the City, or whether they contained themselues in their houses,they knew that they should assuredly perish by famine; decreede amongst themselues to submit themselues to the enemies mercy,to the end that if they spared them, they might liue; and if it hapned otherwise,that they might die with lesse torture. Now hauing resolued vpon this deliberation amongst themselues,they repaired by night vnto the enemies campe.

The enemies flight by reason of a terror that God sent among them.

At that time God began to terrifie and trouble the Syrians, and to fill their eares with a noise of M
chariots and armes,as if an army had violently charged them. Whereupon they grew suspicious, and were so moued,that they forsooke their tents, and ranne vnto *Adad*,and told him that *Ioram* King of the Israelites had entertained the king of Egypt,and the king of the Iles for his confederates,whom he led out against them,& how already they had heard the noise of them that approched to bid them the battell. *Adad*(whose eares were filled with no lesse rumor then those of the people)

A people) was amated and amazed at their ſayings: ſo that all of them abandoned their campe, their horſes, beaſts of carriage, and riches, and betooke them to flight with diſorder & confuſion. Thoſe lepers that were retired from Samaria into the enemies campe (and of whom wee haue heretofore made ſome mention) being neer vnto the camp, perceiued that there was great ſilence in the ſame, and no leſſe aboundance of all things: for which cauſe approching the ſame, and entring into a tent, they found no body therein: for which cauſe they fel to eating and drinking, and that done to beare away a quantity of rayment, and gold which they hid without the campe. Afterward reſorting to another tent, they bare away likewiſe that which was therein, and did the like by foure others without any encountry or contradiction of any man: and coniecturing thereby that the enemies were retyred, they began to accuſe themſelues, becauſe they had not giuen
B notice thereof to *Ioram*, and the inhabitants of Samaria. For which cauſe drawing neere vnto the walles of the City, they cried out vnto the watch, giuing them to vnderſtand in what eſtate they had found the enemies campe, who ſignified no leſſe to *Iorams* guard, ſo that at laſt it came vnto his eares. Whereupon he preſently ſent for his friends and captaines, and told them that the departure of the Syrians made him ſuſpect ſome ſtratageme or ambuſh: for they (ſaid he) hauing loſt their hope to ſurpriſe vs by famine, are retired vnder an intent, that when we ſhall iſſue and fall a ſpoiling of their campe, they may come vpon vs, and kill vs; and afterwards take our city without any ſtroke ſtrooken. For which cauſe (ſaid he) I aduiſe you to keepe good guard within the City, and let this retreat of our enemies make vs the more conſiderate. Some one of his councell praiſed this aduiſe of his, and allowed his foreſight, aduiſing him to ſend out two ſcouts
C vpon horſebacke, to ſearch euery quarter betwixt that and Iordan, to the end that if they ſhould be taken and ſlaine by the enemies ambuſhment, their fall might be a preſident to the whole army to ſtand vpon their guard) for feare leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in like manner:) vrging this for a concluſion, that the loſſe of two horſemen ſhould not bee very great, ſince perhaps they might otherwaies haue beene cut off by famine. This aduiſe of his was allowed by the king, and ratified by his aſſiſtants: ſo that preſently there were two ſpies ſent out, who rode along without encountring any enemy; but they met with great quantity of victuals, and armes caſt away and abandoned by the Syrians, to the intent they might flie away the more lightly. Which when the king vnderſtood, hee ſuffered the people to iſſue out, and ſpoile the campe, who recouered things of no ſmall valew therein, but much gold and ſiluer, and troupes of all ſorts of cattell: and
D beſides that, they found ſo great a quantity of wheat and barley, that had they dreamed thereof, they could not hope or imagine the like. Thus were they deliuered from all their precedent afflictions: for there was ſo great quantity of corne, that two meaſures of barley were ſold but for one ſicle, and a meaſure of wheat flower for a ſicle; according as *Elizeus* had prophecied. Now the meaſure which we call Sat containeth an Italian buſhell and the halfe. But the captaine of the third part of the army, was he onely that enioyed no part of this benefit: for being appointed by the king to haue the keeping of the gate, and to reſtraine the multitude from headlong preſſing out, for feare leaſt thruſting one an other, ſome of them ſhould bee troden vnder foote and ſlaine, he himſelfe was troden vpon and ſlaine (according as the Prophet had foretold) for that he only amongſt the reſt, would not giue credit to that which hee had ſaid, as touching the great aboun-
E dance of victuals that ſhould happen.

When *Adad* King of the Syrians was ſafely returned to Damaſco, and knew that God had ſuffered ſuch a confuſion and feare to fall both on him and his army, and that it had not hapned by reaſon that the enemy ſallied out vpon him; he was ſore diſcouraged to ſee that God was ſo diſpleaſed with him, and through anguiſh and agony of minde fell ſicke: And for that (at that very time) *Elizeus* was come into Damaſco; *Adad* vnderſtanding thereof, ſent *Azael* (who was one of his moſt truſty ſeruants) vnto him to preſent him, and conſult with him vpon his ſickneſſe, whether he ſhould recouer or no.

Hereupon *Azael* loaded forty Camels with the moſt faireſt and moſt honourableſt preſents, that either Damaſco, or the Princes royall court affoorded; and repairing to *Elizeus*, ſaluted him very courteouſly, telling him that hee was ſent vnto him by King *Adad*, firſt of all to preſent
F him, and afterwards to aske counſaile of him as touching his malady, whether hee might eaſily be healed. The Prophet commanding the meſſenger to carry no euill tidings vnto the King, did notwithſtanding tell him that hee ſhould die. *Azael* hearing thereof was ſore grieued, and *Elizeus* himſelfe began to weepe, ſo that the teares fell from his eies aboundantly, in that he foreſaw how many euils the people ſhould ſuffer after the deceaſe of *Adad*. And when as *Azael* demanded him the cauſe wherefore he was ſo diſcomforted; I weepe (ſaid he) for the compaſſion that I

The yeere of the world, 3050. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 914.

The lepers certifie the Samaritans of the ſight of their enemies.

Spies ſent abroad.

The enemies campe ſpoiled by the Samaritans.

The truth of Gods oracles. The puniſhment of incredulity. 4 Reg. 8.

Elizeus is ſent vnto by Adad to enquire counſell of him as touching his ſickneſſe.

haue of the people of Iſrael, by reaſon of thoſe calamities which they ſhall indure by thy meanes. G
The yeare of the world, 3055. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 909.
For thou ſhalt kill the better ſort of them, and ſhalt burne their ſtrongeſt cities : thou ſhalt murther their infants, and daſh them againſt the ſtones, and ſhalt open the womens wombes that are with childe. *Azael* anſwered, what force is there in me to execute theſe things ? *Elizeus* ſaid vnto him, that God had certified him that he ſhould be King of Syria. When *Azael* was returned backe vnto *Adad*, hee ſignified nothing vnto him but glad tidings, as touching his ſickneſſe : but the next day hee caſt a wet net vpon him and ſtrangled him, and ſeized the kingdome into his owne hands. This Prince was a man of execution, and well beloued among the Syrians, and common people of Damaſco, who euen vntill this day honour *Adad* and *Azael* his ſucceſſour as gods, by reaſon of their benefits and thoſe Temples which were builded by them, which adorne the Citie of Damaſco. For euery day doe they celebrate feaſts in memory of theſe kings, and honour of them, by reaſon of their antiquitie, not knowing that they were moderne, and H
ſuch as raigned not paſt eleauen hundreth yeeres ſince. But *Ioram* King of Iſrael hearing of the death of *Adad*, began to giue ouer his feare, and caſt off that ſuſpicion which hee had conceiued of him, reioycing that yet at laſt he might haue liberty to liue in peace. The other *Ioram* king of Ieruſalem (for hee likewiſe was ſo called, as wee haue heretofore declared) by murthering of his brethren and his fathers friends, who were gouernours, obtained the kingdome, and became ſo wicked and impious, as hee differed in nothing from the Kings of Iſrael, who tranſgreſſed the firſt lawes and ordinances of the Hebrewes, and peruerted the ſeruice of God. For *Athalia Achabs* daughter his wife taught him to execute diuers miſchiefes, and amongſt the reſt to adore ſtrange
The yeere of the world, 3057. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 907.
gods. This notwithſtanding God would not altogether aboliſh his race, by reaſon of his promiſe made vnto *Dauid* : yet intermitted hee not daily to introduce new impieties ; and ſoile the ancient lawes of his forefathers with new corruptions. Meane while, it came to paſſe that the Idumæans reuolted and ſlue their King, who had beene before time ſubiect vnto *Ioſaphat Ioram* father, and in his place eſtabliſhed an other to their owne liking. For which cauſe *Ioram* inuaded Idumæa by night with his horſes and charriots, and ſpoyled the countrey round about his kingdome, without paſſing any farther : yet profited hee nothing in ſo doing ; for all of them reuolted from him, and amongſt the reſt the inhabitants of the countrey of Labina.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5.

4. *Reg.* 8.

Ioram's impietie.

The Idumæans reuolt.

But ſo great was the furie of this man, that hee conſtrained the people to aſcend the high mountaines, and adore ſtrange gods. Yet whileſt hee behaued himſelfe in this manner, and K
vtterly rooted out of his thought the lawes of his forefathers, there was a letter brought vnto him from the Prophet *Elias*, which certified him that God would doe great iuſtice vpon him, becauſe hee had forſaken the waies of his forefathers, and followed the impieties of the Kings of Iſrael, conſtraining the Tribe of *Iuda* and the inhabitants of Ieruſalem to forſake the pure ſeruice of their God to ſerue Idols, as *Achab* had conſtrained the Iſraelites to doe : Furthermore, becauſe hee had murthered his brethren, and ſlaine vpright and vertuous men. The Prophet likewiſe certified him by letters, what puniſhment hee ſhould endure, namely the ruine of his people, the death of his wiues and children, and laſtly his owne death : which ſhould happen vnto him by a ſickneſſe in his belly, wherewith hee ſhould bee ſo tormented, that his entrailes ſtrangely rotting within him, ſhould drop out of his belly, and that hee himſelfe ſhould L
ſee his miſery, which ſhould be ſuch as neither might be recouered by medicine, or ſhould euer leaue him vntill hee had finiſhed his dayes. Theſe things did *Elias* denounce vnto him by his letters.

Ioram's wickednes reproued by Elias letters.

CHAP. III.

IORAMS *armie is diſcomfited, his ſonnes are ſlaine, except one : and himſelfe finally dieth a miſerable death.*

NOT long after, the Arabian army, that dwel towards Æthiopia, cõfederating themſelues M
with other Barbarians, inuaded *Iorams* countrey, and ſpoiled the ſame, and ranſacked the kings houſe, and ſlew his ſons and daughters, and left him but one onely ſon called *Ochozias*, who eſcaped from his enemies hands. After this aduerſitie, he himſelfe was ſtrooken with a long ſicknes, according as the Prophet had foretold him ; for God powred his diſpleaſure vpon his entrailes : whereupon he died miſerably, ſeeing them fall out of his belly. The people likewiſe handled his body ignominiouſly ; ſuppoſing I thinke, that beeing cut off in that ſort by Gods diſpleaſure

The expedition of the Arabians againſt Ioram. 2. *Paral.* 21.

The yeere of the world, 3080. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 904.

A displeasure, hee was vnworthy of royall funerall, for hee was not buried in the sepulcher of the kings, neither was there any honour done vnto him. Hee liued fortie yeeres, and raigned eight: and they of Ierusalem made his sonne *Ochozias* King.

The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs Natiuitie, 904.

CHAP. IIII.

The King of Damasco warreth against the King of Israel.

IORAM King of Israel, hoping after the death of *Adad* to recouer Ramath in Galaad from the Assyrians, after he had made greater preparation and apparation for the war, he led his army against the same. In this siege he was hurt by an arrow which was shot by a certaine Syrian, but not vnto the death, and retired himselfe into the Citie of Iezrael vntill he were recouered
B of his wounds (leauing behind him his whole army at the siege of Ramath vnder the conduct of *Iehu* the sonne of *Nimsi*, who tooke the Citie by force) intending vpon his recouery to make warre against the Syrians. But the Prophet *Elizeus* sent one of his disciples to Ramath, and gaue him the holy oyle, and willed him to annoint *Iehu*, and to say vnto him that God had chosen and annointed him for King: and after hee had informed him likewise in certaine other instructions, he commanded him to depart after the manner of one that flieth, making no man priuy of his departure. When this disciple of his came vnto the appointed citie, he found *Iehu* sitting in the midst of the captaines at warre (according as *Elizeus* had told him) and drawing neere vnto him, hee told him that he would communicate certaine secrets with him, for which cause he arose and followed him into his chamber. Wherupon the yong man taking out the oile powred it on his head,
C saying, that God had chosen him to exterminate the race of *Achab*, and reuenge the blood of the Prophets vniustly murthered by *Iezabel*: and that both hee and his house might bee brought to nought in like sort, as the sonnes of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nabat*, and the children of *Basa* were extinguished for their impietie; so that no one of the race of *Achab* might suruiue in the world. As soone as he had spoken thus, he issued out of the chamber with all speed, endeuouring that he might not be discouered by any of the army. Now when as *Iehu* was come out, hee returned to his place where hee sate with his captaines, who demanded of him, and besought him to declare vnto them, wherefore the yong man came vnto him (alledging that they supposed him to be out of his wits.) Truely (said he) you haue diuined well: for he hath talked vnto me after the manner of a mad man: wherein (they desirous to vnderstand wherefore he came, and beseeching him to
D expresse the cause) hee told them what he had said vnto him, namely, how God had chosen him to be King ouer the people.

As soone as he had spoken these words, euery one of them cast off their garments and spred them before him, and sounding a trumpet, they proclaimed *Iehu* King; who assembling his army, determined to conduct them toward the Citie of Iezrael against *Ioram*) who lay there to recouer his wound which he had receiued at the siege of Ramath in Galaad, as wee haue heretofore declared.) Thither also was resorted in the way of friendship and consanguinitie, *Ochozias* King of Ierusalem, both to visite *Ioram*, and to see how he was recouered of his wound: for he was his nephew and sonne vnto his sister, as wee haue said before. *Iehu* desirous to surprise *Ioram* and his followers on the sodaine, made an ordinance, by which he prohibited that none of the souldiers
E should runne before to giue any intelligence of his repaire vnto *Ioram*; alledging that it should be a manifest demonstration of their good will towards him: whereas contrariwise, they that did otherwise, declared that they held him not for their King.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 6. Iorams expedition against Ramath. 4. Reg. 9.

Iehu by Gods commandement annointed King.

CHAP. V.

IORAM *with all his race is slaine by* IEHV: OCHOZIAS *King of Ierusalem is likewise slaine with him.*

F THE men of war were very ioyfull to execute this his ordinance, and guarded the waies, to the intent that no man might secretly steale into Iezrael, and beare tidings to the inhabitants of that which had hapned. Meane while, *Iehu* attended by certaine of his choisest horsemen, and mounted in his owne person vpon a chariot, marched towards Iezrael. And when as he drew neere vnto the Citie, the sentinell that was appointed by *Ioram* to discouer those that repaired to the Citie, perceiued *Iehu* resorting thither with a multitude of attendants, and told *Ioram* that a troupe of horsemen were at hand. Whereupon a scout was sent out to discouer

The yeare of the world, 3060. before Christs birth. 904.

who they were; who drawing neere vnto *Iehu*, asked him what newes there was in the army, telling him that the King was desirous to know the same: *Iehu* willed him to take no care thereof, but to follow after him. The sentinell perceiuing this, certified *Ioram* that the messenger whom he had sent, trouped along with them that came, and followed their Generall. Whereupon the King set out a messenger the second time; and *Iehu* commanded him to attend him as he did the first: which the sentinell signified to *Ioram* likewise, who finally mounted his charriot to goe out to meet them, accompanied with *Ochozias* King of Ierusalem, who (as we haue said) was come into the citie, to see how the King recouered vpon his hurt, because hee was neerely allied vnto him. But *Iehu* marched on softly and in goodly array, till *Ioram* meeting with him in the field of *Naboth*, asked him how the army did? Who in stead of answer, reuiled him bitterly, and called him the sonne of a poysoner and of a harlot. For which cause *Ioram* (fearing his turbulent spirit, and suspecting least he hammered vpon some sinister intent) turned his backe, and fled away as swiftly as his charriot could bee driuen; telling *Ochozias*, that they were both of them craftily surprised by treason: but *Iehu* flung a dart at him and pierced him thorow, and cleft his heart. For which cause *Ioram* instantly fell vpon his knees, and died. Hereupon *Iehu* commanded *Badac* (who gouerned the third part of his army) to cast *Iorams* body into *Naboths* field, remembring him of the prophecie of *Elias* foretold by him to *Achab*, who murthered *Naboth*: namely, that hee and his race should die in that field. For sitting behind *Achabs* charriot, he heard these words pronounced by the Prophet: In effect it so fell out as he had prophecied. When *Ioram* was fallen downe, *Ochozias* was affraid to bee slaine: for which cause hee turned his charriot to take an other way, hoping that *Iehu* would not discouer him. But he was pursued and ouertaken in a certaine steepy way, and was hurt with an arrow: whereupon he forsooke his charriot, and being mounted vpon a swift horse, he posted to Maggedo, where after his wounds had been searched and dressed some few daies, hee deceased, and was carried to Ierusalem and buried there, after hee had raigned one yeere, and surpassed his father in wickednesse.

Iorams slaughter.

The truth of Elias prophecie.

The death of Ochozias King of Ierusalem, and his buriall.

G H I

CHAP. VI.

IEHV *raigneth ouer Israel, and keepeth his court in Samaria; and after him his progeny to the fourth generation.*

AT such time as *Iehu* arriued at Iezrael, *Iezabel* being on the top of a tower in her princely robes, cried out: O trusty seruant (said shee) that hath slaine his Master! Hee looking vpward, asked her what shee was, commanding her to come downe vnto him: at length he charged her Eunuches to cast her downe from the top of the tower; who in her falling bebloodied the walles: and no sooner fell she vpon the ground, but that her body was trampled vnder the horses feete, vntill shee died. That done, *Iehu* repaired to the palace with his friends, and reposed himselfe therein, commanding his seruants that they should bury *Iezabel* (in respect of the royall race from whence shee was descended) but they to whom the charge of the obsequies were committed, found no part of her body, but her hands and head, for all the rest was deuoured by dogs. *Iehu* certified hereof, wondred at the prophecie of *Elias*, who had foretold that *Iezabel* should die in that sort in Iezrael.

A famous example of Gods iudgement.

4. King. 10.

K L

Now in that *Achabs* seuentie sonnes were brought vp in Samaria, *Iehu* sent two letters, the one vnto the Masters of the infants, the other to the gouernours of the Citie, giuing them to vnderstand, that they should choose one of the most vertuous amongst *Achabs* children, to raigne as King ouer them, because they had a multitude of strong charriots, horses, armour, men, and strong Cities; to the end that in so doing, they might take reuenge on those that slew their Lord and Master. (This did he vnder a colour to sound how the Samaritans were affected towards him.) When the gouernours and tutors had receiued these letters, they were affraid, and made account that they could preuale nothing against him, who had preuailed already against two mightie Kings. For which cause they wrote backe vnto him, acknowledging him for their soueraigne; and offering themselues in all dutie, to bee vnder his subiection. Whereupon *Iehu* sent backe vnto them againe, commanding them, that (to expresse their obedience) they should send him the heads of *Achabs* children, diuided from their shoulders. Which command of his they failed not to execute, but presently packed vp the heads in panniers, and sent them vnto him to Iezrael. As soone as they were brought thither, tidings therof was carried to *Iehu*, as he sate at supper with his friends, who commanded that they should bee laid in two heapes, at the citie gates on either side thereof. Which done, he issued out as soone as it was day, to see them; and beholding them, hee began

Achabs 70. children slain in Samaria.

M

began to tell thoſe that accompanied him,that he had voluntarily armed himſelfe againſt his maſter,and ſlew him : but as touching thoſe whom they ſaw there, hee had no waies laid hands on them. His onely intent was, that all men ſhould know, that all that which hapned vnto *Achabs* race,was done by the ordinance of God,and that his houſe was deſtroyed according as *Elias* had foretold.And after he had ſlaine and diſpatched both theſe and all thoſe that were found to be of *Achabs* race amongſt the Iſraelites,he went vnto Samaria: and meeting by the way with *Ochozias* houſhold ſeruants (who was King of Ieruſalem) he asked them whither they went? who anſwered him,that they went to ſalute *Ioram* and their king *Ochozias* (for they knew not as yet that they were both of them ſlaine.) Hereupon *Iehu* commanded his ſeruants to lay hands on them, and put them to the ſword,notwithſtanding they were forty two in number. After them he met with a vertuous man called *Ionadab* (who in times paſt had beene his ancient friend,who embracing him, praiſed his forwardneſſe, in that hee had performed all things according to the will of God, in aboliſhing *Achabs* houſe. *Iehu* cauſed him to mount vp with him in his charriot,and accompany him to Samaria,telling him that hee ſhould well perceiue, that hee would ſpare no one wicked man,but would puniſh all the falſe Prophets,and tellers of lies,and abuſers of the people, who had made them forſake the true ſeruice of God, and adore ſtrange gods : becauſe the moſt laudable and allowed ſpectacle that might encounter a good mans eye,was to ſee the puniſhment of the wicked. *Ionadab* perſwaded by theſe words,mounted vp into his charriot, and went with him to Samaria; and after *Iehu* had ſought out *Achabs* kinred,hee put them to death : and intending that no one of his falſe prophets and prieſts,ſhould eſcape his hands,hee aſſembled them together by a ſubtill policie. For gathering the people together, he proteſted that hee would haue twiſe as many gods as *Achab* had had : willing that all the prieſts and miniſters that belonged vnto them,ſhould preſent themſelues,for that he intended to celebrate rich and magnificent ſacrifices to *Achabs* gods; proteſting that whatſoeuer Prieſt ſhould be abſent,hee ſhould loſe his head. Now this god whom *Achab* honoured,was called *Baal*. Hauing in this ſort aſſigned a day wherein he would offer ſacrifice,hee ſent thorow all the countrey of Iſrael,charging all *Baals* prieſts to repaire vnto him,and commanding that each of them might haue their veſtments giuen them.As ſoone as they were apparelled,hee reſorted to his lodging,accompanied with his friend *Ionadab*, and commanded that a ſearch ſhould bee made amongſt them, to eſpie whether any one of contrary quality or condition were medled with them; for that he intended that no ſtranger ſhould be amongſt the prieſts. When as therefore hee vnderſtood that none but the prieſts were in that aſſembly, euen at ſuch time as they began to offer ſacrifice, hee cauſed them to bee incloſed by foureſcore ſouldiers (whom he eſteemed to be moſt truſty) whom he cõmanded to kill the falſe prophets, and to puniſh them according to the cuſtome of their forefathers, which had already too long time beene neglected; dreadfully threatning all thoſe,who ſhould any waies intermit to roote out the name and memorie of theſe wretches out of the world. They therefore ſlew all theſe prieſts, and inuironed the Kings palace; and in ſo doing cleered Samaria of forraine gods. This *Baal* was the god of the Tyrians (for whom *Achab* builded a temple in Samaria, intending thereby to content *Ithobaal* the king of the Tyrians and Sidonians) to whom he aſſigned prieſts, and honoured him with all ſorts of ſacrifice. After this Idol was exterminated, *Iehu* ſuffered the Iſraelites to adore golden calues. When this execution was performed in puniſhing the wicked, God (to whom this action of his was acceptable) told *Iehu* by his Prophet, that his children ſhould obtaine the kingdome of Iſrael to the fourth generation. This was *Iehues* eſtate.

The yeare of the world, 3061. before Chriſts Natiuitie.904.

The rooting out of Achabs line.

The ſlaughter of Ochozias ſeruants.

Ionadab.

The ſlaughter of Baals prieſts.

Baal god of the Tyrians.

The kingdom promiſed to Iehues poſteritie.

CHAP. VII.

ATHALIA *raigned fiue yeeres in Ieruſalem : and after ſhe was ſlaine by the hie Prieſt,* IOAS *is proclaimed King.*

Athalia Achabs daughter,hearing newes of the death of her brother *Ioram*,and her ſon *Ochozias*,together with the vtter ruine of all the royall poſterity,bethought her ſelfe to extinguiſh *Dauids* memory, and in ſuch ſort to root it out,that no one of that line ſhould remaine aliue to enioy the kingdome hereafter: which when ſhe had concluded in her heart,ſhe began to put it in execution. Yet notwithſtanding one of *Ochozias* ſonnes eſcaped her bloody hands, by this meanes that inſueth. *Ochozias* had a ſiſter by his fathers ſide, whoſe name was *Ioſabetha*, who was married to *Ioiada* the hie prieſt; who entring into the Kings palace, and finding *Ioas* at that time but one yeere of age hidden with his nurſe amongſt the dead, ſhee tooke both him and his nurſe,and locked them vp in a cloſet within the temple, where *Ioiada* her husband and ſhe did

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap.7. 4.Reg.11.

Athalia rooteth out all the royall blood,onely Ioas Ochoziaſ ſon is ſaued.

secretly nourish them for the space of fiue yeares, during which time *Athalia* raigned in Ierusa- G
lem ouer the two tribes.

The yeare of the world, 3060. before Christs Natiuitie. 904.

About the seuenth yeere, *Ioiada* entred into discourse with fiue Centurions, and perswaded them to oppose themselues with mutuall consent against *Athalias* proceedings, and to assure the kingdome to little *Ioas*. Whereupon giuing and receiuing faithfull promises of secrecie the one vnto the other, they confidently addressed themselues to execute their intended purposes, after this manner: They whom the high Priest had chosen to execute this act, went thorow all the countrey, and gathered the Priests and Leuites together, with all the gouernours of the tribes, and afterwards returned and brought them to Ierusalem to the high Priest, who made them sweare an oath, that they would keepe secret that which he should enforme them of, as a thing that required silence, and men of execution to performe the same. As soone as he had assured them by oath, he brought forth the little childe whom he had nourished (who was of *Dauids* line) and H
said vnto them: Behold your king, who is of that race which (as you know) was chosen by God to raigne ouer you for euer: I therefore thinke it fit that the third part of your guard and keepe him within the temple, and that the fourth make their watch round about the same. An other company shall haue the guard of the great gate that leadeth to the palace: as for the rest of the people, let them remaine disarmed within the Temple, and suffer no armed man to enter therein-to, except the Priest onely. Hee appointed also another company of Priests and Leuites to bee about the King, with Iauelins, and drawne swords, charging them that whosoeuer durst be so bold to enter the Temple armed, they should presently put him to the sword, and laying all feare aside, to attend the safety and guard of the Kings person. They beeing obedient to that which the hie Priest had commanded them, in effect expressed their readinesse: whereupon *Ioiada* opening the I
Arcenall, (which in times past was prepared by *Dauid*) distributed amongst the Centurions, Leuites and Priests, all the iauelins, quiuers, and all other sorts of armes that were therein, and disposed all them that were armed, round about the people, ioyned hand in hand to impeach any one from entring in amongst them that were not of that faction. Afterwards bringing out the infant *Ioas* into the midst of the company, they set the royall crowne on his head, and *Ioiada* after he had annointed him with oyle, proclaimed him king: whereupon all the people reioyced, and clapping their hands, cried out, God saue the King.

The yeare of the world 3067. before Christs Natiuity. 897.

Athalia hearing this noise and applause, beyond all hope, was greatly troubled, and with those souldiers which she had about her, she hastily issued out of the palace, and arriuing in the temple the priests admitted her: as for the rest of the men of war that followed her, they that by the high Priests ordinance circuited the temple, would not suffer them to enter with her. Now when *Athalia* saw the child standing before the Tabernacle with the royall crowne on his head, she rent her garments, and storming thorow despite, she cried out and commanded that the traitor should be slaine, that had thus betraied her and sought to dispossesse her of her kingdome. But *Ioiada* called the Centurions, and commanded them to carry *Athalia* out vnto the brooke Cedron, and there to kill her (because he would not permit that the temple should be defiled with her cursed blood.) Moreouer he charged them, that if any one should attempt to rescue her, they should kill them likewise. Hereupon, they (that were appointed to execute this his command) tooke her, and led her without the gate of the kings mules, and there slew her. After that *Athalia* was in this manner executed, *Ioiada* assembled the people and the men of warre in the temple, binding them all by an oath, to yeeld the king their faithfull seruice, and to procure the prosperitie and increase of his kingdome. Secondly, he made the king sweare in like manner, that he would maintaine the seruice of God, and in no manner disannull *Moses* lawes. That done, they ranne vnto *Baals* temple (which *Athalia* and her husband *Ioram* had built to the dishonour of God, and their forefathers, and for the honour of *Achab*) and leuelled it with the ground, and put to death their high Priest called *Mathan*. The charge and guard of the temple, *Ioiada* committed to the Priests and Leuites, according to the order established by *Dauid*, with commandement twise a day to offer their ordinarie burnt offerings, and consequently to make perfumes according to the law. He appointed also certaine of the Leuites to be porters to guard the temple, to the intent that no vncleane thing should enter the same vnespied: and after he had ordained these things with the Centurions & gouernours and with all the people, he tooke *Ioas* and led him out of the M
temple, and attended him to the palace, and hauing placed him in his royall throne, all the people cried, God saue the king, and banquetted and feasted for diuers daies. Thus after the death of *Athalia* the citie was in quiet. *Ioas* was 7. yeeres old at such time as he was made king, his mother was called *Sabia*, & was of the towne Bersabe. He carefully obserued the lawes, & highly affected

Athalias punishment.

The king and the people ioyned by oath to serue God. L

The restoring of Gods seruice.

Ioas pietie during Ioiadas time.

the

A the ſeruice of God all his life time: and when he grew to mans eſtate he maried two wiues, which the high Prieſt gaue him, by whom he had ſonnes and daughters. This is all that I haue thought good to declare as concerning *Ioas*, both how he eſcaped *Athalias* treaſons, and obtained the kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 3067. before Chriſts birth. 877.

4. King. 12.

CHAP. VIII.

AZAEL King of Damaſco leuieth an army, and firſt of all aſſaulteth the Iſraelites, and after marcheth forward againſt Ieruſalem.

B BVT *Azael* king of Syria making warre againſt the Iſraelites, and againſt their king *Iehu*, deſtroyed the countrey on the other ſide of Iordan, and all the eaſterne tract inhabited by the Rubenites, Gadites, and Manaſſites. Furthermore, he burnt and ſpoiled Galaad, and Bathanæa, violenting and outraging all thoſe that hee met withall. For *Iehu* went not out againſt him to reſiſt him, but (being become a contemner of God, and a deſpiſer of pietie, and his lawes) he died after he had raigned ſeuen and twenty yeeres ouer the Iſraelites: he was buried in Samaria, and left behind him *Ioas* his ſonne to ſucceede him in his kingdome. But *Ioas* King of Ieruſalem conceiued a certaine deſire to renew the Temple: for which cauſe, calling vnto him *Ioiada* the high Prieſt, he commanded him to ſend thorow all the countrey the Leuites and Prieſts, and to leuie vpon euery one of their heads halfe a ſicle of ſiluer for the building and reparation of the Temple, which was fallen to decay in *Ioram*, *Athalia*, and her followers times. But the high C Prieſt would not obey him herein, knowing well that no man would willingly disburſe mony. But in the three and twentieth yeere of his raigne, the king ſent both for *Ioiada*, and the Leuites alſo, and expoſtulated with them for diſobeying his commandement, enioyning them from that time foorth to prouide for the building of the Temple. Whereupon the high Prieſt vſed preſent diſpatch in leuying the mony, wherewith the people were highly contented. He therefore made a cheſt of wood cloſed on euery ſide (except that on the vpper lid thereof, there was a little crannie left open) which he placed neere vnto the Altar, commanding that euery one ſhould offer according to his deuotion, and put in his offering thorow the cranny into the coffer, to be imployed in the repairing of the Temple; whereunto all the people ſhewed themſelues affectionate: ſo that they gathered together a great quantity of gold and ſiluer, with great zeale; and when the D coffer was filled it was emptied, and the account thereof taken and ſumd vp by the Secretary, and high Prieſt in the kings preſence, and afterwards al was brought together into one aſſigned place: which order was obſerued euery day. And when as it was ſuppoſed that there was ſufficient money gathered, the high Prieſt *Ioiada* and King *Ioas* hired maſons, and carpenters, and prepared great beames of excellent timber.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 8.

4 Reg. 12. 13.

The warre between Azael and Iehu.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Chriſts Nativity 975.

The reſtoring of the temple.

After that the temple was repaired, they imploied the remainder of golde and ſiluer (which was of no ſmall quantity) to make cups, pots, and veſſels, and other vtenſils: and euery day offered they ſacrifice of great value vpon the Altar, and this cuſtome was continued ſo long as *Ioiada* liued. But after his deceaſe (which hapned in the hundred and thirtieth yeere of his age, after he had liued a iuſt and vpright life, & was interred in the ſepulcher of *Dauid* in Ieruſalem, becauſe he E had eſtabliſhed the kingdome in *Dauids* poſterity) king *Ioas* had no more care to ſerue God, and with him the reſt of the Gouernours of the people were corrupted in contradiction of the lawes and ordinances, which they knew were very conuenient for them. For which cauſe God being prouoked by this change, and incenſed againſt the king and the reſt, ſent his Prophets vnto them, to proteſt, to expoſtulate with them for their offences, & to withdraw them from their iniquity. But they purſued ſin the more vehemently; ſo that neither the puniſhments, by which they, who had offended G O D before times, had beene plagued, with all their poſterities; neither all the aduertiſements giuen them by the Prophets, could induce them to amend, or to forſake thoſe ſinnes wherein they were engaged: but that which is worſt; king *Ioas* ſtoned *Zachary Ioiadas* ſon, and put him to death in the temple, forgetting himſelfe moſt vngratefully of the benefites he had F receiued by his father. And the occaſion was, for that *Zachary* hauing receiued a charge frō God to prophecy, came into the midſt of the people, & counſelled both them & him to follow iuſtice, foretelling them that they ſhould be grieuouſly puniſhed except they did beleeue. This *Zachary* did at his death call God to witnes and iudge of thoſe calamities he endured, in dying grieuouſly and violently for the good counſell which he had giuen them, and the benefites which his father had in times paſt done vnto *Ioas*. But many daies paſſed not before the king ſuffered due puniſhment

Ioas impiety after Ioiadas death, & how he was reproued by the Prophet. 2. Paral 28.

Zachary ſtoned to death.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Christs Nativity. 875.

niſhment for theſe miſdeeds. For *Azael* king of the Syrians inuaded his country, and after he had G
firſt of all ruinated Girta, he marched forward with an intent to beſiege him at laſt in Ieruſalem.
Ioas deſperate of all ſuccours, emptied all the treaſures of God, and thoſe of the kings, and tooke
away the preſents that were hung vp in the Temple, and ſent them to the Syrian, redeeming the
ſiege by this means, leaſt he ſhould be drawne into hazzard to loſe all. The Syrian pacified with
ſuch and ſo great riches, and aboundant treaſure, ſuffered not his army to paſſe to Ieruſalem. Af-
ter this, *Ioas* was ſeized with a grieuous ſicknes, and (to the intent that the death of *Zachary* the
ſonne of *Ioiada* might not eſcape vnreuenged) his friends conſpired againſt him, and he died by
their hands. He was entombed in Ieruſalem, but not in the ſepulcher of his anceſtors, becauſe he
had fallen from God: He liued ſeauen and forty yeares.

The ſpoile of the temple. Ioas death.

The yeere of the world, 3105. before Christs Nativitie, 859.

CHAP. IX. H

AMASIAS *king of Ieruſalem made warre againſt the Idumæans and Amalechites, and obtained the victory.*

4. Reg. 14. Amatias king of Ieruſalem.

AMASIAS his ſonne ſucceeded him in the kingdome. But in the 21. yeere of *Ioas* raigne, *Ioachas*, the ſonne of *Iehu*, tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Iſrael in Samaria, and was ſeized thereof for the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeeres. But he followed not his fathers ſteps,
but rather behauing himſelfe impiouſly, according as his predeceſſors in the kingdome,
and contemners of God had done: For which cauſe the king of Syria ſubdued him, and cut
off a great part of his dominions, and tooke his greateſt cities from him, and defeated his armies:
ſo that at length he had but ten thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen. All which hap- I
ned to the Iſraelites (according to the prophecy of *Elizeus*, which he foretold vnto *Azael* at
ſuch time as he prophecied vnto him, that he ſhould raigne ouer the Syrians, and them of Da-
maſco, after that he had murthered his maſter. *Ioachas* being in this extremitie, had his recourſe
to God in prayer and ſupplication, beſeeching him that it might pleaſe him to deliuer him from
the hands of *Azael*, and not ſuffer him to be vnder ſubiection and thraldome vnto him.

The forces of Iſrael weakned and reſtored by God.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Christs Nativitie. 875.

God (that reſpecteth the repentant, as if they had bin innocent, and that gently checketh thoſe
whom he might vtterly exterminate, if he ſo pleaſed) gaue him aſſurance againſt this warre and
danger, ſo that the countrey (hauing obtained peace) recouered preſently her former eſtate and
proſperitie. When *Ioachas* was dead, his ſonne ſucceeded him in the gouernment, and began to
raigne ouer the Iſraelites in Samaria, in the 37. yeere of *Ioas* king of Iuda. (For this king of Iſrael
was called *Ioas*, as well as he that raigned in Ieruſalem) hee gouerned the kingdome ſixteene K
yeeres. He was a good man, and had no correſpondence with his father in diſpoſition. About this
time *Elizeus* the Prophet was very old, and fell ſicke: to him reſorted the king of Iſrael to viſite
him, and finding him in the extreamitie, and paſt hope of recouerie, he began to weepe and la-
ment himſelfe, calling him his father, and his armour, becauſe that during his life, he had neuer
occaſion to vſe the ſword againſt the enemy; but that by meanes of his predictions, he had al-
waies the vpper hand of them without ſtroke ſtriking: that now he departed this life, and left him
diſarmed to the mercie of the Syrians, and other his enemies; ſo that he had neither ſecuritie of
libertie, nor life, but that he rather wiſhed to die with him, then to liue in thoſe dangers.

Ioas king of Iſrael and Samaria.

The yeare of the world, 3103. before the Natiuitie of Christ 861.

Elizeus being mooued with theſe complaints, comforted the king that lamented in this ſort,
and commanding him to draw his bowe that he had brought with him (for the king had bent
the ſame) *Elizeus* ſaid vnto him, Draw: and he ſhot three arrowes, and gaue ouer at the fourth. Oh L
ſaid *Elizeus*, if thou hadſt ſhot more arrowes, thou hadſt vtterly ruinated the kingdome of the
Syrians: and ſith thou haſt contented thy ſelfe with three ſhoots onely, thou ſhalt ouerthrow the
Syrians in three battels, which thou ſhalt fight againſt them, and ſhalt recouer the countrey they
haue taken from thy father. After the king vnderſtood theſe things he departed, and not long af-
ter the Prophet died) who was renowned for his iuſtice, and manifeſtly beloued of GOD, who
ſhewed miraculous and incredible workes by his prophecies, and ſuch and ſo worthie as the He-
brewes ought to keepe them in perpetuall remembrance) and was buried magnificently (accor-
ding as it behooued a man, who was ſo highly fauoured by God as himſelfe.

Elizeus foretelleth that Ioas ſhould ouercome the Syrians thriſe. Elizeus death & the raiſing of a dead man to life that was caſt into his tombe.

It chanced about that time, that certaine theeues hauing caſt the body of a man that was mur- M
thered by thē vpon the body of the prophet where he lay buried, the dead body returned to life.
This is all that we haue to ſpeak as touching *Elizeus*, both in reſpect of his prophecies during his
life time, as of that which hapned after his death, in witneſſe of his diuine power. After the death
of *Azael* king of Syria, *Adad* his ſonne obtained the kingdome, againſt whom *Ioas* king of Iſrael
made

Ioas trebble victory.

A made war,and hauing ouercome him three times, he recouered all that countrey, thoſe Cities, and townes of the country of Iſrael,that *Azael* his father had conquered before him.) Al which came to paſſe according as *Elizeus* had prophecyed.) After that *Ioas* had forſaken this world for another,the kingdome fell to *Ieroboam* his ſonne. *The yeere of the world, 3103. before Chriſts Nativitie. 861.*

CHAP. X.

AMASIAS *making warre againſt* IOAS *king of Iſrael, is ouercome,*

B THE tenth yeere of the raigne of *Ioas* king of Iſrael, *Amaſias* raigned ouer the Tribe of *Iuda* in Ieruſalem: his mother was called *Iudan,* and was a citizen of Ieruſalem. Hee was wondrouſly carefull to maintaine iuſtice (notwithſtanding hee was very young.) And hauing taken vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome, hee reſolued with himſelfe, that he ought firſt of all to reuenge the death of his father *Ioas*, who was traiterouſly ſlaine hy his friends: he therefore laid hands on them,and put them all to the ſword (yet extended hee not his diſpleaſure to their children,but conformed his actions according to the lawes of *Moſes*; which ſaith,that it is not lawfull to puniſh the children for their fathers offences.) He afterwards leuyed an army of the tribes of Iuda and Beniamin,and choſe the men that were in their flowring yeeres, and about twenty yeeres of age : the number of whom amounted to three hundred thouſand men, whom he diuided into Centuries. Hee ſent alſo to the king of Iſrael, and waged a hundred C thouſand of his armed men for a hundred talents of ſiluer,becauſe hee intended to make war vpon the Amalechites,Idumæans, and Gabelites. Now whilſt hee made this preparation,and was in a readines to vndertake this exploit; a certen prophet counſelled him to diſmiſſe the Iſraelites that he had with him, becauſe they had no piety in them, ſignifying vnto him from God, that if he were followed by them in that war,he ſhould be ouercome: and contrariwiſe, that he ſhould haue the vpper hand ouer his enemies,if hee fought with a few men,according to Gods direction.Hereupon the king was ſore moued(becauſe he had already paied the Iſraelites their wages) but the prophet ceaſed not to exhort him to do that which was pleaſant in Gods ſight,who wold giue him ſiluer in aboundance.For this cauſe he diſmiſſed them, telling them that he freely gaue them their pay; and he with the forces of his kingdome marched out againſt thoſe nations, and D fought with them, and ouercame them, and ſlew ten thouſand of them, and tooke no leſſe number of priſoners aliue (whom he afterwards cauſed to be led to a high rocke that bounded vpon Arabia, and from thence caſt them downe headlong) and from all theſe nations he recouered a great bootie,and brought home much riches.

Hedio & Ruffinus.chap.9. Amaſias king of Ieruſalem. 4 *Reg.*14. *Deut.*24. *The yeare of the world, 3106.before Chriſts Nativitie.*858. The diſmiſſion of the Iſraelites. 2.*Paral.*25. Amaſias victory ouer the Amalechites.

Whilſt *Amaſias* ſtood vpon theſe tearmes, the Iſraelites (that had taken wages of him, and were caſhiered by him) conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt him, ſuppoſing themſelues to be iniured by him,as if he had diſmiſſed them for men of ſmall reſolution.For which cauſe they inuaded his countrey,and ſpoiled it as farre as *Bethſemer*,and carried away a great quantity of cattel,and ſlew three thouſand men.This victorie and proſperitie made *Amaſias* proud,ſo that he began to forget God, who was the author thereof,and continued the honor of thoſe gods which he brought E from the countrey of the Amalechites. For which cauſe a prophet came vnto him and ſaid,that he wondred that he ſhould eſteeme them for gods,who had ſo litle auailed them who honoured them,and had deliuered them into his hands; ſo that diuers of them were put to death,and diuers led away priſoners, which they themſelues had brought vnto Ieruſalem, according to the cuſtome of war.Theſe words moued the King vnto diſpleaſure,ſo that he commanded the prophet to ſilence, threatning him to puniſh him, if he intermedled with his affaires any more. Who anſwered him, that he would no further vrge him; yet withall he foreprophecied vnto him, that God would not ſuffer this his innouation to reſt vnpuniſhed. Anone after, *Amaſias* (not able to keep a moderation amidſt his affluence and proſperity: but waxing more inſolent againſt almightie God,by whom he poſſeſſed the bleſſings he inioyed) iu height of his pride wrote to *Ioas* king F of Iſrael, commanding him and his to yeeld him homage,according as in times paſt the Iſraelits were ſubiect to *Dauid* and *Salomon*; threatning him, that if he refuſed to doe him voluntarie ſeruice,he would enforce him to decide the different by armes: to whom the Iſraelite replied thus. King *Ioas* to King *Amaſias*.There was in the mountain of Libanus a Cypres tree of great height, to whom a little thiſtle wrote,demanding of him his daughter in marriage for his ſon.But during this interparlee betwixt them,there came a certaine wilde beaſt,that troad downe the thiſtle. Let this example admoniſh and diſſwade thee from attempting of too mighty matters,neither growing

Amaſias is reprehended by a prophet for his idolatry.

The yeere of the world, 3106. before Christs Nativity. 858.

ing proud of thy last victory against the Amalechites, least thorow thy presumption thou expose both thy life and fortune to the incertaine hazzard of warre. When *Amasias* had perused this answer of his, he was the more whetted vnto warre (God also as it seemed pricked him forward, to the intent to chastise those iniquities that were committed by him.) When as therefore he had drawne his army into the field, and both the armies were vpon the point to wage the battell, a suddaine feare and discouragement seised him (such as God in his displeasure is accustomed to inflict) which made *Amasias* armie turne their backs: so that (by the apprehension they had conceiued) they were scattered before they came to handie strokes; and *Amasias* being left alone, was taken prisoner. Him did *Ioas* threaten, that except he perswaded the inhabitants of Ierusalem to open their gates, and to receiue both him and his armie into the citie, he would put him to death. For which cause *Amasias* (constrained by necessitie and feare of death) wrought so much as his enemies were receiued into Ierusalem, who made a breach of three hundred cubits in their wall; and there-thorow *Amasias* was led captiue into Ierusalem. In this manner was *Ioas* made master of the Citie, who afterwards carried away the treasures of the temple, and tooke away the gold and siluer that *Amasias* had in his Palace: and hauing in this sort ransomed him from captiuitie, he returned backe againe into Samaria. This hapned in the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Amasias*, who afterwards fled into the Citie of *Lachis*, to auoide the conspiracie of his domesticall friends, by whom notwithstanding hee was surprised, and slaine by them that were sent to doe the deede: his body was brought and royally entombed in Ierusalem. Thus died *Amasias* for introducing inuocations in contempt of God; he liued fiftie foure yeeres, and raigned twentie and nine: his sonne *Ozias* succeeded him in the kingdome.

Amasias expedition against Ioas king of Israel.

Amasias taken prisoner by the king of Israel.

Ierusalem ruinated.

The temple spoiled.

Amasias slain.

CHAP. XI.

How OZIAS *ouercame his neighbour Nations.*

The yeare of the world, 3120. before the Nativitie of Christ. 844

BVT in the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of *Amasias*, *Ieroboam*, *Ioas* sonne, began to raigne ouer the Israelites in Samaria, and enioyed the kingdome for the space of fortie yeeres. This king dishonoured God, and offended him grieuously in obseruance of Idols, and diuers absurd and strange actions, by which he heaped ten thousand mischiefes and miseries on the Israelites heads. To him came there a certaine Prophet called *Ionas*, who prophecied vnto him, that he should make warre against the Syrians, and that he should ouercome them, and enlarge his kingdome to the Northward, as farre as the City of Amatha; and to the Southward as farre as the lake Asphaltites (for these in times past were the limits of the countrey of Chanaan, according as the generall *Iosuah* had confined them.) *Ieroboam* encouraged by this prophecy, led foorth his armie against the Syrians, and spoiled all their countrey (according to the prophecy of *Ionas*.) And for that I haue promised to yeeld an exact history in writing of all those things that hapned in our nation, me thinkes it shall not be amisse to declare that, which I haue found written of this Prophet in our Hebrew Chronicles. This man (being commanded by God to repaire vnto the kingdome of *Ninus*, and to proclaime that which should happen to the city of Niniuie; namely, that the gouernment thereof should be abolished) thorow feare which he conceiued repaired not thither, but fled from Gods presence into a city called Ioppa; where finding a shippe, he entred the same and sailed towards Tharsis in Cicilia. But there arose so vehement a tempest vpon the sea, that the vessell was ready to be drowned, and both the Mariners, Master, and Owners of the ship, made their vow of thanksgiuing vnto God, if they might escape from this tempest: but *Ionas* hid himselfe, and couered his face, performing no such matter as the rest had done. Whereas therefore the turbulent waues incensed by violent windes, increased more and more; the mariners and passengers beganne to imagine amongst themselues, that some one of them in that Barke had caused that tempest: whereupon they agreed amongst themselues to cast lots, to know which of them were the occasion of their danger. Which done, the lot fell vpon *Ionas*: who being demanded whence he was, and for what businesse he trauelled: answered them, that he was an Hebrew by nation, and a Prophet of the most high God; and counselled them, that if they would be warranted from that danger, they should cast him into the sea, because it was hee onely that was the cause of that tempest. Notwithstanding this confession of his, they durst not performe that which he desired, supposing that it would be an act of great impietie, in that sort to thrust a stranger into that manifest perdition, whose life had beene committed to their trust. But for that the storme more and more increased, and grew so vehement, that they wanted very little of imminent shipwracke; and being besides that incited by *Ionas* himselfe, and whetted on likewise

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11 4. *Reg.* 14.

The enlargement of the kingdome of Israel.

Ionas 1.

Ionas sent vnto Niniuie, flieth the presence of God, and ascending a ship, is cast in a storme into the Sea.

A likewiſe by the feare they conceiued, to loſe their liues, they caſt him into the ſea: whereupon ſuddainly the ſtorme ceaſed. It is likewiſe ſaid, that being ſwallowed vp by a great fiſh (for the ſpace of three daies and three nights) he was at the laſt vomited out, and caſt by the ſame fiſh vpon the ſhore of the Euxine ſea aliue, and without any maime in any of his members. There beſought he GOD that he would pardon him the ſinne which he had committed: and afterwards he reſorted to the Citie of Niniuie, where aſcending a place from whence he might be heard, he publiſhed with a loud voice vnto them, that they ſhould loſe the Empire of Aſia: which after he had pronounced, he returned backe againe. This recitall haue I made according as I haue found it regiſtred in writing.

The yeere of the world, 3120. before Chriſts Nativity. 844.

Ionas caſt into the ſea, is deuoured by a whale, and caſt vpon the coaſt of Niniuie, foretelleth them of the loſſe of their empire. *Ionas 2.3.*

King *Ieroboam* hauing paſſed all his life time in proſperitie, and raigned for the ſpace of fortie
B yeeres, departed this life, and was intombed in Samaria, and *Zachary* his ſonne ſucceeded him in his kingdome. At the ſame time, *Ozias* the ſonne of *Amaſias* raigned in Ieruſalem ouer the two tribes, after that *Ieroboam* had already raigned foureteene yeeres; his mother was called *Achia*, and was of the Citie of Ieruſalem. He was a man of a good nature, and ſuch a one as loued iuſtice, of noble courage, and very laborious in prouiding for all occurrences: he made warre againſt the Philiſtines, and after that he had ouercome them in battell, he tooke Ita, and Amnia, two of their ſtrong forts, and raced them. This exploit done, he ſet vpon the Arabians that neighboured vpon Ægypt, and after that (hauing built a citie vpon the red ſea) he planted a garriſon therein. He afterwards diſcomfited the Ammonites, conſtraining them to pay him tribute, and ſubdued all as farre as the marſhes of Ægypt. After that, he began to prouide for the citie of Ieruſalem: for he
C built it anew, and repaired the walles thereof, that had beene beaten downe or decaied, either by continuance of time, or by the negligence of thoſe kings who were his predeceſſors: he repaired thoſe alſo which the King of Iſrael had beaten downe, at ſuch time as hauing taken *Amaſias* priſoner, he rode in triumph into the Citie. Beſides this, he erected a number of towers, each of them one hundred and fiftie cubits high. Theſe incloſed he with walles to ſet garriſons therein, and in diuers barren places he cauſed diuers fountaine heads to be made: for he had an infinite multitude of beaſts of carriage and other cattell, in that the countrey was fit for paſture. He tooke pleaſure alſo in tillage, for which cauſe he was often buſied about his land, ſowing, and planting the ſame. He had about him a choſen armie, to the number of three hundred and ſeauentie thouſand fighting men, whoſe Generals, Conductors, and Captaines, were valiant and inuincible
D men, and were in number two thouſand.

The yeere of the world, 3136. before Chriſts Nativitie, 828.

Ozias expedition, and the repairing of the Citie. *2. Paral. 26.*

The yeere of the world 3150. before Chriſts Nativitie 814.

Ozias riches and armie.

He taught his ſouldiers to march in a ſquare battell (in manner of the Macedonian Phalanx) arming each of them with ſwords, targets, and corſelets of braſſe, with arrowes and darts. Hee made alſo great preparation of diuers engins to batter Cities, and to ſhoote ſtones and darts, beſides diuers hookes, and other ſuch like inſtruments. But whil'ſt he was intent on theſe ſtudies and preparations, he grew inſolent and proud, and being puffed vp with mortall arrogance, he contemned the immortall force, which endureth for euer (which is pietie towards God, and the obſeruation of his commandements.) For which cauſe he was ouerthrowne by his proſperitie, and fell into his fathers ſins, thorow the happineſſe and greatneſſe of his eſtate, wherein he could not moderately containe himſelfe. So that vpon a certaine ſolemne feaſt day wherein all the people
E were aſſembled together, he attired himſelfe in the high Prieſts veſtments, and entred into the temple to offer ſacrifice vnto God vpon the golden altar; which notwithſtanding the high Prieſt *Azarias* (accompanied with foureſcore Prieſts) inhibited him the ſame, telling him that it was not lawfull for him to ſacrifice, in that it was onely allowed in thoſe that were of the poſteritie of the high Prieſt *Aaron*.

Ozias tranſgreſſeth his vocation, and is puniſhed with a leproſie and compelled to depart out of the citie.

Whil'ſt after this manner *Azarias* expoſtulated with him, commanding him to goe out of the Temple, and not to contradict the ordinances of God; the king waxed wroth, and threatned to take his life from him, except he kept himſelfe quiet. Whereupon there fell a great trembling and earthquake, and the temple cleft in twaine, and a great light of the ſunne entred thereinto, and reflected on the kings face in ſuch manner, that all his body was inſtantly couered with a le-
F proſie, and before the Citie (in a place called Eroge) the halfe of a mountaine (that ſtood to the Eaſtward) brake and fell, and rowled and remooued for the ſpace of foure ſtadia, towards the orientall mountaine, where it reſted: ſo that the publique waies were ſhut vp, and choaked, and the kings gardens of pleaſure were wholly ruinated & disfigured. When the Prieſts beheld the kings face couered with a leproſie, they told him what inconuenient had hapned vnto him, and enioyned him to depart out of the towne, according to the cuſtome of men that were polluted. Wherupon he (wholly confuſed at ſo grieuous an accident, and hauing no more audacitie to ſpeake)

The yeere of the world 3170. before Chriſts Nativitie 794.

obeied

The yeere of the world, 3170. before Christs Natiuitie, 794.

obeyed the commandement that was giuen him, enduring a pittifull and lamentable punishment for being elate and proud more then became humanitie, and for that he committed such impietie against God. He therefore remained without the Citie for a certaine time, and led a priuate life, and his sonne *Iotham* succeeded him in the kingdome. Finally, he died thorow griefe and discontent, after he had accomplished threescore and eight yeeres, whereof he raigned fiftie two, and was onely buried in his garden. G

Zacharias slaughter. 4. Reg. 35.

Zachary, Ieroboams sonne, hauing raigned sixe moneths ouer the Israelites, was slaine by treason complotted against him by a familiar friend of his called *Sellum*, the sonne of *Iabes*, who possessing the kingdome after him, enioyed not the same aboue thirtie daies. For the Generall *Manahem*, being at that time in the Citie of Tharsa, and vnderstanding of that which had hapned to *Zachary*, departed thence with all his force, and came to Samaria, and in a battell which hee fought, he slew *Sellum*: And afterwards obtaining the crowne, he went from thence towards the Citie of Tapsa, the inhabitants whereof locked and barred their gates against him, and would not receiue him: in reuenge whereof he spoiled all the countrey round about, and tooke the Citie by force, and (being highly incensed against the Tapsians for their insolence) he put them all to the sword, not sparing their little children (which was an incredible and barbarous crueltie in him.) *Manahem* raigned in this manner for the space of ten yeeres, continuing a most cruell and vnbridled tyrannie ouer the people. Afterwards being assailed by *Phul* king of the Syrians, he went not out against him, neither practised to resist him, but procured his peace for the sum of a thousand talents of siluer, which in way of composition he paid vnto him. The people furnished *Manahem* with this sum, in way of contribution, paying fiftie drachmes a peece. H I

Manahem king of Israel.

The yeere of the world, 3174. before Christs Natiuitie, 790.

The Tapsians slaughter.

Peace bought with money.

Anone after he died, and was buried in Samaria, leauing behind him a sonne to succeed him in the kingdome, whose name was *Phaceias*, who imitating his fathers crueltie, possessed the soueraigntie but two yeeres: for he was slaine at a feast in the midst of his friends, by a treason practised against him by *Phaceias* the sonne of *Romelias*, who enioyed the kingdome for the space of 20. yeeres, addicting himselfe to all impietie and wickednesse. But *Teglaphalasser* king of Assyria, led forth his armie against the Israelites, and spoiled all the countrey of Galaad, and that beyond Iordan, and Galilee, Cydida and Asor also, and led all the inhabitants thereof prisoners, and transported the kingdome to himselfe. This is that which we haue thought good to write as touching the king of Assyria.

The yeere of the world, 3185. before Christs Natiuitie 779.

Phaceias. The translation of the Israelites.

Iotham the sonne of *Ozias* raigned in Ierusalem ouer the tribe of *Iuda*: he was the sonne of a daughter of Ierusalem called *Iereса*. There was no vertue deficient in this King, for hee was deuout towards God, iust towards men, and carefull to repaire the Citie: for he willingly imployed himselfe in restoring that which had need of reparation and ornament. He built galleries and porches about the Temple, and repaired the walles that were fallen downe: he erected huge and impregnable towers: in a word, he restored all that which was deficient in his kingdome. He made warre vpon the Ammonites; and ouercomming them in battell, he made all their nation tributarie, and constrained them to pay him yeerely a hundred talents, and ten thousand Cores of wheat, and as many of barley: and his kingdome in such sort increased, as he was redoubted abroad, and happy at home. Now about the same time there liued a certaine Prophet called *Naum*, who prophecied the ouerthrow of the Assyrians, and of the Citie of Niniue, and spake to this effect. All the people thereof shall be tossed and troubled, and be put to flight; and shall say the one vnto the toher: Stay and abide, take gold and siluer, and there shall be none that will receiue it. For they shall haue more care to saue their bodies, then their goods: for there shall bee a great debate amongst them with lamentation: their members shall lose their vigour, and their faces shall be altogether swart through feare: where shall the repaire of Lyons be? or where shall the mother of Lyons whelpe rest her? Niniue (God saith vnto thee) I will destroy thee, neither shall the Lyons that issue from thee, gouerne the world any more. To this effect did he prophecy, and spake many other things to this intent, which it concerneth not to repeat. For I haue omitted it purposely, because I would not be troublesome to the Readers. But all those things which hee foretold as touching Niniue, came to passe one hundred and fifteene yeeres after. But this is sufficient for the manifestation of this matter. K L M

The yeere of the world, 3187. before Christs Natiuitie, 777.

Iothams pietie.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7. The prophecie of the destruction of Niniue, Naum. 2.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

RASIN king of Damasco maketh warre against Ierusalem: ACHAZ sendeth for the King of Assyria to assist him.

The yeare of the world, 3204. before Christs birth. 760.

AFTER that *Iotham* had liued one and forty yeares, and raigned sixteene, he died, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings: after him the kingdome fell to *Achaz* his sonne, who was a contemner of God, and a transgressour of the ordinances of his forefathers, and conformed himselfe to the customes of the Kings of Israel: for hee erected Altars in the City of Ierusalem, and sacrificed vnto Idols, offering vp his owne sonne vnto them (after the manner of the Chanaanites) and perpetrated diuers such like offences. During these impious idolatries of his, *Rasin* King of Syria and Damasco, and *Phaceias* King of Israel made warre against him (for these two were confederates) leading therefore both their armies against Ierusalem, they besieged it a long time, yet profited nothing, by reason the walles were very strong. But the King of Syria hauing seized the City of Elath, neere vnto the red sea, and slaine all the inhabitants thereof, planted Syrians therein, putting all the garrisons likewise to the sword, and all the Iewes round about, and carried away with him a great bootie into Damasco, and afterwards returned home with his army. The king of Ierusalem vnderstanding that the Syrians were retyred, and supposing himselfe to be sufficient to fight against the King of Israel, led foorth his forces against him, and was ouercome in battell (because that God was incensed against him for his wickednesses, which were both detestable and infinite.) For in that battell the Israelites slue about sixescore thousand men: amongst whom was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Achaz*, whom the generall of the armie of the Israelites called *Amias* slue, with *Ericam* the gouernour of the whole Realme, and he tooke *Elcan* the generall of the tribe of *Iuda* prisoner also. They led away likewise a great number of women, and children, with a great bootie, and afterwards returned vnto Samaria. At that time there was a certaine Prophet liuing in Samaria, whose name was *Obel*, who comming out to meete the armie, cried with a loud voice vnto the people, that the victory which they had, did not happen vnto them thorow their valour, but by reason of the wrath of God conceiued against *Achaz* king of *Iuda*. He furthermore reproued them, for that not contenting themselues with the good hap of that victory, they had so farre presumed as to hold them of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* prisoners, who were of their owne alliance: hee therefore counselled them to send them backe vnto their houses, without any iniurie by vniustice offered vnto them; threatning them, that if they did the contrary, they might be assured that God would punish them.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 13.
Achaz impiety.
The sacrifice of his sonne.
The punishment of impiety. *Esay 7.*
4. Reg. 16.
The slaughter of the army of Iuda.

After this admonition, the Israelites assembled themselues together to consult vpon this matter, at which time *Barachias* (one of the principall Gouernours of the state, and three others with him alleadged, that it was not lawfull for the Citizens to lead their prisoners, into the City, for feare (as they said) that God should vtterly extinguish them all. For those sinnes (said they) which we haue already committed, and against which the Prophets haue exclaimed, are cause enough to incense God; so that we haue no cause to annexe new impieties to the precedent. When the souldiers heard these words, they permitted them to execute all that which they held conuenient to be done. For which cause the abouenamed tooke the prisoners, and discharged them, and entertained them courteously, and gaue them meanes and money to furnish them in their iourney, and sent them home without offence: and besides that, these foure persons conducted them onwards of their iourney, as farre as Iericho; and when they drew neere vnto Ierusalem, they returned backe to Samaria.

4. Reg. 16.
The Israelite by the prophets aduice dismisse those prisoners they had taken of the tribes of Iuda, and Beniamin.

CHAP. XIII.

The king of Assyria taketh Damasco by force, killeth their King, translateth the people into Media, and planteth new colonies in Damasco.

WHEN king *Achaz* had receiued this ouerthrow by the Israelites, he sent vnto *Theglaphalasar* king of Assyria, requiring him to assist him in the war, which he intended against the Israelites, Syrians and them of Damasco, promising to giue him great sums of mony, & at that present also he sent him very bountifull presents. Who after he had considered on the embassage, came forth with his army to assist *Achaz*: and spoyling Syria, and sacking Damasco,

The yeere of the world, 3207. before Christs Nativity 757.

The yeere of the world,3207. before Christs Natiuitie,757

maſco,he ſlew *Raſes* their king alſo,and tranſported them of Damaſco into the higher Media,and ſent certen people of Aſſyria into Damaſco.He wrought much miſchiefe likewiſe in the country of Iſrael,and led away a great number of priſoners from thence. After that the Syrians had been ſubdued and weakned after this manner, *Achaz* tooke all the gold and ſiluer that was in the kings treaſury,and in the temple of God,and carried it vnto Damaſco, and gaue it to the king of Aſſyria,according to thoſe promiſes he had made him,and after much gratuity and thankeſgiuing,he returned backe againe to Ieruſalem. G

4.Reg.16.17. The tranſlation of the Iſraelites.

Achaz giueth the gold and ſiluer of the temple to the king of the Aſſyrians.

Achaz ſhutteth the dores of Gods temple,& honoureth ſtrange gods

Achaz death.

This King was ſo ſenſeleſſe and ignorant of his owne profit, that although he were ouerpreſſed by warre by the Syrians, yet ceaſed he not to adore their gods, but perſiſted in their honour, as if he expected the victory by their meanes. And although he were ouercome againe, yet intended he the honor of the Aſſyrian gods; chooſing rather to reuerence any,then the true God, whom his forefathers worſhipped: Yea ſo farre grew he in contempt and neglect of all true pietie, that at length he ſhut vp the temple gates, and prohibited the ordinary ſacrifices, hauing before that taken all the precious preſents out of the ſame. After hee had in this ſort committed theſe outrages againſt God,he died,when he was thirty and ſixe yeeres old;and after he had raigned ſixteene yeeres,and left his ſon *Ezechias* to ſucceed him in the kingdome. At that very time died *Phaceias* King of the Iſraelits,by the means of a certen conſpiracy,which *Oſeas* his intended friend,wrought againſt him: who held the kingdome for the ſpace of nine yeeres, ſhewing himſelfe both to be wicked,and a contemner of God. Againſt him *Salmanaſar* King of Aſſyria mooued warre, and ouercame him becauſe God was not fauourable vnto him,neither aſſiſtant in his enterpriſes: hee was therefore ſubdued, and conſtrained to pay a certaine tribute impoſed vpon him. The fourth yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*,*Ezechias* the ſonne of *Achaz*,and *Abia* a Citizen of Ieruſalem,raigned ouer the two tribes.He was a man of a vertuous diſpoſition, and one that loued iuſtice and piety: for as ſoone as he came vnto the kingdome; hee reſolued with himſelfe firſt of all that the chiefeſt and moſt neceſſary and moſt profitable thing that might bee, was the eſtabliſhment of the ſeruice of God. When as therefore hee aſſembled the people, the Prieſts, and the Leuites, he beganne to diſcourſe and deuiſe with them, in theſe or ſuch like words. H I

The yeere of the world,3215. before Christs Natiuitie 749.

Oſeas impiety and punishment.

Hedio & Ruffinus.chap.14.

4.Reg.17.

„ There is no one of you but knoweth,that for my fathers offences,and for your irreuerent regard
„ and ſeruice towards God,ye are fallen into many and mighty calamities, becauſe thorow your
„ extreame madnes,you haue ſuffered your ſelues to be perſwaded to adore thoſe,whom he eſteemed to be gods. Since therefore you haue learnt(to your owne miſery)how pernicious a thing K
„ impiety is,I exhort you,that(forgetting the ſame)you purifie both your ſelues,your Prieſts, and
„ your Leuites from your former pollutions, that yet at length you may aſſemble together, and o-
„ pen the temple and cleanſe the ſame with ordinary ſacrifices,to the end it may be reſtored to the
„ ancient honour which earſt it poſſeſſed: for by this meanes we ſhall haue God fauourable vnto
„ vs,when his wrath ſhall be appeaſed that was kindled againſt vs. As ſoone as the king had ſpoken after this manner; the Prieſts opened the temple, and after they had gathered the ſacred veſſels, and caſt all vncleanneſſe out of the ſame, they offered ſacrifice vpon the altar, according to the cuſtome. Afterwards the king ſent to all the prouinces vnder his dominion, and gathered together the people of Ieruſalem, to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread (which had beene intermitted a long time thorow the impiety of the kings his predeceſſors.) He ſent alſo vnto the Iſraelites,exhorting them to forſake the cuſtomes which of long time they had wickedly obſerued, and to returne to the true and ancient manner of ſeruing God, certifying them that hee would permit them to repaire to Ieruſalem,to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread, promiſing them that he himſelfe would ſolemnize the ſame with them alſo: proteſting that he did this, not in reſpect of his owne profit, but thorow the deſire he had to further their felicitie, who ſhould be happy if they obeyed this his counſaile.

Ezechias embaſſadours that were ſent to the Iſraelites to exhort them to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread,are ſlain by them. L

2.Paral.29.30

When *Ezechias* embaſſadours came vnto the Iſraelites, and had deliuered vnto them the meſſage that they had in charge: ſo farre were they from conformity, that they mocked them, and eſteemed them to be mad,and ſpit vpon thoſe Prophets that exhorted them to piety, and foretold them the euils they ſhould ſuffer, vnleſſe they ſubſcribed to the ſeruice of God; and finally they laid hold on them,and put them to the ſword. And not contenting themſelues with this preſumption, they attempted yet farre worſer things, and neuer gaue ouer vntill that God (in puniſhment of their impiety) made them ſubiect vnder the hands of their enemies, as ſhall appeare manifeſtly hereafter: But diuers of the tribes of *Manaſſes*,*Zabulon* & *Iſſachar* (reſpecting the good counſailes of the Prophets) ſubmitted themſelues to the ſeruice of God, and repaired altogether to Ieruſalem to King *Ezechias* to honour God. As ſoone as they were arriued there, M

The word of God is neuer without fruit.

Ezechias

A *Ezechias* aſcended into the Temple accompanied with the gouernours, and all the people, and offered there ſeuen bulles, ſeuen rammes, and as many goates: and after that hee, and all the gouernours had laid their hands vpon the heads of the ſacrifice, they deliuered them to the Prieſt, according as it appertained to them, and they ſacrificed and made burnt offerings of them. The Leuites alſo (aſſiſting round about with inſtruments of Muſicke) ſung hymnes and ſongs vnto God, according as they had beene taught by the ordinance of *Dauid*. The other Prieſts had trumpets, with which they reported to the tune of their hymnes. Which done, the King and all the people caſt themſelues proſtrate vpon the ground, and adored God; and afterwards ſacrificed ſeuentie oxen, a hundred ſheepe, and two hundreth lambes. The King likewiſe beſtowed ſixe hundreth oxen, and three thouſand ſheepe vpon the people to feaſt withall. And when as the Prieſts had ioyfully performed all things (according to the cuſtome contained in the law) the King tooke B great pleaſure and banquetted with the people, giuing thanks vnto God. And when the feaſt of vnleauened bread was come, they ſacrificed the Paſſeouer, and during the ſeuen other daies, they offered vp their other ſacrifices. The King gaue in way of gratuity vnto the people (beſides that which had beene offered) two thouſand oxen, and ſeuen thouſand ſheepe. The Gouernours did the like, and gaue the people a thouſand buls, and one thouſand foure hundreth ſheepe: and thus was the feaſt ſolemnized, which had not beene ſo magnificently and deuoutly celebrated ſince *Salomons* time. When the ſolemnity of this feaſt was paſt, they iourneyed and went thorow the countrey, and purified it. They purged the Citie likewiſe of all vncleanneſſe of Idols, and the King ordained that the daily ſacrifices ſhould be made according to the law, vpon his charge. He enacted alſo that the people ſhould pay the tenths to the Prieſts, and Leuites, with the firſt fruits, C to the intent they might wholly intend pietie, and neuer eſtrange themſelues from the ſeruice of God. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that the people brought all kinde of fruite to the prieſts, and Leuites: which the King put vp in certaine ſtorehouſes, which he had built, to be diſtributed to euery one of them, their wiues, and children, and by this meanes they returned againe to their former puritie in religion. After the King had diſpoſed all things in this ſort, he made warre vpon the Philiſtines, and ouercame them, and ſeized all their Cities (betweene Gaza, and Geth.) About this time the King of Aſſyria ſent vnto him, and threatned him, that if he would not pay him thoſe tributes which his father before him had paide vnto him, hee would deſtroy all his countrey. Neuertheleſſe *Ezechias* ſet light by his threats, aſſuring himſelfe in that pietie and zeale he bore towards God, and in the Prophet *Eſay*, by whom he was exactly inſtructed as touching D all thoſe things that were to ſucceede. And for this preſent it ſhall ſuffice that wee haue ſpoken thus much of this King.

The yeare of the world 3218. before Chriſts Natiuitie 746.

Ezechias ſacrifice.

Reformation of Gods ſeruice.

The yeere of the world, 3224. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 740.

The king ouercommeth the Philiſtins.

Ezechias forſaketh the ſeruice of the king of Aſſyria.

CHAP. XIIII.

SALMANASAR *ſlayeth the King of Iſrael, and leadeth the Iſraelites captiue into the countrey of Media.*

VVHEN tidings was brought to *Salmanaſar* King of Aſſyria, that the King of Iſrael had priuily ſent vnto *Soan* King of Egypt, to requeſt his aſſiſtance in warre againſt the Aſſyrian, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and drew forth his army againſt Samaria, in the ſeuenth E yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*. But the King of Iſrael withſtood his entrance into the citie, by which meanes he was beſieged therein for three yeeres ſpace, and finally Samaria was taken by force, in the ninth yeere of *Oſeas*, and the ſeuenth of *Ezechias* raigne. At which time all the kingdome of Iſrael was deſtroyed, and all the people tranſported into the countries of Media, and Perſia; and amongſt the reſt King *Oſeas* was taken priſoner. The King of Aſſyria cauſed certaine Nations of a Countrey, which (by reaſon it abutteth vpon a certaine riuer in Perſia called by that name) was called *Chut*, to remooue their habitation, and to dwell in Samaria, and inhabite the Countrey of Iſrael. As for the tenne Tribes of Iſrael, they were tranſported out of their Countrey (nine hundreth forty ſeuen yeeres, ſince their predeceſſors (departing out of Egypt) poſſeſſed the Country of Chanaan; eight hundreth yeeres after the gouernment of *Ioſuah*; and two hundreth and forty F yeeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſeuen daies, ſince they reuolted from *Roboam Dauids* nephew, to giue the kingdome to *Ieroboam*.) This was the end of the Iſraelites, who tranſgreſſed the lawes, and diſobeyed the Prophets, who foretolde them of that calamitie which ſhould happen vnto them, except they repented them of their impieties. The ſedition that they moued againſt *Roboam*, eſtabliſhing his ſeruant for their King, was the originall of their miſchiefes. For *Ieroboam* committing impietie againſt God, and they imitating his wickedneſſe, preuailed ſo much, as the maieſtie of

Hedio & Ruſfinus, chap. 15

4. *Reg.* 17.

The Iſraelites remooued frō their poſſeſſions are tranſlated into the region of the Cuthites.

The yeere of the world, 3224. before Christs Nativitie. 740.

God grew displeased with them, so that hee punished them according as they deserued. But the King of Assyria rauaged and spoyled all Syria, and Phœnicia with his army, and his name is found written in the Chronicles of the Tyrians: for hee made warre against the Tyrians, at such time as *Elulat* raigned in Tyre, whereof *Menander* maketh mention, who wrote the history of Tyre, and hath translated their Pantarches into the Greeke tongue. The King *Elulat* (said hee) raigned sixe and thirtie yeeres, and pursued the Cutheans that were reuolted from him by sea, and made them subiect. Against whom the King of Assyria sent forth his armie, and inuaded all Phœnicia, and afterwards hauing couenanted a peace with them, hee returned backe againe. The Cities of Sydon, Arce, and Paletyr, and diuers other Cities reuolted from the Tyrians, and submitted themselues to the King of Assyria. For this cause, and for that they of Tyre did not obey him, he drew his armie forth once more against them; and he was furnished by the Phœnicians with sixtie ships, and eight hundreth rowers. The Tyrians charging these shippes with twelue of their vessels, ouerthrew the nauie of the Assyrians, and tooke about fiue hundreth men prisoners: which act of theirs, wonderfully increased their honour. But the King of Assyria returning backe againe, planted a garrison vpon the riuer, and fortified the fountaine heads, to the intent the Tyrians might draw no water; which act of his (continuing for the space of fiue yeeres) they were enforced to finde and dig new fountaines to sustaine themselues. These things are written in the Registers of the Tyrians themselues, as also the exploits of the King of Assyria against them. But these Chuteans from the Region of Chut which is in Persia, where there is a Riuer of that name) for that they were in fiue nations, they brought with them each of them the god whom they honoured in their nation, to the number of fiue gods, whom they serued after the manner of their Countrey. Whereupon the true and supreme God was grieuously displeased, and prouoked against them: for a plague fell amongst them, that consumed them in such sort, that they could finde no remedie, vntill such time as they had notice that it behooued them to adore the great God, and that therein consisted their safety. They therefore sent vnto the King of Assyria, requiring him to send them Priests from amongst the Israelites, whom he had led away prisoners in warre. Which done, they learning the law, and the manner of Gods seruice by them, began very diligently to obserue both: by which meanes the plague ceased sodainly. And now euen vnto this day continue they in the same Religion, and are called by the Hebrewes Chuteans, and Samaritans by the Greekes. These as often as they finde the Iewes in prosperitie, call them their coosins (according to the varietie and changes of time) but if they perceiue their fortunes to be on the declining hand, then abiure they consanguinitie, and renounce any lawfull parentage or amitie, and say that they were planted in the countrey, and drawne thither from a forraine nation. But in time and place conuenient, we shall speake of them more amply.

The Tyrians Chronicles touching the warres of Salmanazar against the Tyrians written by Menander.

Gods displeasure against the idolatrous Chuthites.

The Chuteans embrace the seruice of God and in prosperitie claime kinred of the Iewes.

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the tenth Booke.

1 Senacharib *King of Assyria, besiegeth* Ezechias *in Ierusalem.*
2 Ezechias *hauing liued for a certaine time in peace; dieth, and leaueth his sonne* Manasses *to succeede him.*
3 *The Kings of the Chaldees and hee of Babylon, warre against* Manasses, *and ledde him away prisoner.*
4 *The history of King* Iosias.
5 Iosias *death in battell, who hindered the King of Aegypt from leading his armie against the Babylonians, and the euent thereof.*
6 *The armie of* Nabuchodonosor *commeth into Syria.*
7 Nabuchodonosor *putteth* Ioachim *to death, and maketh* Ioachin *King.*

s Nabucho-

A 8 Nabuchodonoſor *changeth his purpoſe, beſiegeth* Ioachim, *and is reconciled vnder compoſition.*
9 Sedechias *is appointed King ouer Ieruſalem.*
10 *Ieruſalem is taken, and the people tranſlated into Babylon by* Nabuchodonoſor.
11 *The ſucceſſors of* Nabuchodonoſor: *the deſtruction of Babylon by* Cyrus *King of Perſia.*

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Chriſts Nativitie, 733.

CHAP. I.

SENACHARIB *King of Aſſyria beſiegeth* EZECHIAS *in Ieruſalem.*

B IN the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Ezechias* King of the two Tribes, *Senacharib* King of Aſſyria drew forth a huge army againſt him, and ſurpriſed all the Cities of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* by ſtrong hand. To him *Ezechias* ſent Embaſſadours, promiſing him obedience, and ſuch a tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe. When *Senacharib* had heard and conſidered vpon the Embaſſadours inſtructions, hee reſolued on peace, and accepted *Ezechias* offer, promiſing that he would depart in peace as ſoone as he had receiued three hundreth talents of ſiluer, and thirty talents of gold: ſwearing an oath vnto the Embaſſadours, that vnder theſe conditions hee would depart away without offering any outrage. *Ezechias* giuing credit to theſe words of his, emptied the treaſuries, and ſent the prefixed ſumme to *Senacharib*, hoping to be deliuered from his enemy, and the hazzard wherein his countrey ſtood. But the Aſſyrians hauing C receiued the money, ſet light by their promiſes; ſo that *Senacharib* went in perſon to make war againſt the Ægyptians and Æthiopians, and left *Rapſaces* his generall in Iudæa with a great power, accompanied with two of his chiefeſt minions and courtiers, with commiſſion to ſpoile Ieruſalem: The names of theſe two were *Tharata* and *Anachares*. As ſoone as they were encamped neere vnto the walles, they ſent vnto *Ezechias* and commanded him to come and ſpeake with them: but he through feare which hee had conceiued, went not vnto them, but ſent three of his moſt familiar friends, *Eliacim* the ſuperintendent of his Realme, *Sobna* and *Ioachus* that had the commiſſion of his Regiſters. Theſe three preſented themſelues before the Chiefetaines of the Aſſyrian armie: whom when *Rapſaces* had beheld, hee commanded them to returne vnto their " Maſter, and to tell him that the great King *Senacharib* was deſirous to know vnder what hope he " D. thus neglected his gouernment, and obſtinately refuſed to obey him and receiue his army into the " Citie? Is it perhaps, becauſe hee hopeth the Ægyptians will haue the vpper hand of the Kings " armie? If that bee his hope, doubtleſſe hee is deceiued, ſhewing himſelfe to bee like vnto a man " that ſtayeth himſelfe vpon a broken reede; by which hee is not onely not ſuſtained, but in his fall " alſo, hath his hand pierced therewith. Hee likewiſe wiſhed him to conceiue, that this his expe- " dition was not without the will of God, who, as in times paſt hath giuen them the victorie ouer " the Iſraelites; ſo now alſo is pleaſed to humble *Ezechias*, and to make both him and his ſubiects " ſtoope vnder the Aſſyrian gouernment. Whileſt *Rapſaces* ſpake thus in the Hebrew language " (wherein hee was very skilfull) *Eliacim* (fearing leaſt the multitude ſhould be ſtriken with feare " vpon the hearing of theſe words) beſought him to ſpeake in the Syriack tongue. But hee ſufficiE ently inſtructed what it was that hee feared, anſwered him with a lowder voice in the Hebrew " tongue, and told them that they ought to giue eare vnto the Kings commandement, and to yeeld " themſelues to his mercy, becauſe it concerned their ſecuritie. I am not ignorant (ſayd he) that " both you and your King doe perſwade the people vnder a vaine hope, and fraudulently allure " them to beare armes againſt vs. But if your valour be ought at all, and you ſuppoſe that you can " leuy the ſiege from your walles, I am ready to furniſh you with two thouſand horſe, giue you " vs ſo many horſemen to approoue their valours: but you cannot giue them that you haue not. " Why therefore delay you? why yeelde you not to thoſe that are too ſtrong for you? and are " able euen in ſpite of your reſiſt to ranſacke your Citie? whereas you know that a willing ſub- " miſſion is alwaies ſecure: contrariwiſe whereas dutie is inforced, there wanteth no perill of " calamitie. "

4. Reg. 18. The deſtruction of Iudæa.

The oath of Senacharib, and his breach therof.

Rapſaces perſwaſion, to cauſe Ezechias ſubmit.

F When both the Embaſſadours and the people had heard that which the Aſſyrian had ſpoken, they reported the ſame to *Ezechias*, who incontinently caſt his royall garments off, and cloathed himſelfe in ſackcloth, carrying the countenance of a diſconſolate man; and caſting himſelfe proſtrate vpon the earth after the manner of their countrey, he beſought God to be aſſiſtant vnto him, ſince all other hope was vaine. Hee ſent alſo certaine of his friends, and ſome Prieſts vnto the Prophet *Eſay*, requiring him to pray vnto God, that ſince the ſacrifice was offered vnto him

4. Reg. 19. Ezechias in aduerſity hath recourſe to God, hee is comforted by Eſay.

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Christs Natiuitie, 733.

for publicke ſecuritie, it might pleaſe him to fruſtrate the enemies hopes, and to haue pitie and G compaſſion on his people. When the Prophet had performed no leſſe then he required, he receiued an anſwere from God, by which he aſſured the King, and all them that were about him, foretelling them that the enemies ſhould be ouercome without ſtroke ſtrooken, & ſhould retire with ſhame, and not with that aduantage which they brag'd of at this preſent, becauſe God had already determined how they ſhould be ouerthrowne. Hee foreprophecied alſo that *Zenacharib* himſelfe (the King of Aſſyria) ſhould faile of his enterpriſe in Ægypt, and that vpon his returne to his owne court, he ſhould be ſlaine. At that very time the Aſſyrian wrote letters to *Ezechias*, in which he called him foole and mad man, to thinke that he could warrantize himſelfe from being his ſlaue, yea his in eſpeciall, who had conquered diuers and far greater nations: threatning him with vtter ruine at ſuch time as he ſhould ſurpriſe the Citie, if hee opened not the gates of H Ieruſalem willingly, to entertaine his armie. When *Ezechias* had read theſe letters, he ſet light by them, by reaſon of the confidence he had in God: and hauing opened them, he ſpred them in the temple. And whileſt he renewed his praiers vnto God for the ſaluation of the City, and his ſubiects, *Eſay* the Prophet told him that his prayer was heard: that hereafter likewiſe they ſhould manure their lands in peace & ſecuritie, & ſhould enioy their poſſeſſions without feare. Not long after, the king of Aſſyria hauing but cold ſucceſſe in his expedition againſt Ægypt, turned backe againe without doing any thing, for this cauſe that enſueth. Hee had loſt much time in the ſiege of Peluſium: & at ſuch time as he had already raiſed certaine bulwarks as hye as the wall, ſo that he wanted nothing but to giue the aſſault; newes was brought him that *Tharſices* king of Æthiopia brought an army to reſcue the Ægyptians, with an intent to take his way thorow the deſart, I and ſodainly to charge the Aſſyrian armie. *Senacharib* troubled with theſe tidings, ſpeedily departed thence with his army. But *Herodotus* ſaith, that he made warre with Vulcans prieſt, eſpecially for that he was both a king and a prieſt: Beſieging Peluſium (ſayde hee) for this cauſe he gaue ouer the ſiege. The King of Ægypt called to his God for aſſiſtance, by whoſe power the Arabians ſuffered much miſerie. But in this alſo he erreth, in that hee ſetteth down the Arabian for the Aſſyrian. In one night (ſayd he) there was ſuch a multitude of mice, that they gnew all the enemies bowes and other arms: whence it came to paſſe that the King being diſarmed withdrew his ſiege from Peluſium. But *Beroſus* a writer among the Chaldees maketh mention of *Senacharib*, and how hee raigned among the Aſſyrians, and troubled both Aſia and Ægypt with warre, and declareth the manner in theſe words. But *Senacharib* returning from the Ægyptian warre came before Ieruſalem, and receiued the army that was there, at the hands of his gouernour *Rabſace*, and God cauſed a peſtilent ſickneſſe to fall vpon his army, which was ſo violent that the firſt night of the ſiege there died an hundreth foureſcore and fiue thouſand men, with their gouernors and chieftains. With which loſſe he was ſo affrighted, & troubled, that fearing to loſe his army, he fled with thoſe that remained, and retired himſelfe into his kingdome to the Citie called Niniue, where after he had liued for a time, he was traiterouſly ſlaine by *Adramelech*, and *Selenar* his two elder ſons: and being dead, was carried into his owne temple called Aruſche, and his children were driuen out of the kingdom for committing the murther, and retired themſelues into Armenia, and *Aſſeradochus* ſucceeded *Senacharib*. Such was the end of the Aſſyrian army that came before Ieruſalem. L

Herodotus of Senacharib.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11

The puniſhment of Senacharib, for diſpleaſing God.

Patricides.

CHAP. II.

EZECHIAS *hauing for a time remained in peace, dieth: and leaueth his ſonne* MANASSES *to ſucceed him.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

KING *Ezechias* (being in this ſort beyond all hope deliuered from his feares) offered thankſgiuing and ſacrifices vnto God, with all the people, acknowledging that there was no other cauſe that had ſlaine part of his enemies, and put the reſt to mortall feare, neither that had deliuered Ieruſalem from thraldome, but onely Gods ſuccour and aſſiſtance.

4. *Reg* 20. And whilſt he altogether intended and was occupied about the ſeruice of God, he fell ſicke of a M grieuous diſeaſe, ſo as the Phyſitians deſpaired of his health, and his friends expected nothing but his death. This ſickneſs of his was accompanied with a grieuous care, becauſe he had no children, and ſaw that he was now to depart the world, & to leaue his houſe deſert, and his kingdom deſolate. Being therefore in this ſort toyled with diſcontents, he lamented and beſought God, that it would pleaſe him to lengthen his life a little time, vntil he had children to ſucceed him, and that he would vouchſafe that his ſoule might not be taken from him, before he were the father of a ſonne.

Ezechias ſickneſſe, and the prolongation of his life aſſured by miracle

A ſonne. Hereupon God taking compaſſion of him (and the rather, becauſe he was not grieued for that the pleaſures of his kingdome were taken from him; but for that he ſought for a lawful heire to ſucceede him in the princedome) he ſent the Prophet *Eſay* vnto him, to aſſure him, that after three daies he ſhould be recouered of his ſicknes and that after he had liued ſome fifteene yeeres more, he ſhould depart out of this life, and leaue a lawfull heire behind him. When the Prophet (according as he was commanded) had brought theſe tydings to the king; he doubted both the vnexpected meſſenger, and the mightineſſe of his diſeaſe: for which cauſe he required ſome prodigious ſigne at *Eſaias* hands, to the intent that he might certainely beleeue, that he was ſent as a meſſenger from God vnto him: for the truth of thoſe things, which either exceede our hope, or reaſon, are wont to bee confirmed by theſe meanes. Whereupon *Eſay* asketh him what ſigne
B he required, and it ſhould be giuen him. For which cauſe he requeſted, that ſince the declining ſun had already aduanced his ſhadow ten degrees within the royall lodging, he would cauſe it to returne vnto the place where it was before, and ouerrun againe the ſame lines of ſhadow. On this occaſion the Prophet beſought God, that it would pleaſe him to confirme the king by this miracle: who ſeeing that which he deſired, was ſodainly deliuered from his ſicknes, and aſcended the temple to worſhip and praiſe God. At that time it hapned, that the Monarchy of the Aſſyrians was deſtroied by the Medes, (whereof I will ſpeake in another place.) Anon after, *Balad* King of Babylon ſent an Embaſſadour to *Ezechias* with preſents, calling him his ally and friend: who receiuing his meſſengers, willingly feaſted them, and ſhewed them his treaſures, his arcenall, and all other magnificence that he had of gold and precious ſtones: and after he had giuen them pre-
C ſents for *Balad*, he diſmiſſed them. Whereupon the Prophet *Eſay* came vnto him, asking him from whence thoſe Embaſſadours came? To whom *Ezechias* anſwered, that they were of Babylon, & came vnto him from the king, telling the Prophet how he had ſhewed them all that which he had, to the end that hauing ſeene and obſerued his riches and power, they might afterwards certifie their king thereof. Whereunto the Prophet replied, ſaying: Know thou that within a little time thy riches ſhall be tranſported into Babylon, and thy children ſhall be made Eunuches and (being no more men) ſhall be ſlaues vnto the King of Babylon. All which God gaue him to vnderſtand before it hapned. For which cauſe *Ezechias* was ſore troubled, to heare theſe tidings, ſaying, that he deſired that his people might not fall into thoſe miſeries: but ſince it was impoſſible to change the decree of God, he required that he might haue peace during his life time. Of
D this *Balad* king of Babylon, *Beroſus* maketh mention. This Prophet truely diuine, and admirable for the verity of his prophecies, is accounted to haue ſpoken nothing that was vntrue, but to haue left in writing all that which he prophecied: the truth whereof hath afterwards in effect appeared to poſterity. Neither did he alone performe this much; but beſides him, twelue others haue done the like: and all that which is hapned vnto vs, either good or euill, hath fallen out truly according to their prophecies. But hereafter we will ſpeake of euery one of them. Now when as *Ezechias* had liued his prefixed time (according as wee haue foreſpoken) hand gouerned his kingdome in peace, he died when he was fiftie foure yeeres olde, and in the nine and twentieth yeere of his raigne.

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 732.

The Aſſyrian Monarchie deſtroyed.

The embaſſage of the king of Babylon to Ezechias.

The captiuity of Babylon foreprophecied by Elay.

The yeere of the world, 3232. before Chriſts Nativity 732.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

Ezechias death.

E

CHAP. III.

The Kings of Chaldæa and Babylon warre againſt MANASSES, *and take him priſoner.*

HIS ſonne *Manaſſes* (the ſonne of *Achiba*, a woman borne in Ieruſalem (ſucceeded him in the kingdome. This man forſooke his fathers waies, and followed ſiniſter cuſtomes, expreſſing in his manners all kinds of miſchiefe, not omitting any impietie, but addicting himſelfe to all the iniquities of the Iſraelites, who were deſtroied becauſe of their ſinnes committed againſt God. He was ſo impudent as he ſpared not to pollute the very temple of God, the City and the whole countrey: for making his entrie, in deſpite of God, he ſlew afterwards all thoſe that were vertuous men amongſt the Hebrews. And although he had no want of Prophets;
F yet ſo it is, that he killed euery day ſome: ſo that Ieruſalem was ouerflown with blood. For which cauſe God being prouoked vnto wrath by theſe his ſo hainous offences, ſent diuers Prophets, the one after the other, both to the king and the people, by whom hee threatned to inflict the ſame calamities vpon them, (which for contempt of religion) the Iſraelites their brethren had a little before that ſuffered. But they vnwilling to giue truſt to theſe ſpeeches of theirs (whoſe admonitions had they reſpected they might haue auoided their imminent euils) at length in effect experimented

4. *Reg.* 21. Manaſſes impiety and cruelty.

The yeere of the world, 3247. before Chriſts Nativity. 717.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5. Alias chap. 4.

rimented the truth thereof. For whereas they perſeuered in their accuſtomed and diſſolute manners, God incenſed, the king of Chaldæa and Babylon againſt them; who ſending his army into Iudæa, and ſpoyling the whole region, at length ſurpriſed and led away *Manaſſes* priſoner, and made him ſubiect to what puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe them to inflict vpon him. At laſt the wretch (taught by his owne miſchiefe) acknowledged his ſinne, and humbly beſought God in prayer, that he would make his enemy curteous and mercifull: neither did God ſhew himſelfe inexorable; but hauing compaſſion on his miſeries, gaue eare vnto him; and after ſome ſpace of time, the Babylonian ſending him home, reſtored him to his former gouernment. As ſoone as he was returned backe to Ieruſalem, he began (as much as in him lay) to ſhew the fruits of repentance, and to feare God in all things, cleanſing his ſpirit of all thoſe ſinnes, whereunto before time he was addicted. He purged the temple alſo, and cleanſed the City; and from that time forward, hee addicted himſelfe wholly to thinke how he might giue God thanks, for that he had thus retired him from ruine, and how he might paſſe all the remnant of his life in his fauour. Hee taught the people likewiſe to doe the like, telling them what miſeries they had endured within a few yeers, for that they had demeaned themſelues impiouſly. He repaired the altar alſo, and according to *Moſes* preſcript offered thereon ſolemne ſacrifices: and after that he had puruayed thoſe things that concerned the ſeruice of God, as it appertained; he bethought himſelfe likewiſe of the ſecurity of the City of Ieruſalem, and carefully repaired the old and ruined wals, annexing alſo another incloſure thereunto, and erecting high towers likewiſe, furniſhing the ſame with munition and victuall ſufficient for a City of defence. And ſo much was he changed during the reſt of his life, that he was held moſt happy; and after the time he began to ſerue God, diuers tooke example of vertue by imitating him. After he had liued ſixtie and ſeauen yeares, hee dyed in the fiue and fiftith yeere of his raigne, and was buried in his garden. His kingdome came into the hands of his ſonne *Amos*, the ſon of *Emaſſema*, of the City of Iabath; who imitating his fathers youthly courſe, was ſlaine in his owne houſe, by a conſpiracy plotted by his owne houſhold ſeruants, after he had accompliſhed the yeeres of foure and twenty, and raigned two. After his death the people ſlew his murtherers, and he was buried with his father, and the kingdome was giuen to his ſonne *Ioſias*, who was onely eight yeeres old.

The yeere of the world, 3247. before Chriſts Natiuitie 717.

Manaſſes ſurpriſed and led priſoner into Babylon, and after his repentance reſtored to his kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 3288. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 676.

Manaſſes purifieth the City & conſecrateth the temple again.

The yeere of the world, 3302. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 662.

Manaſſes death.

Amos king of Iuda a wicked Prince.

CHAP. IIII.

The Hiſtory of IOSIAS.

IOSIAS mother was of the City of Boſceth, and was called *Ieda*: he was a man of a good nature, and of his owne inſtinct inclined to vertue, conforming himſelfe to the cuſtomes and manners of his progenitor *Dauid*, both in the ſcope and rule of all his life. When he grewe to be twelue yeeres old, he gaue manifeſt approbation of his pietie and iuſtice: for hee drew the people to a conformable courſe of life, and to the deteſtation and aboliſhing of Idols, that were no gods, and to the ſeruice of the onely and true God of their forefathers. And conſidering the actions of his predeceſſors, he began to rectifie them in that wherein they were deficient, with no leſſe circumſpection, then if he had beene an old man; and that which he found to be correſpondent and aduiſedly done by them, that did hee both maintaine and imitate. All theſe things did hee both by reaſon of his innated wiſdome, as alſo by the admoniſhments and counſails of the elders: for following orderly the lawes (both in reſpect of publique policie, as alſo in religion) he walked vprightly, in that by obſeruing them hee could not erre. For circuiting both the City & the whole country, the king raſed down and defaced the woods that were made for ſtrange gods, and ouerthrew their altars; and all thoſe gifts that had been offered vnto them by his predeceſſors, were defaced in a mockerie: and in this manner cauſed hee the people to returne to the ſeruice of God, and to forſake the honour they did vnto Idols. Hee offered likewiſe the ordinary ſacrifices and burnt offerings vpon the altar, and eſtabliſhed Iudges and magiſtrates to determine publicke debates, and to doe each man right, charging them to haue no leſſe reſpect of equity, then they had of their owne liues. He ſent alſo thorow all the country, commanding all thoſe that would be cõtributors, either in gold or ſiluer, towards the reparation of the temple, ſhould bring in their beneuolence according to their wils, and faculties. And when all the money was gathered together, hee appointed ſuperintendents, both ouer the temple, as alſo ouer the charges that were defraied in the reparation thereof: namely *Amaſias*, who was already gouernor of the City, and *Saphan* the ſecretary, and *Ioata* Committee ouer the regiſters, with the high Prieſt *Elcia*: who with al expedition and diligence prouided workmen, and all that

The yeere of the world, 3304. before Chriſts Natiuity, 660.

Ioſias king of Iuda.

4. Reg. 22.

Ioſias reſtoreth the true ſeruice of God.

The yeere of the world, 3307 before Chriſts Natiuity. 657.

Ioſias rooteth out Idolatry.

The yeere of the world, 3321. before Chriſts Natiuity 643.

Iudges.

The zeale of the people in the ſeparation of the temple.

which

A which was requiſite for the building,and began the worke. This ſodaine and ſpeedy reparation of the temple gaue a manifeſt teſtimony of the kings pietie: who when he had attained to the eighteenth yeere of his age, ſent *Elcia* the high Prieſt, and cauſed him to melt downe the remainder of the money that was giuen towards the building of the temple, and to make veſſels, cups, and ewers,for the ſeruice of the Altar. He commanded alſo,that all the gold and ſiluer that was in the treaſury ſhould be brought forth, and emploied after the like manner in cups, and other veſſels. Now whileſt the high Prieſt ſearched the treaſurie, hee found the ſacred bookes of *Moſes* in the temple,which he brought and deliuered the Scribe *Saphan*;who after hee had purſued the ſame, preſented them vnto the King, giuing him to vnderſtand, that all that which hee had commanded was accompliſhed: beſides that,he read the books vnto him;which when the king had heard he rent his clothes,and called *Elcia* the high Prieſt vnto him, and the Scribe *Saphan*, with certaine other of his inward friends, and ſent them vnto the Propheteſſe *Olda*, the wife of *Sallum*,a B man in high dignity,and famous, by reaſon of his nobility: commanding them that when they came vnto her,they ſhould endeuour to appeaſe Gods wrath, and labour to recouer his fauours becauſe it was to be feared, that by reaſon that their anceſtors had tranſgreſſed the laws of *Moſes*, they ſhould be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of their countrey;and abandoned by all men,ſhould at length periſh miſerably.

The yeere of the world, 3321. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 643.

Moſes ſacred bookes found in the temple.

Olda the Propheteſſe ſent vnto by Ioſias.

The Propheſie of the Iewes miſery.

When the Propheteſſe had heard the kings commandement, ſhee willed thoſe that were ſent vnto her to returne vnto the king,and to certifie him from her, that God had giuen a ſentence againſt them,which might not be reuoked,by any praiers whatſoeuer;namely, that ſince they had tranſgreſſed the law of *Moſes*,the people ſhould periſh, & ſhould be caſt out of their country, and C depriued of all their goods that they had,and for that they haue not growne to amendment in ſo long time;notwithſtanding the Prophets had exhorted them to repentance,and had foretold the puniſhmẽt of their impieties,which ſhould happen vnto them,to the end that they might beleeue that God is God,& that he faileth not in any thing that he hath foretold by his prophets. Furthermore ſhe ſaid,that he forbore as yet to ſend theſe afflictions vpon them,for *Ioſias* ſake,who was a vertuous man: but that after his deceaſe God would powre his intended puniſhmẽts vpõ the people. This prophecy of the woman they ſignified vnto the king: who ſent into al parts,& aſſembled the people in Ieruſalem,commanding the Prieſts and Leuites, and generally all men without diſtinction of age, or perſon,to be preſent in that conuention. Now when they were aſſembled, he firſt of all cauſed the ſacred bookes to be read, and afterwards ſtanding aloft vpon his throne, he D cauſed all the people to ſweare and promiſe that they would ſerue God, and keepe *Moſes* lawes. Whereupon all of them did willingly approue whatſoeuer he ſaid,promiſing to doe that whereunto they were exhorted. And therwithal offering vp preſent ſacrifices vnto God,they beſought him to ſhew himſelfe fauourable and merciful towards them. The king likewiſe commanded the high Prieſt,that if there were any neceſſarie in the temple which were made by his predeceſſors, in honour of idols and ſtrange gods, he ſhould caſt it out. And after that a great quantitie was found therein, all of it was gathered together and burnt, and the aſhes afterwards were ſcattered here and there. And as touching the Prieſts (that appertained to idols that were not of the race of *Aaron*) he put them to death. When theſe things were thus executed in Ieruſalem he came afterwards to the plaine countrey; and all that which *Ieroboam* had erected there in honour of idols, E he vtterly defaced it,and the bones of the falſe prophets were burnt vpon the Altar that *Ieroboam* had builded. This had the prophet foretold that came to *Ieroboam*, at ſuch time as he offered ſacrifice,and told him in the preſence of all the people,all that which ſhould happen: namely, that one of *Dauids* poſteritie called *Ioſias*, ſhould doe thoſe aboue named things: which prophecie tooke effect three hundreth ſixtie and one yeere after. After this,king *Ioſias* tranſported himſelfe to the Iſraelites (who had auoided the captiuitie and ſeruitude of the Aſſyrians) and perſwaded them to forſake their impieties,and the ſeruices they had performed to ſtrange Gods,and to honour the ſoueraigne and true God of their fathers,and to cleaue vnto him. He made a ſearch alſo thorow euery houſe,borough and citie,fearing leaſt as yet there ſhould be any idoll hidden. He likewiſe ſought out the chariots that were made by his anceſtors, in honour of the ſunne, and F all that which was adored whatſoeuer it were, and vtterly aboliſhed the ſame. After he had in this ſort purged the countrey, he aſſembled all the people in Ieruſalem, where hee celebrated the feaſt of vnleauened bread,and the ſolemnitie of Eaſter. Towards the performance whereof, he gaue the people yong kids and lambes, to the number of thirtie thouſand, and three thouſand bullockes for burnt offerings: and the chiefe among the Leuites diſtributed amongſt the other Leuites fiue hundreth lambs,and fiue hundreth bullocks. Hauing therefore ſuch an abundance

4 Reg. 13. A liuely image of a godly prince.

The truth of the diuine oracles. *3. Reg 13.*

The celebration of the paſſeouer.

The yeare of the world, 3221. before Christs birth. 643.

dance of beasts they sacrificed acccording to the law of *Moses*, (the priests taking charge thereof, and confirming the rest of the people by their example.) Neither was there euer such a solemnity kept by the Hebrewes since the time of *Samuel* the Prophet; because all things were done according to the lawes and ancient customes, which were obserued in the time of their fathers. After this, *Iosias* liued in peace, riches, honour, and estimation amongst all men: and thus finished his life.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 9. Alias chap. 5.

CHAP. V.

Diuers exploits of NECHAO.

The yeere of the world, 3334. before Christs Natiuitie, 630.

NECHAO King of Egypt hauing gathered great forces, conducted his army towards the floud Euphrates, to warre against the Medes and Babylonians, who had destroyed the Empire of Assyria: for *Nechao* affected the gouernment of all Asia. Now when hee drew neere vnto the City of Mende (which was vnder *Iosias* subiection) king *Iosias* denyed him passage, and would not suffer his army to march thorow his countrey. For which cause *Nechao* sent a herauld vnto him, to let him vnderstand, that it was not against him that he made war, but that he bent his course towards Euphrates: for which cause he wished him in no sort to hinder his intended iourney, least thereby he should be constrained to make warre vpon him. But *Iosias* respected not this demand of his, but resolued himselfe to hinder his passage thorow his country: And truly I suppose that the destinies pricked him forward to this arrogance, to the end he might haue some occasion to doe some thing against *Nechao*. For whilest he disposed his army, and rode from one band to another, being mounted vpon his charriot, he was strooken with an arrow that was shot by a certaine Egyptian, which cooled and tempered the spleene he had in warre. For feeling himselfe sorely oppressed with paine, by reason of his wound, he commanded his army to retyre, and returned himselfe to Ierusalem, where he died of his wound, and was buried with his fathers with great magnificence, after he had liued nine and thirty yeeres, and raigned thirty and one. For him the people mourned with great heauinesse, lamenting and sorrowing for many dayes. The Prophet *Ieremy* also made a deploration ouer him in lamentable verse, which is as yet extant euen in these daies. This prophet left in writing those euils that should afterwards happen vnto the citie, and the captiuitie wherewith we are intangled at this present, and the surprisall of Babylon. Neither hath he alone foretold the same: but the Prophet *Ezechiel* hath likewise done the like; who first left two bookes written of the same argument. These two prophets were of the race of the priests. But *Ieremy* kept in Ierusalem, from the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Iosias*, vntill the destruction of the Citie and Temple; as in time and place conuenient we will declare, setting downe those occurrences that hapned to this Prophet. After the death of *Iosias* (heretofore mentioned) his sonne *Ioaz* succeeded him in the kingdome, at such time as he was twentie and three yeeres old, who raigned in Ierusalem; his mothers name was *Ametala*: he was a man full of impietie, and of a malignant and peruerse nature. The King of Ægypt returning from the warre, sent vnto *Ioaz*, commanding him to meet with him in Samath a Citie of Syria, where he was no sooner arriued, but he kept him prisoner, committing the kingdome to *Eliacim* his brother (on the fathers side) who was his elder brother likewise. He changed his name also, and called him *Ioachim*: he imposed a tribute also on Iudæa, of one hundred talents of siluer, and a talent of gold, which *Ioachim* paide. And as touching *Ioaz*, he led him into Ægypt, where he finished his daies, after he had beene king three moneths, and tenne daies. Now *Ioachims* mother was called *Zabuda*, of the Citie of Abuma. He was a wicked person, and of a malignant nature, hauing neither pietie towards God, nor respect of equitie towards men.

The yeere of the world, 3334. before Christs Natiuitie, 630.

The Egyptians worke their passage thorow Iudæa.

4. *Reg.* 23.

Iosias death.

An Epitaph written by Ieremy on Iosias.

2. *Paral.* 35.

Ieremy prophecieth the captiuity of Babylon.

In what time Ieremy liued.

Ioaz king of Iuda.

4. *Reg.* 23.

2. *Paral.* 36.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Alias, cap. 6.

Eliacim called Ioachim made king of Iuda.

CHAP. VI.

NABVCHODONOSORS *armie commeth into Syria.*

The yeere of the world, 3335. before Christs Natiuity. 629.

The yeere of the world, 3336. before Christs Natiuitie. 628.

IN the fourth yeere of his raigne, a certaine man called *Nabuchodonosor*, possessed the kingdome of Babylon; who at that time went out with a great armie against Carchabesa (a Citie situate neere vnto Euphrates) resoluing with himselfe to fight against *Nechao* King of Ægypt, vnder whose power all Syria was subiect. *Nechao* vnderstanding of the Babylonians intent, and how great his armie was, made very little account thereof, but with a huge armie addressed himselfe towards Euphrates, with an intent to repulse *Nabuchodonosor*. But he

Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon wareth against the Egyptians.

was

A was ouercome in battell, and loſt diuers thouſands of his men. Whereupon, the Babylonian (paſſing Euphrates) ſeized all Syria as far as Peluſium (Iudæa only excepted.) The fourth yeere that *Nabuchodonoſor* raigned ouer theſe conquered countries, and the eight yeere of the raigne of *Ioachim* ouer the Hebrewes, the Babylonian led forth his army againſt the Iewes, with a mighty power, threatning them to vſe all hoſtilitie, except *Ioachim* would pay him tribute. *Ioachim* fearing his threats bought his peace with ſiluer, and paid for three yeeres ſpace the tributes that were impoſed on him. But in the third yeere (vnderſtanding that the Ægyptian was vp in armes againſt the Babylonian) he denied the paiment of the tribute; notwithſtanding he was fruſtrated of his hope, for the Ægyptians were not ſo hardy as to make warre. All which the Prophet *Ieremie* daily foretold him, ſignifying vnto him that he builded his hope in vaine vpon the Ægyptians, and that it would fall out that the Citie ſhould be ouerthrowne by the king of Babylon, and *Ioachim* himſelfe ſhould be deliuered priſoner into his hands. But becauſe there was no meanes for them to eſcape this iuſtice, all that which he ſaid was nothing auaileable. For notwithſtanding the people and gouernours heard thereof, yet made they no reckoning of the ſame; but were diſpleaſed with thoſe counſailes, which he propoſed vnto them, accuſing *Ieremy* as if he tooke pleaſure to vtter and publiſh omnious and aduerſe preſages againſt the king: they likewiſe called him in queſtion before the kings councell, and required that he might bee condemned. Whereupon ſome of them gaue ſentence againſt him: the reproouing the aduiſe of the elders that were thus addicted, tooke a more diſcreete courſe, and cauſed the Prophet to depart out of the kings houſe, forbidding his aduerſaries to doe him any miſchiefe: they proteſting that he C had not only foretolde the future calamities of the citie, but that many before him had done the like, as *Micheas* and diuers others; and yet that no one of them had ſuffered any euill by the kings of their time, but that contrariwiſe *Micheas* had beene honoured as a Prophet ſent from God. By theſe words they appeaſed the people, and deliuered *Ieremy* from the death intended againſt him. This man wrot all his prophecies, and read them to the people in their faſts, and aſſembled them in the temple in the ninth moneth of the fift yeere of the raigne of *Ioachim*, which booke he had compoſed touching that which ſhould happen vnto the Citie, the temple, and the people. When the gouernours heard the ſame, they tooke the booke from him, and commanded that both he and his ſecretarie *Baruch* ſhould withdraw themſelues out of the ſight of men: and they tooke the booke, and preſented it vnto the king; who in the preſence of his friends, com- D manded his ſecretary to reade the ſame: and after he had heard the contents thereof, he waxed wondrous wroth, and renting it in peeces, caſt it into the fire, intending that it ſhould neuer be ſeene. He ſent out likewiſe a ſtrict commiſſion to ſeeke out *Ieremy* and his ſecretary *Baruch*, and to lead them out to be puniſhed. But they had preuented his indignation.

The yeere of the world, 3316. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 628.

Ioachim paieth Nabuchadnezzar tribute. 4. *Reg.* 24.

The yeere of the world, 3343. before Chriſts Natiuity, 621.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Ioachim reuolteth from the king of Babylon.

The yeare of the world, 3345. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 619.

Ieremy foretelleth the deſtruction of Ieruſalem. *Ier.* 22.

CHAP. VII.

NABVCHODONOSOR *putteth* IOACHIM *to death, and eſtabliſheth* IOACHIN *in the kingdome.*

E NOT long after this, he went out to meete the king of Babylon, who was marched out to make warre againſt him: and being incredulous and careleſſe of the Prophets predictions, he opened the gates vnto him, ſuppoſing that he intended him no euill. But when the Babylonians were entred into the Citie, the king obſerued not his promiſes, but put all ſuch to death as were in the flower and beautie of their yeeres, and ſpared none of the inhabitants of Ieruſalem: with them alſo he ſlew their king *Ioachim*, and cauſed his body to be caſt from the top of the walles, and vouchſafed him no ſepulture, eſtabliſhing *Ioachin* his ſonne king of the countrey, and of the citie. Moreouer he tooke three thouſand of the moſt honourable Citizens of Ieruſalem priſoners, and led them to Babylon with him, amongſt whom was the Prophet *Ezechiel*, at that time very yong in yeeres. This was the end of king *Ioachim*, who liued thirtie ſixe yeeres, and raigned eleuen. *Ioachin* that ſucceeded him in the kingdome was the ſonne of F *Noſta* of Ieruſalem, and raigned three moneths and ten daies.

Nabuchadnezzars entertainment into the citie, and cruelty. 4. *Reg.* 24. 2. *Paral.* 36. Ioachim or Iechonias king of Iuda.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

NABVCHODONOSOR *changeth his purpose, and besiegeth* IOACHIN, *and receiueth him vnder composition.*

The yeare of the world 3346. before Christs Natiuity 618.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

AS soone as the Babylonian had bestowed the kingdome of Iudæa on *Ioachin*, hee was seized with a sodaine feare, which made him suspect least *Ioachin* remembring himselfe of the iniuries he had done vnto him by the murther of his father, might draw the countrey into rebellion, and reuolt against him. For which cause he sent out certaine forces, and besieged *Ioachin* in Ierusalem: who being a man of a good nature, and of an vpright heart, was loath to forsake the City in that danger without a gouernour, considering that it was for his cause that the commonweale was in that hazard. For which cause, taking his wife, and his neerest akin with him, he deliuered them into the hands of the captaines that were sent against him, receiuing an oath from them, that neither they nor the Citie should receiue any harme. But this promise continued not a yeare: for the king of Babylon obserued it not, but commanded his captaines to imprison all the youth and artificers that were in the Citie, and to bring them bound vnto him. The number of them was ten thousand, eight hundred thirtie and two persons, besides *Ioachin*, his mother, and his neere allies, whom they tooke prisoners.

4. *King.* 25.

Nabuchodonosor a truce breaker.

CHAP. IX.

SEDECHIAS *is made King ouer Ierusalem, by the Babylonians.*

Sedechias king of Ierusalem seduced by his courtiers and false prophets, giueth no eare to Ieremie.

IN stead of *Ioachin*, he appointed *Sedechias* his Vncle King of Ierusalem, whom he bound by an oath that he should gouerne the countrey without any innouation, or partiall fauour towards the Ægyptians. This *Sedechias* was one and twentie yeeres olde, at such time as hee came vnto the kingdome, and was *Ioachins* brother by the mothers side: he was a contemner of all lawes, and a peruerter of ordinances. For the yong men that were about him were without the feare of God, and all the people vnder his dominions committed whatsoeuer outrages were best liking vnto them. For this cause the Prophet *Ieremie* came vnto him, protesting oftentimes against him, and denouncing, that if he renounced not all those impieties, and iniquities he vsed, and addicted not himselfe to that which was iust (but gaue eare vnto his gouernours, amongst which there were many wicked men, and to those false prophets that misled him, trusting that the Babylonians should not make warre against his Citie, but that the Ægyptians should leuie an army and ouercome them) that then he should incurre much miserie: for (said hee) they haue no truth in their sayings, and those things also which they pronounce, are not to be spoken. Whilest *Sedechias* gaue eare to these discourses of the Prophet, he was perswaded, and acknowledged all that to be true which he had spoken, and very profitable both for him, and his people: but anone after his friends corrupted him, and diuerted him according to their owne opinions. *Ezechiel* also at the same time, had prophecyed in Babylon all those calamities which were to fall vpon the temple, and sent notice to Ierusalem of that which he had receiued from God. Notwithstanding, *Sedechias* gaue no credit to his prophecies, by reason that all the Prophets were accustomed to accord in all things the one with the other, as touching the surprisall of the city, and the imprisonment of *Sedechias*: but *Ezechiel* differed in this, that he said that *Sedechias* should not see Babylon; notwithstanding that *Ieremy* had prophecied, that the king of Babylon should leade him away prisoner in bonds: because therefore these two accorded not in their sayings; he concluded that the matter wherein they agreed, was of no consequence. Notwithstanding all things happened vnto him according as the Prophets had pronounced, as wee will declare in a conuenient place. After that he had continued his alliance and friendship with the king of Babylon for the space of eight yeeres, he brake the league that was betweene them, and confederated with the Egyptians (vnder hope that they should not ouercome the Babylonians.) Which when the king of Babylon vnderstood, he led forth his army against him, and destroyed his countrey to the vttermost: so that after he had taken his Cities of defence, he finally planted his army and besieged Ierusalem. The Egyptian perceiuing the estate wherein his allie *Sedechias* was, leuied a huge army, and came into Iudæa with an intent to raise the siege. Whereupon the Babylonian withdrew his army from Ierusalem to encounter with the Egyptian, and fought with him, and ouercame him in battell, and pursued him with such alacrity, that he put him to flight, and draue him altogether out of Syria. As soone as the Babylonian was dislodged from Ierusalem, the false prophets

Ezechiel prophecieth the destruction of the temple.

Sedechias reuolt from the Babylonian. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10

The king of Egypt comming to rescue the king of Ierusalem, is ouerthrown by Nabuchodonosor with all his army, and driuen out of Syria.

A phets deceiued *Sedechias*, telling him that the Babylonian should neuer more returne, to make warre either against him, or his nation, and that he should neuer any more depart from his house in Babylon; and that they who had beene led away captiues, should returne home againe, loaden with those vessels of the Temple which the king of Babylon had taken from them. *The yeere of the world, 3346. before Christs Nativitie, 618.*

But the Prophet *Ieremie* presenting himselfe before the king, prophecied the contrary to these impostors, assuring both him and the people, that no profit could befall them by meanes of the Ægyptians, for that the Babylonians should ouercome them, and should returne and encampe before Ierusalem, and besiege the same, and destroy the people by famine, and leade them away prisoners that were remaining, and carry away all their substance; & that after they were seised of the riches of their temple, they should finally burne the same. As for the Citie, they should raze
B it: and (said he) they shall keepe vs captiue for the space of seuentie yeares: And from this seruitude the Persians and Medes shall deliuer vs, at such time as they haue gotten the Empire out of the hands of the Babylonians: then shall they send vs backe againe into our countrey, and we shall build our temple anew, and establish the Citie of Ierusalem. Diuerse men gaue credit to these words of *Ieremie*; but the gouernours and contemners of God, intreated him verie cruelly, as if he had beene a man transported out of his sense. And whereas he had an intent to visite his natiue countrey Anathoth, some twentie stounds off Ierusalem, one of the Magistrates encountring him in his iourney, & laying hold on him, retained him, loading him with this slander, that he went & stole away to submit himself to the Babylonians. But *Ieremy* answered that he was falsly accused, & that he repaired onely to the place where he was borne. This Prince giuing him
C no credit, arrested him, and brought him before the iudgement seat, where he sustained all sorts of outrages and torments, & was shut vp in prison to be punished, & remained there for a time, suffering the extremitie of wrong and iniurie. The ninth yeare of the raigne of *Zedechias*, and on the tenth day of the ninth month, the king of Babylon came and encamped the second time before Ierusalem, and entrenched himselfe round about the same, for the space of eighteene moneths, and laid batterie and siege thereto, with as great spleene as might be possible: And they that were besieged therein, were encountred with two most hainous afflictions, famine, and most grieuous pestilence. At this time the Prophet *Ieremie* being in prison, held not his peace, but cried with a loud voice, and preached, and exhorted the people, willing them to entertaine the Babylonians, and to open their gates vnto them: because that in so doing they might warrantize themselues
D with all their families, whereas otherwaies they were assured of destruction. He foretold them also, that if any one remained in the Citie, he should most assuredly, either perish by famine, or the enemies fury: but if so be they submitted themselues to the enemies mercy, they should escape from death. But those gouernours that heard him speake after this sort, gaue him no credit, in that they were not as yet pressed with the danger: for which cause they came vnto the king, and after a despitefull manner, told him all that which had beene spoken, accusing *Ieremie*, and reprooving him for a mad man; vrging this, that he had abated their courage, and by his woefull predictions, had weakned the hearts of the people, which were otherwaies ready to fight for him and their country, by reason that he flying vnto the enemy, menaced them with the surprisall and vtter ruine of their City. But the king in regard of the naturall humanity and iustice that was
E in him, was not any waies whetted in respect of his owne interest; yet to the intent he might not seeme to be vtterly opposed to the gouernours, by contradicting them, he deliuered the Prophet into their hands, to deale with him howsoeuer they pleased. Who hauing obtained this liberty from the king, entred the prison on the sodaine, and laying holde on *Ieremie*, they let him downe into a pit full of mud, to the intent he might die in that place, and bee strangled by the ordure: in effect, he was set therein vp to the necke. But one of the kings seruants (an Æthiopian by nation) certified the king of the Prophets affliction, assuring him that his friends and gouernours did not iustly, so to thrust and bury the Prophet in the mud, and cursedly to conspire against him, tyring him with bonds and tortures worse then death. For which cause the king hearing this newes, was sorry that he had deliuered the Prophet to the Gouernours, and commanded the
F Æthiopian to take thirty men of his court with him (with cords and such other things necessary, as might concerne the safety of the Prophet) charging him with all expedition to deliuer him from that captiuitie. Hereupon the Æthiopian furnished with men and necessary meanes, drew the Prophet out of the mud, and dismissed him without any guard. That done, the king sent for him in secret, demanding of him if he had any message to deliuer him from God, praying him to let him vnderstand whatsoeuer he knew as touching the successe of the siege. The Prophets answer was, that although he should tell him, yet it would not be beleeued, & that if he should exhort

Sedechias seduced by false prophets

The prophecy of the captiuitie of Babylon and the deliuerie. Ier. 25. 29. 37.

The yeare of the world, 3354. before Christs birth. 610.

Ierusalem besieged. 4. Reg. 25. Iere. 39

Two mightie enemies, Famine and pestilence.

Ieremie perswadeth them to yeeld.

The reward of godly preachers in this life.

Sedechias neglecteth the Prophets good counsell for feare of the gouernours.

The yeere of the world.3354. before Christs Natiuitie.610.

hort him,he would not giue eare or liſten vnto him. But (ſaid he) O king, thy friends haue condemned me to death, as if I had beene a moſt wretched malefactor. But where are they now at this preſent that haue deceiued thee, and borne thee in hand,ſaying; that the Babylonian would not come and beſiege thee? Now will I take heed how I tell thee the truth, for feare leaſt thou „ condemne me to death. Hereupon the king ſwore vnto him that he ſhould not die, neither that „ he would deliuer him into the hands of the Gouernours: for which cauſe *Ieremy* grounding him- „ ſelfe vpon the faith which he had plighted vnto him, counſelled the king to yeeld vp the City to „ the Babylonian,becauſe that God had willed him to ſignifie vnto the king,that if hee would ſaue „ his life, and auoid the imminent danger, and ſaue his City from vtter ruine, and preſerue the „ Temple from burning,he ſhould ſubmit; or otherwiſe, that none but he ſhould bee the cauſe of „ all thoſe euils that ſhould happen vnto the City and Citizens, and of that calamity that ſhould „ confound both him and all his family. When the king heard this, he told him that he would doe „ according as he had counſelled him,and performe whatſoeuer he thought neceſſarie to be done: „ but that he feared his friends, who were already of the Babylonians faction, leaſt being accuſed „ by them,he ſhould be deliuered (by their meanes, and the kings diſpleaſure) vnto death. But „ the Prophet encouraged him, telling him that his feare was in vaine; aſſuring him that he ſhould „ ſuffer no euill,if ſo be he yeelded vp the City: and that neither his wife, nor children, nor the ſacred temple ſhould endure either diſaſter,death,or ouerthrow. Vpon theſe words the king diſmiſſed *Ieremy*,charging him to communicate the counſell that was held betweene them to no one of the Citizens, no not to the princes, if ſo be they ſhould light of any inkling of their conference,or aske of him wherefore the king had ſent for him: aduiſing him to anſwer,if ſo be they were inquiſitiue, that he reſorted to the king, to requeſt him that he might be no more impriſoned: all which the Prophet performed; for they inſtanced him very much to know, for what cauſe the king had ſent for him.

CHAP. X.

Ieruſalem is taken,and the people carried into Babylon by NABVCHODONOSOR.

Ieruſalem beſieged eighteen moneths and at length taken.

MEane-while, the Babylonian continued his violent ſiege againſt the City of Ieruſalem, and hauing raiſed towers vpon certain bulwarks,he draue away by this meanes al thoſe that approched neere vnto the walles: he raiſed alſo(round about the circuit of the Citie) diuerſe plat-formes,that equalled the walles in height. Meane-while,the citie was as valiantly and couragiouſly defended by the inhabitants,for neither peſtilence nor famin plucked down their ſpirits: And although that within the citie they were tormented with theſe ſcourges, yet were not their reſolutions diſtracted by the warre, neither did the enemies inuentions aſtoniſh them, nor their engines affright them; but that they inuented new countermines: ſo that all the battel betwixt the Babylonians and Iewes ſeemed to be a trial both of valour & art; whileſt theſe by the one doe aſſuredly hope to ſurpriſe the citie, and the other thought their ſafetie conſiſted herein, if they ceaſed not by new inuentions to fruſtrate their enemies endeuours: And in this eſtate continued they both,for the ſpace of eighteene moneths,vntill they were conſumed by famine, and by the darts that were ſhot againſt them by thoſe that ſhot from the towers. At length the citie was taken by the princes of Babylon (in the eleuenth yeare of the raigne of *Zedechias*, the ninth day of the fourth moneth) who were put in truſt by *Nabuchodonoſor* to performe the ſiege. For touching his owne perſon he made his aboad in the Citie of Reblata. Now if any man be deſirous to know the names of them that had commandement at ſuch time as Ieruſalem was ſurpriſed, theſe they be; *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Naboſar*, and *Echarampſar*. The Citie being taken about midnight, the Princes of the enemies armie entred into the temple; which when *Zedechias* vnderſtood, he tooke his wiues and his children,with the Princes and his friends,and fled thorow a great valley by the deſart: which when the Babylonians vnderſtoode by certain Iewes that were reuolted, and had ſubmitted themſelues vnto them, they aroſe earely in the morning to purſue them,and ouertooke and ſurpriſed them neere vnto Iericho. Whereupon thoſe Princes & friends of *Zedechias* that had taken their flight with him, ſeeing the enemies neere vnto them, forſooke him,& ſcattering themſelues here and there,cõcluded each of them to ſaue himſelfe. When as therefore the enemies had apprehended him,who was attended by a few followers only,and accompanied by his children & wiues, they brought him vnto the kings preſence; who no ſooner beheld him, but he called him wicked and perfidious, and vpbraided him

The yeare of the world, 3356.before Christs Natiuitie.608.

Sedechias fleeth by night, and is ſurpriſed by the enemie.

with

A with breach of his promiſe, and contempt of his Maieſty, to whom hee had ſworne hee would keepe it to his vſe. Furthermore he reproched him for his ingratitude, in that hauing receiued the royaltie from his hands (which he had taken from *Ioachin* to beſtow it on him) he had notwithſtanding employed all his forces againſt his benefactor. But (ſaid he) that great God that hateth thy trechery, hath deliuered thee into my hands: and when he had ſpoken theſe words, he cauſed *Zedechias* friends and children to be ſlaine before his eies, with all his other priſoners: afterwards commanding his eies to be plucked out, he led him to Babylon. All which hapned vnto him, according as the Prophets *Ieremie* and *Ezechiel* had foretolde him: namely, that he ſhould be ſurpriſed and brought before the King of Babylon, and ſhould ſpeake with him face to face, and ſhould ſee him with his eyes (for ſo had *Ieremie* prophecied) but being made blinde and conduB cted to Babylon, hee ſhould not ſee the Citie of Babylon (according as *Ezechiel* had foretolde.) All which may ſufficiently expreſſe to thoſe that know not the nature of God, how diuers and admirable his iudgements be, in diſpoſing all things in good order, and preſignifying thoſe things that are to come, euen as in this place there appeareth a moſt ſignall example of humane errour and incredulitie, by which it was not lawfull for them to auoid their future calamity, neither ſhun their vnremooueable deſtiny. Thus was the race of the Kings extinguiſhed that deſcended from *Dauid*, who were in number one and twenty, that raigned after him. All of them together gouerned fiue hundred and foureteene yeeres, ſixe moneths, and ten dayes: adding thereunto the twentie yeeres of the firſt King *Saul*, who was of an other Tribe. After this, the Babylonian ſent *Nabuzardan* Generall of his army vnto Ieruſalem to ſpoile the Temple, giuing him in charge to burne C both it, and the Kings Palace, and to raſe and leuell the Citie with the ground; and afterwards to tranſport the people into Babylon. Who arriued there the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of *Sedechias*, ſpoiled the Temple, and carried away the veſſels that were conſecrated to Gods ſeruice, both thoſe of gold, as alſo them of ſiluer: hee tooke likewiſe the great Lauer that was giuen by *Salomon*; the columes and pillars of braſſe, with their chapters likewiſe, and the tables and candleſtickes of gold: and after he had borne away all things, he burned the Temple the firſt day of the fift moneth of the eleuenth yeere of *Sedechias* raigne, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſors* gouernment. He burned alſo the Kings royall Palace, and raſed the Citie. This Temple was burned 470. yeeres, ſixe moneths, and tenne daies after the foundation thereof: and in the yeere 1062. ſixe moneths and ten daies, after the departure of the people out of Egypt: and 1950. yeeres, D ſixe moneths and ten daies, after the Deluge: from the creation of *Adam* vntill the ruine of the Temple, there were three thouſand, fiue hundreth and thirteene yeeres, ſixe moneths and tenne daies. Thus haue wee ſet downe the number of the yeeres, and orderly expreſſed what, and in what time euery thing hath beene performed. The Generall for the King of Babylon hauing deſtroyed the Citie, and tranſported the people, tooke priſoners the high Prieſt *Sareas*, and his fellow in the office the Prieſt *Sephan*, with the Gouernours and Keepers of the Temple, which were three; the Eunuch alſo which had the charge ouer the reſt, and ſeuen of *Sedechias* friends and his Secretarie, beſides ſixty other Gouernours, all which (together with the veſſels which he had pillaged) he ſent to Reblatha a Citie of Syria, vnto the King of Babylon; who commanded in that place that the high Prieſt and Gouernours ſhould bee beheaded: as for the reſt of the priſoE ners, and *Sedechias* the King, he carried them with him to Babylon: he ſent alſo in bonds, with the reſt, *Ioſadoch* the Sonne of *Sareas* the high Prieſt, whom he had put to death in Reblatha (as wee haue heretofore declared.) And for that wee haue reckoned vp the race of the Kings, and ſet downe likewiſe what they were, and how long they continued, mee ſeemeth that it ſhall not bee vnneceſſarie to recite the names of the high Prieſts, and to report who they haue beene, that haue adminiſtred the Prieſthood vnder the Kings. *Sadoc* was the firſt high Prieſt of the Temple builded by *Salomon*. After him his Sonne *Achimas* ſucceeded in that honour, and after *Achimas Azarias*, after whom ſucceeded *Ioram*, and after *Ioram Ioſchua*, after *Ioſchua Axioram*, who had for his ſucceſſor *Phideas*, to *Phideas* ſucceeded *Sudeas*, to *Sudeas Iulus*, to *Iulus Iotham*, to *Iotham Vrias*, to *Vrias Nerias*, to *Nerias Odeas*, to *Odeas Saldum*, to *Saldum Elcias*, to *Elcias Sareas*, to *Sareas Ioſadoch*, who was carried away priſoner into Babylon: all which haue ſucceeded in the prieſtF hood by lineall deſcent. When *Nabuchodonoſor* was come to Babylon, he ſhut vp *Sedechias* in priſon, where he kept him vntill he died, and after his death he honoured him with a royall tombe. Hee likewiſe offered the veſſels that he had taken out of the Temple of Ieruſalem vnto his gods, and cauſed the people to inhabite the countrey of Babylon, deliuering the high Prieſt from his bonds. The generall *Nabuzardan* that led the people away captiue, left the poorer ſort in the country of Iudæa; and thoſe alſo that voluntarily yeelded themſelues vnto him, ouer whom he ap-

The yeere of the world, 3356. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 608.

Sedechias hath his eyes pulled out and his children ſlaine before his face.

How many & how long the kings raigned that were of Dauids line.

The Temple, the palace, and the citie ſpoiled and burnt.

The captiuity of Babylon.

The high Prieſts in Ieruſalem.

Sedechias death.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 11.

The yeare of the world, 3356. before Christs Nativity. 608

pointed *Godolias* the ſonne of *Aicam* gouernour (a man that was both vpright and noble) commanding them to till the land, and to pay their aſſigned tribute to the king. Hee drewe the Prophet *Ieremie* alſo out of priſon, perſwading him to repaire with him to the king of Babylon; telling him that hee had receiued expreſſe commandement from the king, to furniſh him with all things neceſſarie for that iourney: but if hee were not contented to repaire to Babylon, hee ſhould declare vnto him in what place he would make his aboad, to the intent hee might certifie the king thereof. But the Prophet would not follow him, neither depart or ſoiourne in any other place, deſiring rather to liue amidſt the ruines of his countrey, and among the pitious reliques of his poore nation. G

Godolias captaine of the fugitiues.

Ieremy ſet at libertie by the Babylonian, and richly offered and preſented.

When the generall *Nabuzardan* vnderſtood his reſolution, he gaue charge to the gouernour *Godolias* (whom he left in Iudæa) to haue care of him, and to furniſh him with all that which he wanted, and after he had gratified him with preſents, hee departed. Meane while *Ieremy* dwelt in the Citie of Maſphath, praying *Nabuzardan* that hee would ſend him his diſciple *Baruch* (the ſon of *Neria*, a man of a noble family, and excellently learned in that countrey language.) Now when as theſe that during the ſiege of Ieruſalem were retired out of the Citie, vnderſtood of the retreat of the Babylonians, they aſſembled together from all parts, and came to Maſphath to *Godolias*, vnder the conduct of *Iohn* the ſon of *Careas*, and *Iezanais* and *Sareas*, and others. And beſides theſe, a certaine man called *Iſmael* of the bloud royall, a wicked and fraudulent man, who during the ſiege of the Citie, had retired himſelfe to *Bathal* king of the Ammonites, and had ſoiourned with him during all the troubles. Who being in this ſort aſſembled before him, *Godolias* counſelled to remaine in that countrey without any feare of the Babylonians, promiſing that in manuring their land they ſhould incurre no inconuenience. All which he confirmed vnto them by an oath, adding further, that if any diſturbance were offered to any man, hee would readily aſſiſt him. Hee gaue each one this aduice likewiſe, to inhabite any Citie that beſt liked them; promiſing them to ſend them thither, with ſuch thinges as appertained to them, to build them houſes and furniſh their habitation; promiſing them that when time ſerued, hee would make their prouiſion of corne, wine, and oyle for their maintenance during the winter time: which when he had propoſed theſe conditions vnto them, hee gaue them leaue to depart, and inhabite the countrey whereſoeuer they beſt liked. Now when the rumour ran amongſt the people of Iudæa, that *Godolias* had thus curteouſly entertained thoſe that were fugitiues, & how he had permitted them to inhabite & till the countrey (prouided that they payd their tribute to the Babylonian) diuers of them repaired incontinently to him, and inhabited the countrey. And *Iohn* and the other gouernours being with him, and aſſured both of his clemencie and courteſie, began entirely to loue him. For which cauſe they told him, that *Bathal* king of the Ammonites had ſent *Iſmael* to murther him by ſom trecherie, that by that means he might haue the dominiõ ouer the Iſraelites that remained, in that he was of the bloud royal. Aſſuring him, that the means of his deliuerance from that treaſon, was, if ſo be he would command them to kill *Iſmael* in ſecret: aſſuring him on the contrary ſide, that they feared, that if *Iſmael* ſhould happen to kill him, their whole nation that remained, was like to fall to vtter ruine. But *Godolias* tolde him plainly, "that theſe ſtratagems they intended, were practiſed againſt a man that had receiued pleaſure at "his hands; and that it was not likely that hee whom hee had ſuccoured during the time of his ne- "ceſſitie, would be ſo wicked or impious againſt his benefactor, as to attempt to murther him, "whom in any occaſion or neceſſitie hee could not but to his great ſhame and indignitie, either "flie or forſake. Yea, ſaid he, although thoſe things were true which you informe me of, yet had I "rather die, then oppreſſe a man that hath committed his life to my truſt. For which cauſe *Iohn* "and the reſt (ſeeing their perſwaſions were in vaine (departed from him. Some thirtie daies after, *Iſmael* (accompanied with ten men) came to Maſphath to *Godolias*, who receiued them with preſents and magnificent entertainment, ſo that to expreſſe to *Iſmael* and his companions how heartily they were welcome, *Godolias* drunk ſo hard that he was ſomwhat ouerſeen with wine. Now when *Iſmael* perceiued him to be in that key, and ouerloaden with drinke and ſleepe, hee ſtept vnto him with his ten aſſociates, & cut both his throat and theirs, who kept him companie at the banquet: after which murther, he iſſued out by night and ſlew all the Iewes that were left in the citie, & thoſe Babylonian ſoldiers alſo that were left in garriſon in that place. The next day there came foureſcore men of the countrey to *Godolias* with preſents, being vtterly ignorant of that which had hapned. *Iſmael* knowing them, called them vnto him, as if he intended to bring them to *Godolias*, and as ſoone as they were entred, he locked the court and ſlew them, and afterwards caſt their bodies into a deepe ditch, to the intent they might not bee diſcouered. Of this number there

Baruch diſmiſſed out of priſon.

The Iewes reſort to Maſphath to Godolias.

H I K L M

A there were ſome that eſcaped, who beſought him that they might not bee put to death, before they had deliuered certaine moueables, garments and corne that they had hidden in the field: which when *Iſmael* vnderſtood, he ſpared them: but he kept them priſoners that were in Maſphath, with their wiues and children, in the number of whom were the daughters of *Sedechias*, whom *Nabuzardan* had left with *Godolias*. This done, he retired backe againe to the king of the Ammonites. *Iohn* and the gouernours of his companie, vnderſtanding of the acts committed by *Iſmael* in Maſphath, and aboue all, of the murther of *Godolias*, they were wonderfully diſpleaſed: ſo that each of them aſſembling his priuate force, iſſued forth to purſue and perſecute *Iſmal*, whō they ouertooke neere vnto a fountaine in Hebron. The priſoners that were with *Iſmael*, ſeeing *Iohn* his confederates, tooke courage, ſuppoſing that it was ſome ſuccors that came to help them, B and forſooke him that led them, and began to ioyne with *Iohns* followers; and thus fled *Iſmael* with his eight men, to the King of the Ammonites.. *Iohn* gathering together all thoſe whom he had reſcued from *Iſmaels* hands, both Eunuches, women, and children, retired into a certaine place called Mandra, where he ſoiourned all that day, reſoluing from thence to depart into Ægypt, fearing leaſt the Babylonians ſhould put him to death, if they ſhould remaine in Iudæa, for that they would be diſpleaſed with the death of *Godolias*, whom they had planted in the gouernment.

The yeere of the world, 3356. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 608.

Iohn releaſeth Iſmaels captiues.

Being thus plunged and perplexed with theſe deliberations; they addreſſed themſelues to the Prophet *Ieremie*, beſeeching him to enquire of God, and to certifie them, what it behooued them to do in this their doubtfull eſtate, binding themſelues by an oath to do that which *Ieremy* ſhould C command them. Heereupon the Prophet promiſed that hee would aske counſell of God for them: and ſome ten daies after, God appeared vnto him, and willed him to certifie *Iohn*, the gouernours, and the reſt of the people, that if they inhabited Iudæa he would aſſiſt them, and haue care of them, and keepe them ſo, as the Babylonians (whom they feared) ſhould doe them no harme: but if they departed into Ægypt, he would abandon them, and would be ſo incenſed againſt them, that he ſhould thrall them in the like miſerie, as their brethren had indured in times paſt. Whileſt the Prophet thus warned them from God, they would not beleeue him, in that he commanded them to remaine in that place by Gods preſcript ordinance: but they imagined that vnder a falſe pretext of Gods command, hee had counſelled them thereto, but that in effect he ſpake in fauour of his diſciple *Baruch*, perſwading them to ſtay there, to the end they might be D conſumed by the Babylonians: Contemning therefore the counſell which God gaue them by the Prophet: both *Iohn* and the reſt of the multitude went into Ægypt, and led with them both *Baruch* and *Ieremie*. Whither they were no ſooner come, but God told the Prophet that the Babylonian ſhould lead his army into Egypt; for which cauſe he willed him to foretell the people that Egypt ſhould be deſtroied, and that they ſhould partly be ſlaine in that place, and partly led captiue to Babylon. Which came in like manner to paſſe: for in the fift yeere after the deſtruction of Ieruſalem (which was the three and twentieth yeere of the raigne of *Nabuchodonoſor*) *Nabuchodonoſor* in his owne perſon led his army into Cœloſyria, and hauing conquered the ſame, he made war vpon the Ammonites and Moabites. And after he had brought theſe nations vnder his obeiſance, he went and fought againſt the king of Ægypt, and ouercame him: and after hee had E ſlaine their king that gouerned at that time, and planted another in his place, hee afterwards tooke the Iewes that he found in that countrey, and carried them priſoners into Babylon. By this meanes we haue learned, that the eſtate of the Hebrews being brought to this point, hath bin tranſlated twice to the other ſide of Euphrates. For the people of the two tribes were captiued by the Aſſyrians, during the raigne of *Oſeas*; and conſequently that of the two tribes, vnder *Nabuchodonoſor* king of the Babylonians and Chaldees vpon the taking in of Ieruſalem. True it is that *Salmanazar*, after he had diſplaced the Iſraelites, planted the Cutheans in their place, who before time inhabited the innermoſt of the countries of Perſia and Media, and were called Samaritanes, according to the name of the place which they inhabited; but the Babylonian hauing led the two tribes priſoners, hath not planted any other people in their places.

Iohn asketh counſaile of God, and being informed refuſeth the ſame.

Ierem. 42. 43.

The prophecy of the Babylonian armie, and the Iewes captiuitie.

The yeare of the world, 3361. before Chriſts birth, 603.

F For this cauſe, Iudæa, Ieruſalem, and the Temple, remained deſert for the ſpace of ſeauentie yeares: and all the time that paſſed betweene the captiuity of the Iſraelites, vntill the deſtruction of the two tribes, was a hundred and thirty yeares, ſix moneths, and ten daies. But *Nabuchodonoſor* choſe the moſt nobleſt young men amongſt the Iewes (and ſuch as were allied to King *Sedechias*, and eſteemed likewiſe for the good diſpoſition and faire proportion of their bodies and faces) and committed them to maſters to bee inſtructed, commanding that euery one of them ſhould be gelded, according as they were accuſtomed to deale with yong children of other Na-

The yeare of the world, 3361. before Christs Nativity 603.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12

Dan. 1. Daniels forwardnes and his fellowes towardnes in studying wisdome and good letters.

tions, whom he subdued by force. He allowed them victuall from his owne table, and they were G
taught and instructed in the discipline of the countrey, and in the Chaldee tongue. These were
very apt to learne wisedome: and for that cause hee commanded that they should be trained vp
in the exercise thereof. Of these there were foure of *Zedechias* kindred, faire in body, and vertu-
ous in nature, who were called *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*; whose names the Babyloni-
an changed, and willed them to be called by other names, distinct and different from their owne.
Daniel was called *Balthasar*; *Ananias*, *Sidrach*; *Misael*, *Misach*; and *Azarias*, *Abdenago*. These
did the King esteeme very highly for their excellent nature, and for the great affection that they
had to attaine vnto learning and wisdome, wherein they profited greatly, and were for that cause
highly reckoned of by him. And whereas *Daniel* and his kinsemen thought good to liue au-
sterely, and to abstaine from those meates that came from the Kings table, and in generall from
all things that had life, they went to *Askenas* the Eunuch (who had the care and charge ouer H
them) beseeching him to conuert those meates to his owne vse, which were sent them from the
Kings table, and allowe them herbes and dates, and such things as had no life; becausse they in-
tended to hold that course of life, and to forsake all others. *Askenas* told them, that he was ready
to condiscend vnto their demands; but that he feared, least being called for by the King, they
should be found to be leane in body, and discolored in face (for without doubt in following that
diet, they must needly lose their colours, and bee lesse dispost in comparison of others) which
might be the cause to bring him into hazard of his head. They perceiuing that *Askenas* inten-
ded nought else but his securitie, perswaded him to allow them but ten daies of approbation, vn-
der condition that if by that regiment of diet their habitude of bodie should not be any waies al-
tered, they might continue in that fashion of life and diet, which they had intended from that
day forwards: but if they should be found leane and weake, and lesse proportionable (then they I
that fed vpon the Kings allowance) that then they should returne to their accustomed diet. Now
it so fell out, that not onely their bodies were better in grouth, but they seemed rather better fed,
and of a taller stature then the rest: so that they that liued vpon the Kings ordinarie, seemed leane
and wearish; whereas *Daniel* and his companions made shewe, as if they had beene nourished
with dainties, and brought vp in aboundance. From that time forward, *Askenas* tooke all that
which was allowed the foure young men from the Kings table, and boldly kept it to himselfe, gi-
uing them in stead thereof, the diet that they chose and delighted in. They hauing their spirits
more pure and subtill to comprehend their masters instructions, and their bodies more strong to
endure labour (for their spirits were not charged with diuersitie of meates, nor their bodies effe-
minated for the same cause) attained the more readily to al that doctrine that was taught them by K
the Hebrewes and Chaldees: *Daniel* especially hauing profited in wisedome, studied the inter-
pretation of dreames, and God appeared vnto him. Two yeares after the surprisall of Ægypt,
King *Nabuchodonozor* dreamed a wonderfull dreame, the issue whereof God made him see in a
dreame: but he forgate the same when he arose out of his bed. And for that cause sent he for his
Chaldees and diuines, telling them that hee had dreamed a dreame, but that hee had forgot the
same, commanding them to declare vnto him what the dreame was, and the signification therof
also. Whereunto they answered, that it was impossible for men to sound out the secret therof;
notwithstanding they promised him, that if he would declare his vision vnto them, they would
cause him to vnderstand the signification thereof. Hereupon *Nabuchodonozor* threatned them
with death, except they represented his dreame vnto him; and they protesting that they could
not fulfill his request, hee commanded them all to be slaine. But *Daniel* hearing how the King L
had condemned all the Sages to death, and knowing that both hee and his companions had part
in that danger, addressed himselfe to *Ariochus* the captaine of the Kings guard, requiring him to
informe him, for what cause the King had adiudged the Chaldees and sages to be put to death:
And hauing intelligence what had hapned as touching the dreame, & how the king by forgetting
the same, had charged them to inform him therin, & how they had answered that it was impossi-
ble for them to perform the same, and how thereby they had prouoked the King to displeasure:
he besought *Ariochus* to goe vnto the King, and to procure one nights reprieue in the behalfe of
the Ægyptians and Chaldees, in that hee hoped during that night time to beseech God and in-
treat from him both the dreame and the signification thereof. Hereupon *Ariochus* told the King M
what *Daniel* had requested, who respited the execution of the Magicians for that night, vntill he
might see what would become of *Daniels* promise: who retiring himselfe with his companions
into his chamber, besought God all the night long to manifest vnto him the dreame, and deli-
uer the Magicians and Chaldees from the Kings wrath, with whom both hee and the rest of his
companions

The yeere of the world, 3362. before Christs Nativity, 601.

Dan. 2. Nabuchodonosor dreaming, forgetteth his vision sendeth for the magicians not able to discouer his doubts, he threatneth them with death.

companions were like to die, except he might know what the king had dreampt the night past, and what was the interpretation thereof. Whereupon God (hauing compassion of the danger wherein they were, and taking pleasure in *Daniels* wisedome) signified vnto him both the dreame and the signification thereof, to the intent the King might bee resolued in the meaning thereof. *The yeere of the world, 3363. before Christs Nativitie, 601.*

Daniel hauing receiued the truth from God, arose very ioyfully, and certified his brethren (who had already lost all hope of life, and thought on no other thing but death) and gaue them courage and hope of life. Hauing therefore rendred thanks vnto God, for that he had had compassion of their young yeares, as soone as it was day he went vnto *Arioch*, requesting him that he might be brought to the Kings presence, certifying him that hee would open vnto him the dreame which he had seene the night passe. Now when *Daniel* was brought vnto the kings presence, he besought him that he would not esteeme him to bee more wise then the other Chaldeans and Magicians, in that, whereas none of them could expound his dreame, hee did attempt to expresse the same: for that came not to passe, by reason of his experience, or for that he was more industrious then they were, but (said he) God hath had compassion on vs that were in danger of death; and at such time as I requested him to grant me, and my country-men life, he hath certified me both of your dreame, and the signification thereof. I was not so much aggrieued for that in our innocency wee were adiuged to death by thee, as affraide of thine estimation and glory, which was hazzarded by condemning so many and so innocent and iust men to death: whereas that which you haue required of them sauoureth nothing of humane wit, but is the onely worke of God: Whilest therefore thou thoughtest in thy selfe, who it was that should command the whole world after thy selfe; at such time as thou wert asleepe, God intending to let thee know all those that should gouerne after thee, presented thee with this dreame. It seemed vnto thee that thou sawest a great statue, wherof the head was of gold; the shoulders & armes of siluer; the belly and thighs of brasse; and the legges and feete of yron. Thou beheldest after that, a great stone (that was drawne from a mountaine) that fell vpon the statue, and beate downe and burst the same, and left no whole peece thereof: so that the gold, siluer, yron, and brasse, were powdred as small as dust: whereupon a violent wind seemed to blow, which by the fury and force thereof, was borne away and scattered into diuers countries: on the other side the stone grew so mightie, that it seemed to fill the whole earth. This was that vision that appeared vnto you, the signification whereof is expressed after this manner. The head of gold signifieth your selfe (and those kings of Babylon that haue been before you.) The two hands and shoulders signifie that your Empire shall be destroied by 2. kings, the one part by the king of the east, cloathed in brasse, whose force shall be abated by another power, resembling that of yron; and he shall haue the power ouer the whole earth, by reason of the nature of yron which is more strong then gold, siluer, or brasse, hee tolde the king also what that stone signified. But for mine owne part; I thought it not expedient to expresse in this place: because the only butte and intent of my writings is onely to register such things as are past, and not such matters as are to come. But if any man haue a desire to know these things; and cannot bridle his curiositie, but will vnderstand such matters as are hidden, let him read the book of *Daniel*, which he shal find amidst the sacred scriptures. When king *Nabuchodonosor* had heard these things, and remembred himselfe of his dream, he was astonished at *Daniels* wisedome, and casting himselfe prostrate on the earth, after the manner of those that adore God, he embraced *Daniel*, giuing direction that sacrifice should be offered vnto him, as if he were God. Moreouer he called him by the name of God, and committed the administration of his whole kingdome to him and his companions, who by reason of the commotions and conspiracies of their maligners and detractors, hapned to fall into most imminent and dreadfull danger, vpon the occasion that ensueth. The King built a golden Image sixtie cubites high, and sixe in bigenesse, and erected it in a great Plaine neere vnto Babylon: and beeing readie to dedicate the same, he assembled all the gouernours and princes of his countries, commanding them first of all, that as soone as they should heare the trumpet sound, they should prostrate themselues on the earth to adore the statue; threatning that whosoeuer should doe the contrarie, he should be cast into a burning furnace: whereas therefore all of them adored the statue vpon the sound of the Trumpet; *Daniel* and his companions vtterly refused to performe that dutie, alledging for their iustification that they would not transgresse the lawes of their country: for which cause being apprehended, they were instantly cast into the furnace of fire, and (protected therein by Gods prouidence) escaped death beyond all mens expectation. For the fire touched them not, neither could it burne during their aboad in the furnace. For God so fortified their bodies

The vision & the Reuelation thereof opened to Daniel.

Daniel telleth the king his dreame, and the interpretation therof.

Nabuchodonosors dream of the foure monarches of the world.

Daniel & his fellowes aduanced to honour.

The yeare of the world, 3364. before Christs Nativitie. 600.

The kings edict for honoring the golden statue. *Dan. 3.*

Daniel & his kinsmen refusing to adore the statue, are cast into the furnace.

bodies that they could not be consumed by fire: which accident made them in greater estimation with the King, for that hee saw they were vertuous and beloued of God: and for that cause they were highly honoured by him. Not long after this, the king saw another vision in his sleepe, which signified vnto him, that being cast from his Empire, he should conuerse with sauage beasts, and that hauing liued in that estate in the desart for the space of seuen yeeres, hee should recouer his kingdome againe. Hauing had this dreame, hee assembled the Magicians once more, demanding their answer, and the signification thereof. But it was impossible for any one of them, either to finde out, or declare the intelligence of this dreame vnto the King: Onely *Daniel* discouered the same, and the effect was answerable to his prediction. For the king passed the forelimited time in the desart, so that no man durst intermeddle with the affaires of estate during seuen yeeres. But after he had called vpon God, that it would please him to restore him to his kingdome, he repossessed the same againe. Let no man in this place accuse me for reporting these particularities, according as I haue found them written in holy bookes: for in the entrance of my history I haue answered those obiections: so that I haue openly protested, that I will onely faithfully translate the Hebrew Histories into the Greeke tongue: and according to my promise, relate that which is contained therein, without adding any thing of mine owne, or concealing ought of another mans. After that *Nabuchodonosor* had raigned forty three yeeres, he died: he was a man of execution, and more happy then any of his predecessors. *Berosus* maketh mention of his actes in the third booke of the *Chaldaique* Historie, where he speaketh thus. His Father *Nabuchodonosor*, hauing notice that the Gouernour whom hee had appointed ouer Ægypt, and the neighbouring parts of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, was reuolted from him (being at that time in himselfe vnable to indure the troubles of warre) committed a part of his forces vnto his sonne *Nabuchodonosor*, who was in the flower of his age, and sent him forth against him: who encountring the Rebell, and fighting with him, ouercame him, and brought the countrey vnder his subiection. Meanewhile, *Nabuchodonosor* the Father died of a sickneſse in Babylon, after hee had raigned one and twentie yeeres. *Nabuchodonosor* the Sonne, hauing notice of his Fathers death, gaue order to the affaires of Ægypt, and the rest of the countrey: and committing the care and transportation of the Iewes, Syrians, Ægyptians, and Phœnicians to his friends, to bring them to Babylon with his army and carriage, he with a few men made hastie iourneyes thorow the desart. And when hee had taken the administration of the kingdome vpon him (which in his absence was in the hands of the Chaldees, and by their Chiefetaine was reserued vntill his returne, vnto his vse) he became Lord of all his Fathers Empire. When his prisoners were arriued, hee assigned them conuenient dwelling places in the countrey of Babylon; and with the spoiles of warre, hee magnificently repaired and decked the Temple of Bell, and other places. Hee enlarged the olde Citie, and repaired and beautified it with other buildings: by meanes whereof, they that would besiege the same, were hindred from cutting off of the current of the riuer, to the preiudice of the inhabitants. He enuironed it inwardly with a trebble wall, and outwardly with as mighty and as many enclosures, and made all of burnt bricke. The walles were magnificently builded, and the gates brauely adorned in manner of Temples. He caused a Palace to be builded neere vnto his Fathers ancient Palace: the magnificence and ornament whereof, I am too weake witted to expresse; onely this thing most memorable, I haue thought good to note downe, that these huge, great and pompous Buildings were finished in fifteene dayes. In this Palace hee had vaults raised so high, that in outward appearance they seemed to be mountaines, on which all sorts of trees were planted. He deuised and prepared also a goodly garden, and called it the hanging garden, because his wife (hauing beene brought vp in the countrey of Media) desired to haue a place conformable to that of her birth. *Megasthenes* in the fourth booke of his Indian Historie, maketh mention of this garden in that place, where he enforced himselfe to prooue, that this King surpassed *Hercules* in valour and execution of worthy actions. For he said, that *Nabuchodonosor* ouercame the chiefe Citie of Lybia, and a great part of Spaine. *Diocles* in the second booke of the Persian Historie, and *Philostratus* in his Phœnician and Indian Historie, make mention of this King, saying that he ouercame the citie of Tyre, at the end of thirteene yeeres; as such time as *Ithobal* raigned ouer the Tyrians. This is the summe of all that which the Historiographers write as touching this King.

The yeere of the world, 3364. before Christs Natiuitie, 620.

The yeere of the world, 3369. before Christs Natiuitie. 595.

Dan. 4. The dreame, and exposition thereof.

Nabuchodonosors death.

The yeere of the world, 3381. before Christs Natiuity 583.

Berosus of Nabuchodonosor. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13

Megasthenes of Nabuchodonosor. Diocles. Philostratus.

G H I K L M

CHAP. XI.

NABVCHODONOSORS *succeſſors, the deſtruction of Babylon by* CYRVS *King of Perſia.*

The yeere of the world, 3382. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 582.

AFTER *Nabuchodonoſors* death, his ſonne *Euilmerodach* obtained the kingdome, who incontinently deliuered *Iechonias* king of Ieruſalem out of priſon, and helde him in the number of his moſt eſteemed friends, and gaue him preſents, and committed the gouernment of the palace of Babylon into his hands. For his Father had not kept his promiſe with *Iechonias*, when he ſurrendred himſelfe, his wife, children, and friends into his hands, in the behalfe of his countrey, and to the intent that the City of Ieruſalem ſhould not be raſed by thoſe that beſieged it, as we haue heretofore declared. *Euilmerodach* died in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne and *Nigliſar* hiſſonne obtained the kingdome, which he poſſeſſed forty yeeres, and afterward died. After him the ſucceſſion of the kingdome came vnto his ſonne called *Laboſardach*, which continued in him but for the ſpace of nine moneths, and after his death it came vnto *Balthaſar*, who by the Babylonian was called *Naboandel*. Againſt him *Cyrus* king of Perſia, and *Darius* king of Media made warre; and at ſuch time as he was beſieged in Babylon, there hapned a maruailous and prodigious ſpectacle.

Euilmerodach releaſeth Iechonias from his long impriſonment. *4. Reg. 25. Ierem 52.* Nigliſar. Laboſardach. Balthaſar or Naboandel king of Babylon.

Balthaſar ſate vpon a certaine feſtiuall in a royall chamber, where hee was ſerued with great ſtore of veſſell fit for his maieſtie and royalty; and with him at the banquet there ſate his concubines, and moſt intireſt friends. At which time (to ſhew his magnificence) hee cauſed thoſe veſſels to be brought out of the temple of his God, which *Nabuchodonoſor* his predeceſſor (fearing to employ to his owne vſe) had ſtored vp in his Idols temple. But *Balthaſar* was ſo puffed with pride that he dranke out of them, and imployed them to his vſes. Now ſo came it to paſſe, that whileſt hee quaffed, and blaſphemed the name of God, he ſawe a hand iſſuing from a wall, which wrote in the ſame certaine ſyllables: by which viſion being ſomewhat terrified, he aſſembled his Magicians and Chaldees, and al that ſort of people (who amongſt thoſe barbarous nations made profeſſion to interprete prodigies and dreames) to the intent they might ſignifie vnto him the meaning and vnderſtanding of that writing. Now when theſe Magicians had tolde him that they could in no ſort ſound or vnderſtand the ſame, the king was ſore vexed and troubled at his vnexpected viſion: whereupon he cauſed it to bee proclaimed thorow his countrey, that whoſoeuer ſhould reade that writing, and declare the meaning thereof, hee would giue him a golden chaine, and a purple robe (ſuch as the king of Chaldees wore) and beſides all this, the third part of his Empire. After this proclamation, the Magicians aſſembled together with greater concourſe, and were farre more diligent and inquiſitiue to finde out the ſignification of the writing: but they were no leſſe grounded therein then they were at the firſt. Meane while, the kings grandmother ſeeing him wholly amated in minde, began to comfort him, and to tell him that there was a certaine man amongſt the priſoners of Iuda, led thither at ſuch time as *Nabuchodonoſor* deſtroied *Ieruſalem* whoſe name was *Daniel*, a man wiſe and expert in ſearching out of things that were impoſſible, and onely knowne vnto God, who euidently expounded that which *Nabuchodonoſor* required, at ſuch time, as no other man could ſatisfie his demand. Whereupon the king called him vnto his preſence, and telling him what proofes he had heard of his wiſedome, & of that diuine ſpirit that was in him, and how he only was fit to enterprete thoſe things which otherwiſe were obſcured from other mens knowledge; he praied him to informe him what that hand writing ſignified, promiſing him in reward thereof a purple garment, a golden chaine, and the third part of his Empire: to the end that being honoured with theſe titles for his wiſedome, he might grow famous amongſt all men, who demanding the reaſon, ſhould know the intent why he was honoured. But *Daniel* (refuſing all theſe preſents of his, in that the wiſedome that is giuen from aboue is not corrupted thereby, but is freely anſwerable to thoſe that haue neede thereof) told him that that writing did foretell him the end of his life, becauſe he had not learned to feare God, neither to lift vp his thoughts higher then humane nature, notwithſtanding he had ſeene the chaſtiſement wherewith his predeceſſor had beene puniſhed, for the outrages he committed againſt God. For that *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing beene driuen to lead his life amongſt beaſts by reaſon of his impieties, after diuers requeſts and ſupplications had obtained mercy, and was returned vnto humane conuerſation, and into his owne kingdome, for which cauſe all the time of his life he praiſed Almighty God the gouernour of all things: whereas hee had omitted to doe the like, and had blaſphemed the name of God in diuers ſorts, and had ſwilled both himſelfe and

The yeere of the world, 3421. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 543.

Dan. 5. Balthaſar ſeeth a hand thruſt out of a wall and writing certaine ſyllables.

The yeere of the world, 3426. before Chriſts Natiuity, 539.

The yeere of the world. 3425. *before Christs Nativitie.* 539

and his concubines in the vessels dedicated to God : For this cause God was displeased with him, and certified him by this writing, what end hee should expect. Whereupon hee expounded the writings in these tearmes. *Mane* (which is as much to say, as number) sheweth that God hath numbred the daies of thy life and dominion, which shall endure but a little while. *Thekel* signifieth a ballance; God therefore (said he) waying the gouernment sheweth that it shall be ouerthrowne : *Phares*, this word signifieth a fragment, God shall breake thy kingdome, and shall diuide it amongst the Medes, and Persians. When the king had heard this interpretation, hee was very sorrowfull (according as the nature of things so disastrous, and so apparant required.) Notwithstanding he delaied not to performe those presents which he had promised the prophet, although (as he well perceiued) the words aboaded him ill, and gaue him all that which he promised him, considering with himselfe, that it was his owne destinie that he ought to accuse, and not *Daniel*, who like a vertuous man had declared the truth of things: notwithstanding they were very vnsauorie in his eare. Not long after, this *Balthasar* and the City were ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus* king of Persia and his army. For this was that *Balthasar*, vnder whom, and in the seuenteenth yeare of whose raigne, the surprisal of Babylon hapned. This as farre as I could gather, was the end of king *Nabuchodonosors* posterity.

Daniel interpreteth the writing to the king.

The king performeth his promises to Daniel.

Babylon surprised by Cyprus king of Persia.

Darius, who (with his allie *Cyprus*) had destroied the estate of the Babylonians, was threescore and two yeeres olde at such time as he tooke Babylon. He was *Astyages* sonne, and is otherwaies called by the Greekes. He tooke the Prophet *Daniel*, and led him with him into Media, and kept him neere vnto him, doing him much honour : for he was of the number of the three gouernors whom hee constituted ouer three hundreth and threescore prouinces; for so had *Darius* commanded it. Now *Daniel* being thus honoured and beloued by *Darius*, and onely trusted by him in all things, for that God was with him, was grieuously hated : for they are most hainously hated, who haue greatest interest in Princes fauours. Whereas therefore they that were iealous of the good esteeme which he had with *Darius*, sought occasion to calumniate and backbite him, he warily cut off all opportunitie thereof; for he would neither be bribed with siluer, nor corrupted with presents, supposing it to be an act of much dishonesty, to receiue gifts after a man had done any curtesies. He therefore gaue his maligners no manner of ground to detract from his reputation. Yet notwithstanding, they seeing they could finde no hole in his coate, whereby his honour might be touched, blamed, or calumniated, they sought out a new meanes to disgrace him. For they perceiuing that *Daniel* did thrice euery day make his prayer vnto God, they supposed that they had found a iust pretext to worke his ruine. For which cause they came vnto *Darius*, certifying him that the princes and gouernours had concluded together to this effect : That for thirty dayes space an intermission should be granted to the people; during which time, it was neither lawfull for them to demand any thing, neither of himselfe, or of any man or God whatsoeuer; and if any man should attempt any thing against this common decree, it was ordered that he should be cast into the Lyons denne. But the king perceiuing not the drift of their malice, nor how they sought by this deuise to entrap *Daniel*, told them that he liked of the decree, and promised to confirme the same, and propounded a publike edict, wherein the princes resolutions were ratified. Now whilest all men endeuoured thorow feare, carefully and diligently to obserue this edict. *Daniel* set light thereby, and according to his accustomed manner standing in all mens sight, he worshipped his God, and prayed vnto him. Whereupon, the Princes (hauing got that occasion which they long expected) came readily vnto the king, and accused *Daniel* for that he only amongst the rest had presumed to infringe their decree: vrging moreouer, that he did it not for the religion sake that was in him, but because he was obserued and watcht by his maligners. And for that they feared least *Darius* by reason of the great affection hee bare vnto *Daniel*, should be ready to pardon him (notwithstanding hee had transgressed their edict) they concluded vpon no milder iudgement, but that he might bee cast into the Lyons denne, according to the forme of the edict. *Darius* hoping that God would deliuer *Daniel*, and that no harme should befall him by the iawes of wilde beasts, exhorted him patiently to endure that aduenture. Now as soone as he was cast into the denne, the king sealed vp the stone that closed the mouth thereof, and departed, spending all that night without repast or repose, so grieuously was he distempered in *Daniels* behalfe. And when the day was come, as soone as he arose he came vnto the den, and finding the seale vnbroken wherewith he had marked the stone, hee opened the same, and called vnto *Daniel* with a loud voice, asking him if he were whole and in safetie. Hee hearing the king speake, answered that he had receiued no hurt: whereupon *Darius* commanded that they should draw him out of the Lyons den. His aduersaries perceiuing that *Daniel* had escaped all inconueniences

The force of enuy.

Daniels honour and vprightnes.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14 *Dan.* 6.

Daniel cast into the Lyons denne.

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A ueniences (becauſe that God had taken care of him) would not that he ſhould eſcape: and thereupon told the King that the Lyons did neither touch nor approch *Daniel*, becauſe they had beene fed and gorged before. For which cauſe, the King diſpleaſed with their iniurious malice, commanded a quantity of fleſh to be caſt vnto the Lyons; and when they were glutted, he willed that *Daniels* enemies ſhould bee caſt among them, to the intent hee might know whether the Lyons would touch them or no, when they were gorged. At which time *Darius* ſaw very manifeſtly, that God had by his power warranted *Daniel* from death. For as ſoone as the Nobles were caſt into the den, the Lyons ſpared not one of them, but tore them all in peeces, as if they had beene hungry and without meate. I ſuppoſe that theſe Lyons hauing beene a little before glutted with meate, did not annoy theſe men by reaſon of their famine; but I rather iudge that their malignitie
B did whet on their furie: for when as God ſo pleaſeth, vnreaſonable creatures doe iuſtice vpon malignant and enuious men. *Daniels* aduerſaries being in this ſort exterminate and deſtroyed, *Darius* gaue notice hereof to all the ſubiects of his prouinces, prayſing that God whom *Daniel* adored; ſaying, that hee was the onely true God, who had all power: he honoured *Daniel* likewiſe with eſpeciall regard, eſteeming him amongſt the chiefeſt of his familiars. Hee therefore beeing thus famous and admirable (becauſe hee was beloued by God) builded in Ecbatane in the countrey of the Medes a magnificent caſtell, and a maruellous monument that remaineth euen vnto this day, which ſeemeth to thoſe that looke thereon, that it is but newly builded, and made but that verie day which they behold the ſame; the beautie thereof ſeemeth ſo liuing and perfect, as that continuance of time doth in no ſort deface it. For it fareth with buildings as with men, they
C waxe olde and are enfeebled by yeeres, and loſe their beauty; at this day all the Kings of Media, Perſia, and Parthia, are entombed in this Caſtell, and the charge thereof is committed to a Prieſt, who is a Iew: and this cuſtome continueth euen vntill this day. Neither is that to be buried in ſilence, which is worthy eſpeciall admiration in this man: For all exceeding felicitie that was incident to a moſt famous Prophet, attended him; and during his whole life time hee was both moſt highly honoured by kings, and reuerenced by the common ſort: and after his death his memorie is perdurable. For all the bookes which he left in writing, are read amongſt vs euen at this preſent; and we haue beene perſwaded by the reading thereof, that *Daniel* had conference with God. For hee hath not onely prophecied of things to come (as other Prophets haue done) but alſo hath determined the time wherein thoſe things ſhould happen. And whereas other Pro-
D phets were accuſtomed to foretell aduerſities, and for that occaſion were miſliked both by Princes and their people, *Daniel* foretolde them alwaies good ſucceſſe: ſo that he hath drawne vnto him the good will of all men, by reaſon of thoſe pleaſing predictions that hee pronounced; and by the iſſues thereof, he hath obtained a teſtimonie of truth, and a reputation likewiſe of diuinity, and hath left vs certaine writings, by which, hee hath manifeſtly declared the immutabilitie and exact certainetie of his prophecies.

The yeere of the world, 3425. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 539.

Daniels enemies rent in peeces by the Lyons.

Daniels prophecies.

It is ſaid, that beeing at Suſa the Metropolitane Citie of Perſia, at ſuch time as hee walked abroad attended by his familiars, that there fell an earthquake with a great noiſe: ſo that he was left alone, and all his companions fled from him. And that thereupon beeing ſore troubled, hee fell vpon his face, and both his hands: at which time ſome one touched him, and commanded him
E to ſtand vp, and to ſee that which ſhould happen to his countrey-men after diuers ages. Beeing therefore raiſed vpright, there was a great Ramme ſhewed vnto him, that had diuers hornes, the laſt whereof was the greateſt of all. Afterwards he looked towards the weſt, and perceiued a goat carried thorow the ayre, that butted at the Ramme, and hauing encountred him twice, had beaten and trampled him vnder his feete. Thirdly, he ſaw a Goat, in whoſe forehead there grew one great horne onely: which beeing broken, foure others brake out in ſtead thereof, bending each of them towards the foure winds of the world. He hath written alſo, that from them, there ſhall ariſe another little one alſo, which as God (who preſented the viſion to him) tolde him, being growne to perfection, ſhould warre againſt the whole nation of the Iewes, and take the Citie by force, and confound the eſtate of the Temple, and hinder the ſacrifices, for one thouſand two
F hundred ninetie and ſixe daies.

Daniels viſion of the Ram and Goate, by whom the Kings of Media and Perſia were prefigured.

Dan. 2.

Daniel writeth that he ſaw theſe things in the field of *Suſa*, and hath declared that God himſelfe told him what that viſion ſignified; which was, that the Ramme ſignified the kingdomes of the Perſians, and the Medes: His hornes ſignified the Kings that were to raigne in thoſe kingdomes; and that the laſt horne ſignified the laſt King, who ſhould ſurpaſſe all the reſt in riches and glorie. That the Goate ſignified, that there ſhould come a certaine King among the Greekes, who ſhould fight at two ſeuerall times with the Perſian, and ſhould ouercome him in warre; and after-

afterwards poſſeſſe the whole gouernment : And that by the great horne that grew in the front G
The yeare of the world 3475. before Chriſts Natiuity 539. of the Goate, the firſt King was repreſented ; and how that after he was taken away, foure other ſhould ſpring thereout. And whereas euery one of theſe turned themſelues toward the foure corners of the world, it was a ſigne that after the death of the firſt, he ſhould haue foure ſucceſſors, that ſhould depart the kingdome betweene them : who neither ſhould bee his allies or children ; yet ſuch notwithſtanding as ſhould command the world for many yeeres : That from them, there ſhould ariſe a certaine King, that ſhould oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Hebrew Nation, and their lawes, and ſhould ouerthrow their policie, ſpoile their Temple, and bee a let that for three yeeres ſpace the ſacrifices ſhould not bee ſolemnized. Now ſo hath it hapned, that our Nation hath beene ſo handled vnder *Antiochus* the famous, as *Daniel* had foreſeene, and hath written diuers yeeres before, all that which ſhould happen.

Daniels predictions of the Romane Empire. *Dan. 9.* At the ſame time *Daniel* wrote as touching the Empire of the Romanes, how it ſhould de- H
ſtroy our nation : and hath left all theſe things in writing, according as God declared them vnto him ; ſo that they who reade and conſider thoſe things that haue hapned, admire *Daniel* for the honour that God dignified him with, and finde thereby that Epicures erre, who driue all diuine prouidence from humane life, and affirme that God gouerneth not the affaires of the world ; or that the world is adminiſtred by a happy and incorruptible eſſence, which cauſeth all things to continue in their being : but ſay, that the world is mannaged by it ſelfe, by caſualtie, without any conductor, or ſuch a one as hath care thereof. For if it were ſo, and that it were deſtitute of a ſoueraigne gouernour (as wee ſee ſhippes deſtitute of their Pilots to be drowned by the windes ; and charriots that haue no driuers to conduct them, to beate one againſt another) euen ſo ſhould
The Epicures errour conuicted. it periſh, and ſhould ruinate it ſelfe by ſuch an irregular motion. By theſe things therefore that I
Daniel hath foretold, I iudge that they are farre eſtranged from the truth, that affirme that God hath no care of humane affaires ; for if wee ſee that all things happen caſually, then happen they not according to his prophecie. But I haue written hereof according as I haue found and read : and if any one will thinke otherwiſe, let him continue his opinion as long him liſt.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE K IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the eleuenth Booke.

1 Cyrus *King of Perſia diſmiſſeth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their countrey, and contributeth towards the reparation of the Temple.*
2 *The Kings Gouernours hinder the building of the Temple.*
3 Cambyſes *commandeth the Iewes that they ſhould not build the Temple.* L
4 Darius Hyſtaſpis *ſonne buildeth a Temple for the Iewes.*
5 *The bountie of* Xerxes (Darius *ſonne*) *towards the Hebrew nation.*
6 *How during* Artaxerxes *raigne, the whole nation of the Iewes were almoſt extinguiſhed through* Amans *trecherie.*
7 Bagoſes *Generall of* Artaxerxes, *the yongers armie, doth much iniurie to the Iewes.*
8 *How bountifull* Alexander *of Macedon was vnto the Iewes :*

M

CHAP.

A

CHAP. I.

The yeare of the world, 3416. before Christs Nativitie. 538.

CYRVS *King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their countrey, and contributeth towards the building of the Temple.*

THE first yeare of the raigne of *Cyrus* (which was the seuentieth after that our nation was translated from Iudæa to Babylon) God had compassion of the captiuitie and calamity of his poore afflicted people: and euen as he had B foretold them before the destruction of the City, that after they had serued *Nabuchodonosor* and his posterity for seuenty yeeres, he would againe restore them to their countrey wherein they were borne, where they should build a Temple, and enioy their former felicity, so brought he it to passe. For he awakened the spirit of *Cyrus*, and made him write his letters throughout al Asia to this effect. *Thus saith the King Cyrus: Since the Almighty God hath made me King of the whole world; I am perswaded that it is he whom the Iewish nation doe adore: for he hath declared my name by his Prophets before I was borne, and hath said that I shall build his temple in Ierusalem, which is in the countrey of Iudæa.* Now *Cyrus* knew these things by reading of a booke of prophecie written by *Isay*, two hundred and ten yeers before his time. For (he saith) that God did secretly reueale these things vnto him, C speaking to this effect, I will that *Cyrus*, whom I haue declared King ouer many nations, shal send my people back into their country of Iudæa, & shall build my temple. These things did *Isay* foretell one hundreth and forty yeeres before the ruine of the Temple. *Cyrus* in reading these things (being rauished in admiration of the Maiesty of God) was surprised with an affection and zeale to finish that which was written. He therfore called for all the men of greatest reckoning among the Iewes that were in Babylon, and tolde them that he gaue them licence to returne into their countrey, and to repaire the city of Ierusalem, and erect the Temple of God; promising them that he himselfe would assist them. And to that effect he wrote vnto his gouernours, and princes of those countries that confined vpon Iudæa: charging them to contribute both golde and siluer towards the building of the Temple, and to furnish them with cattell for the sacrifice. After D that *Cyrus* had certified the Israelites of this his intent, the Princes of the two tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, with all the Leuites and Priestes departed thence, and repaired to Ierusalem: Natheles diuers of the Iewes remained in Babylon, in that they were loath to abandon those possessions they had gotten. As soon as they came vnto the Kings friends, they affoorded them both fauour and aide, and furnished them with necessary matter to build the temple, some of them with gold, other some with siluer, and the rest with a certaine number of oxen and horses. Thus paied they their vowes vnto God, and offered the sacrifices according to the ancient custome, as if the city had bin new builded again, and the ancient seruice of God but newly awakened. *Cyrus* sent them backe also those vessels consecrated to God, which king *Nabuchodonosor* had sent vnto Babylon after he had spoiled the temple; and deliuered them to *Mithridates* his treasurer, commanding E him to carry and commit them to *Abassars* hands, who should haue the custody therof, vntill the temple were builded, to the end that at such time as it were compleate, he might deliuer them to the priests and princes of the people, to be restored again to the seruice of the temple. He sent letters also to the gouernours of Syria to this effect: *Cyrus King of Sisine, and Sarabasame, health.* I haue permitted those Iewes that inhabit my countrey, to returne into their natiue countrey, and to reedifie their City, and erect the temple of God in Ierusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I haue also sent my treasurer *Mithridates* and *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, with expresse charge & authority, to lay the foundations of the same, & to build it sixtie cubits in height, and as many in bredth; making three Isles of hewen stone, & an other of such timber as the country affoordeth; the Altar likewise, whereupon they may offer sacrifice vnto God: And my pleasure is that the charge of all these things come out of my cofers. I haue also sent backe those ves- F sels which *Nabuchodonosor* took out of the temple, and haue deliuered them to the treasurer *Mithridates*, and to *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, to be conueyed to Ierusalem, and restored to the temple of God: the number whereof I haue hereunder subscribed. Fifty lauers of gold, and foure hundreth of siluer; fifty pots of gold, and foure hundreth of siluer, fiftie golden sieues, & fiue hundreth of siluer; thirty Ewers of gold, and three hundreth of siluer; thirty great viols of gold, and two thousand foure hundreth of siluer; and besides all these, one thousand other great

The end of the Babylonian captiuitie after seuenty yeares. *1. Esd. 1. 3. Esd. 2.*

The edict of Cyrus king of Persia.

Esay, cap. 44. 45. his prophecy of Cyrus.

Cyrus permitteth the Iewes to returne into their countrey to build their temple and city.

The vessels belonging to the temple lent backe from Babylon to Ierusalem.

Cyrus mandate to the princes of Syria.

The yeere of the world,3446 before christs Natiuitie,538.

veſſels. I releaſe them alſo of the tribute which their predeceſſors were accuſtomed to pay,name- G
ly,the leuy of cattell,wine and oyle,and of two hundreth fiue thouſand fiue hundreth drachmes;
and two thouſand fiue hundreth meaſures of wheate,yeelding fine flower: Commanding the ne-
ceſſarie furnitures to be deliuered them out of the Tributes of Samaria; and the Prieſts ſhall of-
" fer vp theſe ſacrifices in Ieruſalem according to the ordinance of *Moſes*: and during their ſacrifice
" they ſhall make praiers vnto God for the preſeruation of the King, and his houſe, to the end that
" the Empire of the Perſians may be ſtill permanent. And my will is, that they that diſobey and
" contradict theſe things,ſhall be hanged on the gibbet; and that their goods be confiſcate. Theſe
were the contents of his letters. Now the number of thoſe that returned together from the cap-
tiuitie into Ieruſalem,was forty two thouſand foure hundreth ſixtie two.

The number of the Iewes that returned from the captiuitie of Babylon to Ieruſalem.

CHAP. II. H

The Gouernours for the King doe hinder the building of the Temple.

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 2. 1 Eſd.4. The Samaritans inhibite the Iewes from building the Temple. Alias chap.3.

WHILEST theſe men laide the foundations of the Temple, and were very affectio-
nately buſie about the building thereof, the nations that bordered vpon them, and in
eſpeciall the Chuteans (whom *Salmanazar* King of Aſſyria ſent from Perſia and
Media to inhabite in Samaria, at ſuch time as he tranſlated the people of the ten Tribes) incited
the Princes and Gouernours,to interdict the Iewes for raiſing and building their Citie,and reedi- I
fying the Temple. Who corrupted with ſiluer,ſold their negligence,and delay to the Chuteans,
which they vſed in thoſe buildings. For *Cyrus* intending his other warres, was ignorant hereof,
and hauing conducted his armie againſt the Maſſagetes, it was his hap incontinently to finiſh his
life. When as therefore *Cambyſes* his Sonne had obtained the kingdome,they of Syria and Phœ-
nicia,the Ammonites,Moabites, and Samaritanes wrote their letters to *Cambyſes* in theſe termes.
O King,thy ſeruants *Rathimus* the Secretarie, *Semelius* the Scribe,and thoſe men that are Coun-
ſellers in Syria and Phœnicia,giue thee to vnderſtand,that thoſe Iewes that were led captiue into
Babylon,are returned backe into this countrey,and doe build a wicked and rebellious Citie, and
repaire the places and walles of the ſame, and reedifie their Temple likewiſe. Know therefore
" that if theſe things be permitted to be finiſhed, that they will no more endure to bee thy ſubiects
" and tributaries, but will oppoſe themſelues againſt their Kings, holding it more fit to command K
" then to obey. Wee haue therefore thought good that whileſt they are thus on working, and af-
fectionate in rearing their Temple,to write vnto your Maieſty,to the intent you may not neglect
to examine your Fathers records,wherein you ſhall alwaies finde that the Iewes haue beene Re-
bels, and enemies to their Kings; and that the Citie hath beene for this cauſe laid deſolate vntill
this preſent. Wee haue thought good to ſignifie thus much to your Maieſtie, which perhaps is
" vnknowne vnto you, becauſe that if this citie be once more reinhabited and incloſed with a wall,
" your way is ſhut vp from paſſing into Cœloſyria and Phœnice.

The yeere of the world,3435. before Chriſts Natiuity 529.

CHAP. III. L

CAMBYSES *inhibiteth the Iewes to build the Temple.*

Cambyſes anſwer wherein he inhibiteth the Iewes from building the Citie or Temple.

WHEN *Cambyſes* had read this letter (in that he was by nature both wicked and mali-
cious) hee grew inwardly iealous and diſpleaſed at the contents thereof, and wrote
backe againe after this manner. The King *Cambyſes* to *Rathymus* the Secretarie,of his
caſuall euents,and to *Belſem* and *Semelius* Scribes,and to all his other Counſellers and inhabitants
in Samaria and Phœnicia, health. Hauing read your letters, I haue commanded the records of
" mine anceſtors to be examined,and I find that the Citie of Ieruſalem hath bin alwaies enemie to
" their kings,and that the inhabitants thereof haue alwaies raiſed ſedition and wars. I haue likewiſe
" found,that their Kings haue bin mighty,and violent,and that they haue vexed Syria and Phœni- M
" cia with continuall tributes. For this cauſe I haue ordained,that the Iewes ſhall not be permitted
" to reedifie their Citie, for feare leaſt their malice ſhould augment by ſuch occaſion which they
" haue continually vſed againſt their Kings. Incontinently after the receipt and reading of theſe let-
ters, *Rathymus* and the Scribe *Semelius*, and thoſe of their faction,tooke their horſe and rode haſti-
ly to Ieruſalem,leading with them a great number of people,prohibiting the Iewes from the buil-
ding either of their Citie or Temple. Thus was this worke interrupted vntill the ſecond yeere of

the

A the raigne of *Darius* king of Perſia, for the ſpace of nine yeeres. For *Cambyſes* raigned ſixe yeeres, during which time he ſubdued Egypt, and vpon his returne from thence, he died in Damaſco. And after the death of *Cambyſes*, the *Magi* that held the Empire of the Perſians for the ſpace of one yeere being taken away, the ſeuen families of Perſia made *Darius* (the Sonne of *Hyſtaſpis*) King.

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Chriſts Nativitie, 521.

CHAP. IIII.

DARIVS *the Sonne of* HYSTASPIS *cauſeth the Temple to be builded.*

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 9. al. chap. 4.

Darius the ſon of Hiſtaſpis made Emperour of the Perſians.

B THIS *Darius*, during the time that hee liued a priuate life, made a vow vnto God, that if hee obtained the kingdome, he would ſend backe vnto the Temple of Ieruſalem all thoſe veſſels, which were as yet remaining in Babylon. It fortuned that about the ſame time, *Zorobabel*, who was appointed Gouernour ouer the captiue Iewes, came vnto him from Ieruſalem. For he was the Kings ancient friend: for which cauſe hee with other two were choſen to be of his guard; and obtained thereby that honour which hee expected. The firſt yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, he entertained all his courtiers with great pompe, and magnificence, both thoſe of his houſhold, as they alſo that were his Gouernours and Princes of Media and Perſia, and the Commanders in India confining vpon Æthiopia, with all the Chiefetaines of his Army, in one hundreth, twenty and ſeuen Prouinces. Now after they had made great cheere, and were full of wine, they departed each of them vnto their lodgings, to betake themſelues to reſt: But King *Da-*

1. Eſd 5, 6. Darius voweth to ſend the ſacred veſſels to Ieruſalem.

Zorobabel.

Darius propoundeth three queſtions to three of his guard.

C *rius* laid in his bed, repoſed very little all the night long, but paſſed the time without ſleepe: for which cauſe ſeeing he could take no reſt, he began to deuiſe and diſcourſe with three of his guard, promiſing him that ſhould moſt truely and aptly anſwer thoſe queſtions that he ſhould demand, to grant him licence in way of reward to weare a purple garment, and to drinke in golden cups, to lie on a gilded bed, and to ride on a charriot harneſſed with gold, and to beare the Tiara or linnen wreath, and were a golden chaine about his necke, and ſit in the next place vnto the King; and ſhould likewiſe be called his kinſman in regard of his wiſedome. After he had made theſe large promiſes, he demanded of the firſt, whether wine were the ſtrongeſt? of the ſecond, whether the King were ſtronger? of the third, whether women, or truth, were the moſt ſtrongeſt of the three? And as ſoone as he had deliuered them theſe queſtions to deliberate vpon, he laid him downe to

3. Eſd. 4.

D reſt. Vpon the next morrow he ſent for the Princes, Chieftaines, and Gouernours of Perſia and Media, and afterwards ſitting aloft in that throne from whence he was accuſtomed to determine the differents among his ſubiects, hee commanded thoſe three yong men of his guard in the preſence of that Princely aſſiſtance, publikely to yeeld the reſolution of thoſe queſtions he had propoſed vnto them.

The firſt expreſſeth the power of wine

Whereupon, the firſt of them began after this manner to expreſſe the force of wine. Noble princes, when I conſider the force of wine, I find nothing that may ſurmount the ſame. For wine entangleth and deceiueth the vnderſtanding, and maketh the princes vnderſtanding like to the poore mans, who is abandoned; and giueth the ſlaue that freedome in diſcourſe, which appertaineth to men of greateſt libertie: It maketh the poore reſemble the rich: it changeth and tranſ-

E formeth the ſoule, aſſwageth the miſerable mans griefe, and maketh the indebted forget their bonds, and to thinke themſelues very rich; ſo that they ruminate on no abiect things, but talke of talents, and ſuch things as appertaine vnto the richer ſort: it cauſeth them to loſe all apprehenſion both of princes and kings, and taketh from them the remembrance of their friends and familiars: It armeth men againſt their greateſt friends, and maketh them ſuppoſe their neereſt welwillers to be ſtrangers; and when the wine concocted by night and ſleepe hath forſaken them, they riſe and know not what things they haue committed in their drunkenneſſe.

The ſecond extolleth the Kings power. *3. Eſd. 4.*

When the firſt of them had in this ſort declared his reſolution, as touching wine, he was ſilent; and the next began to ſpeake of the kings force, ſhewing that it was of mightie conſequence, and more powerfull then any other thing that ſeemeth to haue force and intelligence; and thus han-

F led hee the ſubiect of his demonſtration. Kings (ſaith hee) haue dominion ouer men, who haue the abilitie to enforce the earth, and at their pleaſure can command the ſea to ſerue them: Kings haue power and dominion ouer thoſe men who maſter and command the vntamed and mightieſt creatures; it therefore appeareth that their force and puiſſance exceedeth all theſe. If they command their ſubiects to wage warre, and to expoſe themſelues to danger, they are obedient: and if they ſend them out againſt their enemies, they willingly obey them by reaſon of their force: By their ordinance they leuel mountaines, beate downe walles, and race towers. And if they

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Christs Nativity, 521.

they command their subiects to kill or to be kild, they resist not, for feare least they should seeme G
to transgresse the Kings commandement. When they haue obtained the victorie, all the glorie
and profit of the warre redoundeth vnto the King. They likewise which beare no armes, but in-
tend the tillage of the earth, after they haue trauailed and supported all the toyle of their tillage,
" reape and gather the fruits, to the end to pay the King his tribute: And if he will or command
" any thing, it must needly bee performed without any intermission or omission. Furthermore,
" when the King is addicted to any pleasures, or entendeth to enioy his pleasant and delightful rest,
" during the time that he sleepeth, he is guarded by them that watch, who are as it were tied vnto
" him, thorow the feare and awe they haue of him: For not one of them dare forsake him when he
" sleepeth, nor depart from him to follow their owne affaires, but intend those seruices only which
" hee thinketh necessarie, which is the guard of his person. Who therefore will not esteeme the
" Kings forces to be greater then any others, since so many people obey him in whatsoeuer, and H
" whensoeuer he commandeth?

Zorobabel, the third, expresseth the power of women, and at length attributeth the palme vnto truth.

After he had spoken to this effect; *Zorobabel*, who was the third, began to iustifie in respect of women and truth, and spake after this manner. True it is, that wine hath much force, and no lesse true that all men obey the King; yet farre more mightie is the power of a woman. For by a woman the King was bred, and brought into this world, and those men that plant the vineyards where wines doe grow, are borne and nourished by women; and generally there is not any thing which wee enioy not by them. For they weaue vs garments, they haue the care and custodie of our houses; neither is it possible for vs to be seuered from women. Yea, they that possesse much
" gold and abundance of siluer, and other things of great and inestimable price; onely vpon the
" sight of a faire woman forsake all these things, and will follow after the beautie which they be- I
" held, and for onely possession thereof, content themselues to lose all things. We forsake likewise
" our father and mother, and the country that hath bred vs, and forget our friends for our wiues
" sake; yea wee will willingly content our selues to die with them. Yet is there a greater and fur-
" ther demonstration of the most mighty power of a woman. For whatsoeuer we trauell for, all
" the paines that we endure both by land and sea, to the intent we may reape some fruits of our la-
" bours, doe we not carrie all this to giue vnto our wiues, as vnto those who are our mistresses? I
" haue seene the King likewise, who is so great a Lord, endure a stroke on the eare, by *Apame* the
" daughter of *Rhapsaces* his concubine, and patiently endure when she tooke the Diadem from his
" head, and set it on her owne. When shee laughed, he laughed; and when she was displeased, he
" was displeased: and according as her passion changed, so flattered he, and humbly submitted his
" affections to her pleasures, according as he saw her passionate or pleased. K

" But whilest the Princes in way of admiration beheld one another, hee began to discourse of
truth, saying: I haue alreadie declared what the force of women is; yet notwithstanding both
" the King and they are more feeble then truth. For whereas the earth is huge and mightie, the
" heauen likewise of an immesurable height, and the sunne of vnspeakeable celeritie; and whereas
" the will of God both gouerneth and moueth these things (because God is iust and true) it there-
" fore followeth, that truth is the most mightiest of all things; against which, iniustice may no waies
" preuaile. Furthermore, all other things notwithstanding they seeme to be of value, yet are they
" mortall and of little continuance: but truth is immortall and euerlasting. Moreouer, all those
" things which we receiue thereby, are neither mortall, neither subiect to the iniuries of time, for-
" tune, or alteration; but continue iust, and lawfull, and separated from all staine of iniustice.
" When *Zorobabel* had spoken after this manner, he made an end of his discourse: Wherupon, all L
the assembly began to pronounce that his assertions were of most value, and that onely veritie
had an immutable force, and an indeterminable continuance. Whereupon the King comman-
ded him to aske what he would, as touching that which he had promised to giue, because he in-
tended to grant it him, as to the wisest, and best learned amongst the rest. For (said he) thou shalt
sit henceforth next vnto me, and shalt be called my familiar.

Zorobabel obtained both praise & great rewards by his good discourse Darius being put in memory of his vow, commandeth that the temple should bee restored. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4

When the king had spoken thus, *Zorobabel* called to his remembrance the vowe that the king
had made, if so be at any time he obtained the kingdome: namely, that he would build Ieruса-
lem, and the temple of God, and restore those vessels likewise, which were taken away by *Nabu-*
chodonosor, and carried into Babylon. For this (said he) O king is my request which you permit- M
ted me to aske, and you promised me to grant at that time as I was iudged wise and well lettered
by you. The king tooke great pleasure at these words of his, and arising from his throne kissed
him. He wrote also vnto his gouernours and princes, that they should send away *Zorobabel*, and
those of his company to build the temple. Moreouer he sent letters to them of Syria and Phœ-
nicia,

A nicia,commanding them to cut downe the Cedars of Libanus,and to ſend them to Ieruſalem towards the building of the citie; publiſhing a law that all Iewes ſhould be made free,if ſo be they would reſort into Iudæa; forbidding all commiſſaries and Princes, to impoſe any charge vpon the Iewes,for the neceſſities of the kingdome;permitting that all the countrey which they might occupy, might bee inhabited by them, and exempt from tributes: commanding the Idumæans, Samaritanes,and Cœloſyrians to reſtore thoſe lands vnto the Iewes which they vnlawfully held, and the other lawfully claimed for their inheritance: And beſides that,to deliuer them in way of contribution fiftie talents of ſiluer towards the building of the Temple, permitting them to offer their ordinary ſacrifice. He likewiſe commanded that all the neceſſaries and veſtments,which either the high Prieſt,or the ordinarie ſacrificers vſed in the ſeruice of God, ſhould be furniſhed at
B his charges. Hee willed alſo that the Leuites ſhould haue inſtruments of Muſicke deliuered vnto them,to praiſe God with; and that certaine portions of land might be allotted for them that had the guard of the Citie,and the Temple. Moreouer he allowed them a certaine ſumme of money euery yeere for their ordinarie maintenance. After this,he ſent backe all thoſe veſſels which *Cyrus* before time had reſolued to reſtore vnto Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world,3443. before Chriſts Nativity,521.

Darius letters for the liberty poſſeſſion and erection of the Temple granted to the Iewes.

1.*Eſd.6.*

When *Zorobabel* had obtained theſe things abouenamed at the Kings hands, he iſſued out of the palace,and lifting vp his eies vnto heauen,he began to giue God thanks for the wiſedome and victorie he had granted him,and for the good ſucceſſe he had giuen him in *Darius* preſence. For (ſaid he)O Lord,if thou hadſt not beene fauourable vnto me,I had not obtained it.After he had at this time,and in this ſort giuen thanks for the preſent,and praied God to ſhew himſelfe alwaies
C fauourable hereafter, he repaired to Babylon, and told his countrimen what good newes he had receiued from the King: who hearing the ſame, gaue God thanks alſo, who had reſtored them once more to the poſſeſſion of that countrey wherein they were borne: and they fell to feaſting and banquetting for ſeuen daies ſpace, for the reſtoring vnto their countrey, as if they had ſolemnized the feaſts of their birth daies. Anon after they made choiſe of thoſe Gouernours and common ſort, that (with their wiues, their children and horſes) ſhould returne vnto Ieruſalem, who by the aſſiſtance of *Darius* conuoy, performed their iourney to Ieruſalem with ioy and conſolation; playing on their Pſalteries,Flutes,and Cymbals; and were after this manner conducted on their way, with delight, by the number of thoſe Iewes that remained as yet in Babylon. Thus therefore went they forward,beeing a certaine and determinate number of euery family. I haue
D not thought it meet to repeat theſe families name by name,for feare I ſhould confound my ſtory, and leaſt the Readers ſhould any waies be diſtracted or interrupted in their readings. Notwithſtanding,the whole number of thoſe that went,and were aboue twelue yeeres old of the tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin,* were foure millions, ſixe hundreth, twenty and eight thouſand. There were likewiſe foure thouſand and ſeuentie Leuites: And of their wiues and children together, fortie thouſand ſeuen hundred,forty and two. Beſides theſe,there were of Singers of the tribe of *Leui,* one hundred, twenty and eight; of Porters,one hundred and tenne; and of ſacred ſeruants three hundred twenty and two. There were certaine others likewiſe, that pretended that they were of the race of the Iſraelites,yet could not they giue teſtimony of their deſcent;the number of whom were ſixe hundreth fifty and two. Of the number of the Prieſts, they that had eſpouſed wiues
E (whoſe genealogie could not be deriued, and who were not found alſo in the genealogies of the Prieſts and Leuites) they were about fiue hundreth,twenty and fiue. The multitude of ſeruants that followed or attended on them,were ſeuen thouſand,three hundreth,thirty and ſeuen. There were alſo two hundreth, forty and fiue Singers of men and women: foure hundreth, thirty and fiue Camels; and fiue hundreth twenty and fiue other beaſts to beare their carriage. The conductor of this abouenamed multitude, was *Zorobabel* the ſonne of *Salathiel*; deſcended of *Dauids* line, and of the tribe of *Iuda*; and *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Joſedech* the high Prieſt: beſides which were *Mardochæus* and *Screbæas,* who were choſen by the people to bee their Gouernours, who contributed one hundreth pounds of gold, and fiue hundreth of ſiluer. Thus the Prieſts and Le-
F uites, and a part of all the people of the Iewes which were then in Babylon, were conducted to dwell at Ieruſalem; the other part of them following a little after returned euery one into his owne countrey.

Glad tidings brought to the Iewes.

The Iewes depart from Babylon to Ieruſalem.

3.*Eſd.5.*

The number of the Iewes that went out of Babylon.

3.*Eſd.2.*

Zorobabel chiefe man and Ieſus high Prieſt of this company.

The ſeuenth moneth after their departure out of Babylon, the high Prieſt *Ieſus,* and the Gouernour *Zorobabel* ſent meſſengers thorow all the countrey, and aſſembled the people from all quarters of the region, who with all alacritie and expedition repaired to Ieruſalem. There erected they an Altar in the ſame place, where before time it was builded, to the ende they might offer lawfull ſacrifices thereon,according to *Moſes* law: in which action of theirs: they yeelded

1.*Eſd.3.*

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Christs Nativity, 521.

The feast of Tabernacles.

The Temple began to be built.

little content to their neighbour Nations, who in generall were incensed against them. They ce- G
lebrated also at that time the feast of tabernacles, according as the law-maker had ordained : af-
terwards they offered oblations, and continuall sacrifices, obseruing their Sabboths and all holy
solemnities. And they that had made any vowes performed the same, and sacrificed from the
new moone vntill the seuenth moneth. After this they began to build the temple, and deliuered
great summes of money to the hewers of stone, and masons; and gaue strangers their ordinarie
diet, who brought them stone and timber. For it was an easie matter for the Sidonians and an
act well pleasing vnto them, to bring wood and timber from Libanus, and to bind it, and gathe-
ring it together in rafters to ship it, and land it at the port of Ioppa. For *Cyrus* had before time
giuen them that commandement, and now the second time they were enioyned thereunto by
Darius.

The second yeere after their arriuall in Ierusalem, the Iewes assembled together in the second H
moneth, and the building of the temple went forward; so that hauing laid the foundation there-
of in the first day of December, they builded vpon the same, the second yeare. Ouer this worke
those Leuites that were aboue twentie yeares of age, were ouerseers : with them also was *Iesus*,
and his sonnes and brothers ioyned, and *Zolimiel* the brother of *Iuda* the sonne of *Aminidab*,
and his sonnes. And thorow the diligence that these ouerseers of the temple vsed, it was sooner
finished, then it was expected. As soone as the sanctuarie was builded, the Priests apparelled
in their accustomed habits, and the Leuites, and the sonnes of *Asaph* arose, and with trumpets
praised God, according as *Dauid* first of all had set downe the manner of his seruice. The priests
and Leuites with the elders of the tribes (calling vnto their mindes how great and precious the
first temple was, and beholding that which was builded vpon the present, farre inferiour to the I
precedent, and perceiuing how much the ancient wealth and dignitie of the temple was abased;
they were confused thereat, and being vnable to ouercome their passion, they burst out into la-
mentations and teares. But the people were contented with that which they beheld, and without
any estimate or mention of the former temple, they tormented not themselues in comparing
the one with the other; neither thought they vpon the difference and bignes betwixt the pre-
sent and that which stood in times past : yet notwithstanding the elders lamented, and the priests
complained, that the new erected Temple was farre lesse then the former; yet the noise of
the trumpets drowned their laments, and the ioyfull applauses of the people their mour-
nings.

The Samaritans hearing the noise of the trumpets, ranne out to know the cause thereof in that
they were lewdly affected towards the tribe of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*; and vnderstanding that the K
Iews which were returned from Babylon had reedified the temple, they addressed themselues to
Zorobabel and *Iesus*, and to the chiefe gouernours of the families, requiring them that it might be
lawfull for them to repaire the temple with them; and to haue part in the building thereof. For
(said they) we honour God no lesse then you, we pray vnto him and adore him; wee conforme
our selues to your customes, euer since the time that *Salmanazar* king of Assyria remoued vs out
of Cuthea and Media hither. To these demands of theirs, *Zorobabel* and *Iesus* the high priest
and the gouernours of the tribes answered, that it was impossible for them to admit their assi-
stance in the building of the temple, for that they had receiued their first commandement from
Cyrus to performe the same, & afterwards from *Darius*: notwithstanding they gaue them licence
to adore therein, offering them that the temple should be common to both, if they pleased: yea
and accessible to all other nations, that would repaire thither to adore God. The Chutheans (for L
so were the Samaritanes called) hearing this answere, were sore offended; and perswaded the o-
ther nations of Syria to require their princes (who continued their authoritie since the time of
Cyrus, and afterwards ruled in *Cambyses* time) to hinder the building of the temple; and to de-
lay the Iewes, who were so intent and busie in their worke. Wherupon *Sisin* gouernour in Syria
and Phœnicia, and *Sarabazan*, accompanied with others, came vnto Ierusalem; and demanded
of the chieftaines of the Iewes, by whose permission they builded the temple, which rather see-
med to be a fort then a temple, and for what cause they fortified their Citie with gates and so
strong walles? *Zorobabel* and *Iesus* the high Priest answered, that they were the seruants of the
liuing God, and that their temple had beene built by one of their kings, who was opulent and sur- M
passed all other in vertue, that after it had continued long time in venerable estimation (by rea-
son their fathers had committed impietie against God) *Nabuchodonosor* King of Babylon and
Chaldæa, hauing taken the Citie by force destroyed the same; and after he had spoyled the citie
he burned it, and transported the people captiue into Babylon.

The Samaritans desirous to further the building of the temple are reiected.

The Samaritans suppose to hinder the building of the temple.

The Syrian princes examine the cause why the Iewes repaire their citie and temple.

But

A But after that *Cyrus* king of Perſia had obtained the kingdome of Babylon, hee commanded by his expreſſe letters ſealed with his royall ſeale, that they ſhould reedifie the temple, and ordained that all that which *Nabuchodonoſor* carried from thence, as well gifts as veſſels, ſhould be deliuered to *Zorobabel* and the Treaſurer *Mithridates*, to be conuaied to Ieruſalem, and be placed againe in the temple, as ſoone as it ſhould be builded. And he commanded alſo, that it ſhould be preſently reedified, willing *Abaſſar* to repaire to Ieruſalem, and giue order for all that which was requiſite; who reſorting thither as ſoone as he had receiued *Cyrus* letters, did ſpeedily lay the foundations anew. From that time forward vntill this preſent it hath beene continued; but the ſubtilty and malignity of their enemie had wrought ſo much, that as yet it remained imperfect. If therefore it pleaſe you, and you thinke it good, ſignifie that you heare, by your letters to *Da-*
B *rius*, to the end that examining the regiſters of the kings, he may finde that we are not faultie in any thing of that which we haue ſaid. When *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus* had anſwered to this effect; *Siſin* and they that accompanied him, thought not good to hinder the building, vntill ſuch time as they had certified *Darius* hereof: for which cauſe they wrote vnto him preſently. Hereupon the Iewes were much diſcomforted and troubled, fearing leaſt the king ſhould change his mind in reſpect of the building of Ieruſalem and the Temple. But two Prophets, *Aggeus* and *Zachary* (who were amongſt them) beganne to perſwade them, willing them to feare no diſaſter from the Perſians, becauſe God had aſſured them: for which cauſe the people gaue credit to the Prophets, and diligently intended their building, and intermitted no one day.

The yeere of the world, 3444. before Chriſts Nativity 520.

1. Eſd. 5.

Aggeus and Zachary the Prophets.

When the Samaritanes had in this ſort written to *Darius*, and accuſed the Iewes vnto him
C for fortifying their City, and reedifying their Temple, and how it ſeemed rather to be a fort, then ſome ſacred place, and had further alleadged that it would be no profit vnto him, and moreouer had produced *Cambyſes* letters, by which they were forbidden to build the temple; hee vnderſtood that the reeſtabliſhment of Ieruſalem ſtood not with the ſecurity of his ſtate. But when he had read *Siſins* letters and his aſſociates, he commanded that the Panchartes and Chronicles of the kings ſhould be ſearched, how the matter had paſt; and there was found in Ecbatane a City of the Medes, in a tower a certaine booke, in which theſe things were written. The firſt yeere of the raigne of *Cyrus*, commandement was giuen to build the temple of Ieruſalem, and the altar therein: It was likewiſe decreed, that the height of the Temple ſhould bee ſixtie cubits, and the breadth as many; three ſtories of hewed ſtone, and one ſtory of the wood of that countrey: and
D it was ordained that the expence of that building ſhould be deducted out of the kings reuenews. Moreouer he commanded, that reſtitution ſhould be made vnto the inhabitants of Ieruſalem, of thoſe veſſels that were taken away by *Nabuchodonoſor*, & caried away to Babylon: And the commiſſion to effect all theſe things was giuen to *Abaſſar* gouernour of Syria and Phœnicia, and his companions, to the end that they might depart from theſe places, and the Iewes might bee permitted to build therin. Furthermore, he ordained that the charge of this pile and building ſhould be gathered out of the tributes of his countries, and that they ſhould furniſh the Iewes with buls, weathers, lambes, goates, flower, oyle, and wine, and all other things which the Prieſts ſhould thinke meet to offer ſacrifice, to the intent that they might pray for the preſeruation of the King of Perſia: commanding that they that ſhould tranſgreſſe or contradict this commandement of
E his, ſhould be laid hold on, and hanged on a Iibbet, and that their goods ſhould bee confiſcate to the kings vſe. Moreouer, he beſought God, that if any man went about to hinder the building of the temple, that he would puniſh him and ſtrike him, and reſtraine his wickednes thereby. When *Darius* had found theſe things written in his Panchartes and Chronicles, he wrote backe to *Siſin* and his companions in this forme: King *Darius* to *Siſin*, and *Sarabazan*, with their aſſociates; health. Hauing found amongſt the memorialls of *Cyrus* the coppy of your miſſiue; I haue ſent it you, and my pleaſure is that the contents thereof be executed. Fare you well.

The Samaritanes indeuouring to hinder the reparation of the temple & city, do further it the more.

Cyrus decree as touching the temple & the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3450. before Chriſts Nativitie, 514

3. Eſd. 6.

Darius Epiſtle to the prefects of Syria.

Siſin and his aſſociates being certified of the kings pleaſure, reſolued themſelues conformably to execute the ſame: and taking the care of the ſacred buildings vpon them, they aſſiſted the Princes & Magiſtrates of the Iewes in ſuch ſort, as the building of the Temple was finiſhed with
F great diligence, by the inſtigation of the Prophets *Aggeus* and *Zachary*, according to Gods commandement, and by the directions of the kings *Cyrus* and *Darius*; ſo that it was finiſhed within 7. yeeres. In the ninth yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, and the three and twentie of the eleuenth moneth, called by vs *Ader*, and by the Macedonians *Diſtre*; the Prieſtes and Leuites, and all the reſt of the people offered ſacrifices for the renouation of their former felicity, after their captiuity, and for their new temple alſo: ſacrificing one hundred bulles, two hundred ſheepe, foure hundred lambes, twelue goates, according to the number of the twelue tribes of Iſrael; and for the ſinnes

The finiſhing of the temple.

The yeare of the world, 3450. before Christs Natiuitie. 514.

sinnes of each of them. The Priests and Leuites also (according to the lawes of *Moses*) appoin- G
ted Porters to euery gate. For the Iewes had builded galleries round about, and within the temple.

The temple dedicated 23 of March, or as it is in the first of Esdras 6. dedicated the third of March.

Now when the feast of vnleauened bread (which is the feast of Easter) drew neere, in the first moneth called Xanthicus by the Macedonians, and Nisan by the Hebrewes, all the people of the townes round about Ierusalem resorted thither, and celebrated the feast; purifying both themselues, their wiues, and children, according to the ordinance of their forefathers: And after they had solemnized the feast called Easter, or the Passeouer in the 14. moone, they banquetted for seauen daies space, sparing no cost how great soeuer it were. They offered burnt offerings also, and sacrifices of thankesgiuing, acknowledging Gods goodnesse that had brought them home into their natiue Countrey, to liue according to the lawes of their forefathers, and had made them gracious in the king of Persiæs eies. Thus dwelled they in Ierusalem in all ioy, sacrificing and ser- H
uing God with great affection, and liuing vnder the gouernment of their nobilitie. For the chiefest authoritie remained in the high Priests, vntill the Asmonæans obtained the kingdom: for before the captiuitie of Babylon, they were vnder the gouernment of Kings, who began from *Saul* and *Dauids* times, about some fiue hundred, thirtie, two yeeres, sixe moneths, and tenne daies; and before their Kings certaine gouernours called Iudges raigned: and vnder this sort of policie liued they more then fiue hundred yeares; from the death of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. See here the estate of the Iewes deliuered from their captiuitie, during the daies of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. True it is that the Samaritanes were their mightie and malicious aduersaries, and did them many mischiefs, trusting in their riches, and pretending themselues to be the Persians kinsmen, because their originall proceeded from thence. For they refused to pay that tribute, which the King had com- I
manded them to disburse vnto the Iewes to make their sacrifices, and had their Gouernours likewise affectionate and forward to further their malice; neither was there any of them idle or negligent in working them mischiefe, either in themselues, or by others. For which cause, the Iewes determined to send Embassadors vnto King *Darius*, to accuse the Samaritanes; and to that intent *Zorobabel* and foure others were sent. As soone therefore as the King vnderstood by these Embassadors, what crimes and accusations they had brought against the Samaritanes, hee dispatched his letters, and addressed them to the Gouernours and Councell of Samaria; the tenour of which letters was to this effect. King *Darius* to *Tangara* and *Sambaba* Gouernors of Samaria, to *Sadrach* and *Bobelon*, and to their companions our seruants being in Samaria; health. *Zorobabel*, *Ananias*, and *Mardocheus*, Embassadours in the behalfe of the Iewes, accuse you to be perturbers of the building of their temple; alleadging that you refuse to discharge that, which by my decree you K
ought to furnish them with, for the charge of the sacrifices. My will is therefore, that vpon the sight of these letters, you deliuer out of the royall treasurie in Samaria, appointed for the tributes, all that which shall be necessary for them to performe their sacrifices, vpon the requests of the Priests, to the intent they let passe no day without sacrifice and praier vnto God for me, and for the Persians. This was the contents of his letter.

The forme of cõmonweale in Ierusalem.

The Samaritanes mightie enemies of the Iewes.

The Embassage of the Iewes to Darius.

The yeere of the world, 3464. before Christs Natiuitie, 500.

A commaudement to supply the charge of the building of the temple and sacrifices.

CHAP. V.

The beneficence of XERXES, DARIVS *sonne, towards the Iewes.*

L

AFTER *Darius* death; his sonne *Xerxes* succeeded him, not onely as heire in the gouernment of his kingdome, but also as successor vnto his pietie and deuotion towards God: for he no waies changed those institutions of his fathers that concerned religious seruice, but with great beneuolence fauoured all the Iewes. During his raigne *Ioacim* the sonne of *Iesus* was high Priest: Amongst them also that remained in Babylon, there liued a high priest with the Iewes in that place called *Esdras*; a iust man, and one of great reputation amongst the people: and whereas he was very skilfull in the lawes of *Moses*, he obtained great friendship with the king. This man intending (with certaine other Iewes of Babylon) to make his repaire vnto Ierusalem, besought the king that he would vouchsafe to bestow his letters of commendati- M
ons to the Gouernors of Syria in his behalfe. Whereupon the king wrote his letters pattents of
" grace, certifying his fauor towards *Esdras*, to the princes in those parts, to this effect: *Xerxes* king
" of kings, to *Esdras* the high Priest, and Reader of the diuine law, health. It is decreed by mee and
" seuen other of my Councell, that whosoeuer in my kingdom of the Israelites, their Priests, or Le-

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5. 1. *Esd.* 7.

Xerxes King of Persia.

Esdras learned in the lawe.

Xerxes fauoureth the Iewes

uites

A uites will repaire with thee vnto Ieruſalem, hee may freely performe the ſame with my good licence,and reuiſite Iudæa according to the law of God; bearing with you thoſe preſents vnto the God of Iſrael,which both I and my friends haue vowed. I likewiſe giue thee licence to take with thee all the gold and ſiluer whatſoeuer,that any of thy nation liuing here in Babylon will offer vp vnto God,to buy offrings to be ſacrificed vpon the Altar of thy GOD: and to make whatſoeuer veſſels of gold or ſiluer,which either thou or thy brethren ſhall thinke meet. Thoſe ſacred veſſels alſo which are giuen thee,thou ſhalt dedicate vnto thy God,and if there be ought elſe requiſite in this behalfe,that according to thy wiſdome ſhalt thou prouide,and the charges ſhalt thou receiue out of my treaſurie. I haue alſo commended thee to the Treaſurers of Syria and Phœnicia; and haue written to them, that whatſoeuer *Eſdras* the Prieſt and Reader of the law of GOD ſhall re-
B quire, they ſhall preſently deliuer it him. And to the end that God may be fauourable to me and my children,my will is,that a hundred meaſures of wheate be giuen vnto God, according to the law. I command you alſo that are Magiſtrates, that you exact nothing, neither impoſe any taxations on the Prieſts,Leuites,ſacred Singing-men,Porters,or holy officers. But thou *Eſdras* (according to the wiſedome giuen thee from aboue) ſhalt appoint Iudges, who ſhall in Syria and Phœnicia execute iuſtice vnto the people, according to the ſeruice of the law. Teach thou likewiſe freely all ſuch as are ignorant, ſo that whoſoeuer violateth either Gods or the Kings law,he may be fined, or elſe condemned to death, as not ſinning through ignorance, but of contumacie. Farewell.

The yeere of the world,3506. before Chriſts Natiuitie,458.

When *Eſdras* had receiued this letter, hee was wonderfully contented,and beganne to adore
C God,confeſſing openly that it was he, who was the author of that fauour he had receiued at the Kings hands: for which cauſe he ſaid,that the onely thankſgiuing appertained to him. And after he had read this letter vnto the Iewes that were at that time reſident in Babylon, he kept the originall,but ſent the coppy to all thoſe of his nation,being in the country of the Medes: who vnderſtanding of the Kings affection towards God, and his fauour towards *Eſdras*, were very ioyfull; and diuers amongſt them tooke their goods and came vnto Babylon, deſiring to returne to Ieruſalem: but all the reſt of the Iſraelites would not abandon or leaue their quiet dwelling there. For which cauſe it came to paſſe, that two Tribes were vnder the obedience of the Romanes in Aſia and Europe: but the tenne Tribes were on the other ſide of Euphrates, euen vntill this day; being many infinites of thouſands,whoſe number may not be comprehended. With *Eſdras*
D there departed a great number of Prieſts,Leuites,Porters,Singing-men, and ſeruants of the Temple. Now after that he had aſſembled thoſe of the captiuitie,that inhabited on this ſide Euphrates, and ſoiourned there three daies, hee commanded them to ſolemnize a faſt, and to pray vnto God for his preſeruation, and that no euill might happen vnto him; and that neither their enemies nor any other might doe them any violence. For *Eſdras* had foretold the King that GOD would be their Protector, and that therefore he required no conuoy of horſemen at his hand for his ſecuritie. After that they had recommended themſelues vnto God,they ſet forward on their way, the twelfth day of the firſt moneth of the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of *Xerxes*,and arriued in Ieruſalem in the fift moneth of the ſame yeere. Whereupon, he incontinently preſented vnto the Treaſurers (who were of the race of the Prieſts) the ſiluer that was conſecrated,namely, ſixe
E hundreth and fiftie talents, of ſiluer veſſell a hundred talents, of veſſell of gold twenty talents, of braſen veſſell (more precious then gold) waighing twelue talents. Theſe were the preſents of the King and his friends,and of the Iſraelites that dwelt in Babylon.

Eſdras aſſembled the Iewes that dwelt in Babylon.

Eſdras repaireth to Ieruſalem,and committeth the veſſels and other precious preſents to the Treaſurers hands.

When *Eſdras* had deliuered theſe abouenamed preſents vnto the hands of the Prieſts, he offered burnt offerings vnto God, according to the law, namely, twelue Bulles for the publique conſeruation of the people,ſeuentie two Rammes and Lambes, and twelue Goates for the expiation of ſinne. And after them he deliuered the Kings letters to his Princes and Gouernours in Cœloſyria and Phœnicia: who beeing conſtrained to execute that which was enioyned them by the King,honoured the Nation of the Iewes,and ſupplyed them euery waies in their neceſſities. This counſell had *Eſdras* himſelfe giuen of their departure. But in my opinion God (hauing regard of
F his wiſedome and integritie) did happily aduance his deliberation.

Not long after this,there came certaine men vnto him,complaining that ſome of the people, Prieſts, and Leuites had tranſgreſſed againſt the policie, and broken the lawes of the Countrey, for that they had eſpouſed certaine ſtrange women, and confounded the race of the Prieſts: requiring him that hee would haue an inward regard to Gods ordinances, for feare leſt hee (conceiuing a generall hatred againſt them all) ſhould ſend them anew ſome grieuous calamities. For which cauſe *Eſdras* deuoured with ſorrow, incontinently rent his clothes, and tore his haire,

and

The yeere of the world, 3506. before Christs Natiuitie, 458.

and pulled his beard, and caſt himſelfe vpon the ground, becauſe the principals among the people had part in that offence. And for that he feared leaſt if he ſhould command them to forſake their wiues, and thoſe children they had begotten by them, he ſhould not be obeyed, he perſiſted in griefe, and lay continually couched vpon the ground. Whereupon, all thoſe reſorted vnto him, who were not guilty, and wept and lamented with him, for that which had hapned. Whereupon *Eſdras* (raiſing himſelfe from the earth, and lifting vp his hands to heauen) ſaid, that hee was aſhamed to looke thereupon, becauſe the offences of the people were ſo hainous; who had forgotten the inconuenience that had befallen their forefathers for their impieties, beſeeching God that he would reſerue ſome remainder and ſeed of the aduerſity and captiuity, which at that time hapned vnto them, and that he would once more eſtabliſh them againe in Ieruſalem their natiue countrey: that he would take compaſſion of them, and grant them pardon for thoſe ſinnes which at that preſent were committed by them: for which though they deſerued death, yet hoped they in the mercies of God for their deliuerance. Whil'ſt thus both he and thoſe that came vnto him lamented round about him, with their wiues and children, a certaine man called *Achonius*, one

Eſdras prayers for the Leuits that had married ſtrangers. 1. *Eſdras*. 9.

G

H

« of the principall men of Ieruſalem, repaired vnto him, and ſaid, that they had ſinned, becauſe they « had eſpouſed ſtrange women; and perſwaded *Eſdras* to adiure them all, to baniſh both them and « the children begotten by them; wiſhing that they, who obeied not the law, might be puniſhed. « *Eſdras* (perſwaded by theſe words) made all the Princes of the Prieſts, Leuites, and tribes of Iſrael ſweare, that they would diſmiſſe their wiues and children, according to the counſaile of *Achonius*. And as ſoone as he had receiued their oathes, he departed from the temple vnto *Iohns* houſe the ſonne of *Eliaſib*, and there ſpent he all the day without taſting any meate (by reaſon of the griefe which ſo inwardly he had conceiued.

I

Whence therefore it was publiſhed by Edict, that all they that were returned from the captiuitie, ſhould repaire within two or three daies to Ieruſalem (vnder the penalty that they, who defaulted therein, and came not within the prefixed time, ſhould be held as excommunicate, and their goods confiſcate to the publique treaſury of the temple, by the ordinance of the Prieſtes) they of the tribes of Iuda and Beniamin came thither within three daies, on the twentieth day of the ninth moneth, called by the Hebrewes Thebeth, and by the Macedonians Apellæus. And as ſoone as they were ſeated in the vpper part of the temple, in the preſence and aſſiſtance of the Elders, although the weather was very intemperate, by reaſon of the froſt; *Eſdras* aroſe and reproued them for that they had tranſgreſſed the law, in taking wiues vnto them, who were not of their nation: for which cauſe he told them, that if they would performe a matter that were agreeable vnto God, and profitable for themſelues, they ſhould diſmiſſe ſuch wiues. Wherupon with a loud voice, they all cried, that they would doe it willingly; but that there was no ſmall number of them, and that the time was winter, and the matter of that conſequence, as one or two daies could not end it: For which cauſe they thought it very needfull, that the execution were deferred for a while; and that at the length, ſome of the Princes who were free from that ſinne, with certaine other choſen Elders of euery place, ſhould make inquiſition of them that had married wiues contrary to the preſcript of the law. Which being approoued by them, about the new moone of the tenth moneth this inquiſition began, which continued vntill the new moone of the moneth enſuing: and there were many of the family of *Ieſus* the high Prieſt, and of the Prieſts, Leuites, and Iſraelites, that (making more account of the obſeruation of the lawes, then of the naturall affections to their wiues and children) did preſently put away their wiues, and thoſe children they had by them, and ſacrificed certaine Rams for a peace offering vnto God: whoſe names it were a needleſſe matter to reckon vp in this place.

1. *Eſdras*. 10.

K

L

When *Eſdras* had in this ſort reformed the errour committed by ſuch marriages, hee ſo corrected the euill cuſtome thereof, that this confirmation continued firme and irreuocable for euer. In the ſeuenth month, they ſolemnized the feaſt of tabernacles: wherto when all the people were reſorted, they al gathered together in an open place of the Temple towards the gate that looketh Eaſtward, requiring *Eſdras* that he would read *Moſes* ordinances vnto them; which hee performed, and ſtanding vp in the midſt of the multitude, he read the law vnto them from the morning vntill noone. By which reading, not onely for the preſent, but for the time to come, they learned that which was iuſt; and alſo calling to memory that which was paſt, they were ſo diſcomforted that the teares fell from their eyes, in thinking with themſelues, that if they had kept the law, they had not ſuffered any of thoſe euils, by which they had beene tormented. But *Eſdras* beholding them in that eſtate, willing each of them to repaire homeward, and to weepe no more, becauſe that day was a ſolemne and holy day, wherein they ought not to weep, becauſe it was forbidden:

The reading of Moſes law. 2. *Eſdras*. 8.

M

He

A He rather commanded them to intend their feasts and pleasures, assuring them that the repentance and griefe of those faults that were committed by them in times past, ought to serue them and instruct them to assure and defence themselues, to the end that heereafter they commit not the like. They following *Esdras* exhortation, began to celebrate the solemnitie, and continued their feasts in their Tabernacles during eight daies. After which time they returned euery one vnto his house, praising God in hymnes; and thanking *Esdras* for the amendment of those vnlawfull marriages that had hapned in their policy: who after he had gotten great honour among the people, finished his life, beeing loaden with yeeres, and was buried honourably in Ierusalem. About the same time also died *Ioacim* the high Priest, whose sonne *Eliacim* succeeded in his place.

The yeere of the world. 3506. before Christs Nativitie 458.

2. *Esdras* 1.

B After this it came to passe that a certaine man that was one of the captiue Iewes, and king *Xerxes* butler called *Nehemias*, walking before the citie of Susa (which was the Metropolitane Citie of Persia) heard certaine strangers that came from farre; who vpon their entrie into the Citie, deuised the one with the other in the Hebrew tongue; for which cause hee drew neere vnto them, and asked them whence they came. Who returning him this answere, that they came from Iudæa: he began to demand of them againe, of the estate of Ierusalem, their natiue Citie, and how the people fared. To whom they answered, that they were in very bad estate, and that their Citie wals were conuerted to dust and rased, and that the nations round about them afflicted the Iewes with many outrages, in making inrodes into their countrey, and spoiling them daily, not sparing them by night; so that diuers of them were led away prisoners; yea some Citizens of Ierusalem;

C and that daily the high wayes were found full of dead bodies. Heereupon *Nehemias* beganne to weepe (thorow the inward compassion he had of his distressed brethren) and looking vp towards heauen: How long (said he) O Lord, wilt thou see our nation thus afflicted without taking care of vs? Behold how we are made a prey to all men. Whil'st thus he walked before the gate and lamented bitterly, newes was brought him that the King was ready to sit downe to his meate: For which cause he gaue attendance according to his office, and serued the King dutifully, during his time of repast. As soone as supper was done, the King grew pleasant and ioyfull, and casting his eyes vpon *Nehemias* (whom he perceiued to be heauie and disconsolate) hee asked him what he ailed? *Nehemias* (after he had besought God to giue him grace and perswasiue speech to discourse vnto the king) answered: O King, how is it possible that I should be other but discomforted, and

The yeere of the world, 3510. before Christs Nativitie. 445.

D that griefe should not pierce euen vnto the very center of my soule, when I heare that the wals of Ierusalem (which is my natiue countrey) are leuelled with the ground, and the sepulchers and monuments of my predecessors are defaced, and the gates of the citie are burned? Do me therfore this grace, that I may resort thither, and repaire the same, and finish the rest of the building of the Temple.

This said, the King gaue eare to his request, and promised him his Letters, assuring him that he would addresse them to the Gouernours, commanding them to doe him honour, and to furnish him with all things necessary, to accomplish that which he intended. For which cause (said he) cease thou to be sad, and doe thy seruice willingly. Hereupon *Nehemias* adored GOD, and thanked the King, for the promise he had made him; and therefore by the pleasure he conceiued,

E he cleared that confusion and sorrow, that before that time he bare his countenance. The next day the King called for him, and gaue him letters vnto *Sadeas* the gouernour of Syria, Phœnicia and Samaria, in which hee commanded him to honour *Nehemias*, and to furnish him with all things necessary for that building which he intended. As soone as he came to Babylon, he tooke diuers of his countrimen with him, who willingly followed him, and went with him vnto Ierusalem in the fiue and twentith yeere of the raigne of *Xerxes*, and after he had presented his letters before God, he deliuered them to *Sadeas*, and the other gouernours. Afterwards, assembling the people in Ierusalem, he stood vp in the midst of them, and spake vnto the whole congregation to this effect. You men of Iury, there is none of you but knoweth that God hath our forefathers *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Iacob* in perpetuall memory, and that in regard of their iustice, hee hath neuer failed to haue care of vs: by his mercy likewise I haue receiued the fauour from the King to re-

Nehemias hauing gotten licence and authoritie to build the wals of Ierusalem, inciteth the people thereunto. 2. *Esdras* 2.

F paire your wals, and finish the rest of the temple. I therefore pray you (who are assuredly perswaded of the enuy and hatred the neighbouring nations beare vnto you, who hearing that we are intent and busie in our building, will ouerpresse vs, and labour by all meanes possible to hinder vs) first to assure your selues in Gods prouidence; who will oppose himselfe against the hatred which they beare vs, and afterwards to intermit neither day nor night in prosecution of the building, but with all care continue the worke in that the opportunitie of the time doth challenge our dili-

genee

The yeere of the world, 3519. before Christs Nativity, 445.

gence therein. After he had ſpoken to this effect; he gaue order that the gouernours ſhould take the meaſure of the wall, and diſtribute the taske amongſt the people, according to the burroughs and townes, and according to euerie mans abilitie: and after hee had promiſed to imploy both himſelfe, and all his family therein, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Heereupon the Iewes (incited by his authority) addreſſed themſelues to the worke; which name of Iewes was firſt impoſed both on them and their religion, by reaſon of the Tribe of Iuda, who firſt of all came into theſe places. G

2. Eſdras 4. 6.

The Ammonites, Moabites, Samaritanes, and all the inhabitants of Cœloſyria, vnderſtanding the walles were raiſed, with ſuch haſte and diligence, were ſore aggrieued, and reſolued with themſelues to lie in ambuſh, and to hinder them in their deliberations; ſo that they ſlew diuers Iewes, and ſought the meanes likewiſe to murther *Nehemias* himſelfe: and hauing hired certaine ſtrangers with money to commit the fact, they laid in waite for him. They bred alſo a feare and trouble amongſt them, by ſpreading certaine rumors, that diuers nations intended to make war againſt them: by which reports (being too much diſtracted) they deſiſted ſomewhat in the proſecution of their building. Yet none of theſe things could weaken *Nehemias* diligence or reſolution, but that (keeping a court of guarde round about him) he inſtantly proſecuted his purpoſe, ſetting light by all occurrents; ſo great was his affection to accompliſh his intent. And for that cauſe did he carefully and intentiuely ſtand vpon his guard, not for that he feared death, but for that he beleeued that after his departure the Iewes would not finiſh the building of the walles. He commanded afterwards, that the workmen in their trauell ſhould haue their furnitures faſt by them, ſo that both Maſons and labourers carried their ſwords. H I

The ardent care in building the walls of Ieruſalem.

Moreouer, he gaue order that they ſhould haue their targets by them; and he placed certaine trumpeters, ſome fiue hundred foote diſtant the one from the other, charging them that as ſoone as they diſcouered the enemy from any part, they ſhould incontinently ſound the allarum, and giue notice vnto the people to arme themſelues, and prepare for the fight, for feare they ſhould be ſurpriſed and found naked. He himſelfe alſo walked the round, about the Citie by night time, with an indefatigable courage, and without either eating or ſleeping at his pleaſure, but onely for neceſſitie ſake: and this labour endured he for the ſpace of two yeeres, and three months: for the wall of Ieruſalem was builded againe in that time, in the eight and twentith yeere of the raigne of *Xerxes*, and in the ninth moneth. After the Citie was fortified, *Nehemias* and the people offered ſacrifices vnto God, and ſpent eight daies in feaſting. When the rumor was ſpred abroad that this building was finiſhed, the inhabitants of Syria were ſore diſpleaſed. But *Nehemias* perceiuing that the Citie was weakely manned, beſought the Prieſts and Leuites to forſake their dwellings without the Citie, and to come and dwell within, and to that intent he builded them houſes vpon his owne charge. He ordained likewiſe, that they that intended their husbandry, ſhould bring the tenths of their fruits vnto Ieruſalem, to the intent that the Prieſts and Leuites by enioying their continuall maintenance, might intermit no time in the ſeruice of God: wherein he was willingly obeied. By this meanes, the Citie of Ieruſalem was very well peopled. After that *Nehemias* had honorably executed diuers other worthy actions deſeruing praiſe, he died at ſuch time as he was loaden with age. He was a man of a good nature, iuſt and highly affectionated towards his countrey: he left the Citie of Ieruſalem incompaſſed with a wall, for a perpetuall memorie of his loue vnto his countrey. All theſe things hapned during the raigne of *Xerxes*. K L

The wals of Ieruſalem finiſhed.

The yeare of the world, 3527 before Chriſts Nativity 437.

Proviſion for the Prieſts.

2. Eſdras 10. The death of Nehemias.

CHAP. VI.

How during the raigne of ARTAXERXES, *the whole Nation of the Iewes were in danger to be extinguiſhed by* AMANS *trecherie.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Eſther 1.

AFTER the death of *Xerxes*, the kingdome fell to *Cyrus* his Sonne, who by the Grecians was called *Artaxerxes*. Vnder his gouernment all the race of the Iewes, both men, women and children, were in danger to bee vtterly exterminated: the cauſe whereof I will heereafter declare. But firſt of all it behoooueth mee to ſpeake ſomewhat of the King, and to declare how it came to paſſe, that he married an Hebrew woman of the blood royall, by whoſe meanes (as it is ſaid) our Nation was preſerued. After that *Artaxerxes* had taken the kingdome vpon him, and eſtabliſhed Gouernours ouer one hundred and ſeauen and twenty Prouinces, from India as farre as Æthiopia: in the third yeere of his raigne, hee entertained and feaſted all his friends with great magnificence, the Nations of Perſia likewiſe with their Gouernours (accor- M

The yeare of the world, 3542. before Chriſts birth. 521.

A (according as it became a king ſo opulent, who was prepared for one hundreth and eightie daies to make ſhew of his wealth and bountie.) He feaſted after this, for the ſpace of 7. dayes the Embaſſadors of all nations in his Citie of Suſa: and the ſetting forth of the banquet was ſuch, as enſueth. Hee ſate in a tent, whoſe pillers were of golde and ſiluer, couered with linnen and ſcarlet vailes, which were of that greatnes, that diuers thouſands of men might take their refection therin. All the acates were ſerued in veſſels of golde, inriched with precious ſtones very glorious to behold. The King likewiſe commanded his ſeruants (that attended the feaſt) that they ſhould enforce no man to drinke, by filling continually, according to the manner of the Perſians, but to permit euery one of the gueſts to drinke according to his diſcretion. He ſent alſo thorowout all the countrey, commanding a ceſſation from all labour, and that euery one ſhould make holliday

The yeere of the world, 3543. before Chriſts Nativitie. 421.

B for many daies in honour of his royalty. The Queene *Vaſthi* alſo made a banquet vnto her women in the royall palace. Now whereas the king was deſirous to ſhew the maieſtie of his queene to thoſe he had inuited, he ſent vnto her, commanding her to reſort vnto the banquet in more royall manner then the reſt of her attendants: but ſhe too curiouſly tied to the obſeruation of the law of the Perſians (which forbiddeth women to be ſeene by ſtrangers) went not vnto the King: and notwithſtanding he ſent his Eunuches diuers times vnto her, yet perſiſted ſhee in her refuſall to come vnto him. Whereupon the king (mooued with diſpleaſure) gaue ouer his banquet, and ariſing therfro he called vnto him his ſeuen counſellers, to whom (according to the vſe of the Perſians) it belonged to expound the lawes; and accuſed his wife, telling them how grieuouſly he had beene wronged by her, for that being ſent for by him diuers times to accompany him at

Aſſuerus ſendeth for Vaſti to grace his feaſts, ſhe refuſeth, and therefore is caſt off by him.

The yeare of the world, 3545. before Chriſts Nativitie. 419.

C his banquet, ſhe had euery way refuſed to obey him: He therefore commanded them to declare their opinion, what puniſhment appertained to her. One amongſt them called *Mucheus* anſwered, that the iniurie was not onely offered vnto him, but to all the Perſians: who being after that manner deſpiſed by their wiues, were like to paſſe their liues ignominiouſly, for that no one of them would acknowledge dutie towards their husbands, taking their example from the Queenes diſobedience, which ſhe ſhewed towards him, who was the gouernour ouer all. Whereupon he concluded, that ſhe that had thus diſhonored him, ſhould be grieuouſly puniſhed: which done, he thought it meete that this ordinance of the Kings might be publiſhed thorow all nations, that Queene *Vaſthi* ſhould be ſeperated from his bed, and another woman choſen in her place. But the king, who vehemently loued her, and could hardly endure to be ſeparated from her, knowing

D that he could not keepe her contrary to law, was wholly deuoured in ſorrow, for that hee might not be maſter of that which he deſired. Which when his familiars perceiued, they counſelled him to forget the memory & loue of a woman ſo vnprofitable, & to ſend and ſeeke out thorow al his countries for the faireſt woman amongſt them, whom he might chooſe and take to wife, that ſurpaſſed all others in beauty; for that by the interuiew & company of an other woman, the great affection which he bare vnto *Vaſthi*, might be extinguiſhed. The king allowing and ratifying this counſaile of theirs, ſent out certaine meſſengers and deputies, commanding them to bring vnto his preſence the faireſt virgins that were to be found in his kingdome: when as therfore they had aſſembled a great number of them, they found in Babylon a young orphelin (without either father or mother) who was brought vp vnder her vncle (whoſe name was *Mardocheus*) of the tribe

E of *Beniamin*, and one of the greateſt men amongſt the Iewes. It came to paſſe, that this *Eſther* (for ſuch was her name) was iudged to be the faireſt amongſt the reſt, who for her amiable countenance made all men to ſtand and gaze to behold her. She therfore was deliuered in charge vnto one of the Eunuches, who carefully attended her with all the diligence that was poſſible, decking her with odors and precious perfumes, according to the cuſtome of noble women; and after this manner were foure hundreth virgins entertained for the ſpace of ſixe moneths. Now when he that was put in truſt with this commiſſion, thought theſe virgins to bee ſufficiently prepared, and that they deſerued to approach the princes bed, he ſent euery day one vnto the king to keepe him company: who after ſome embraces ſent her preſently backe againe vnto the Eunuch. But when as *Eſther* came vnto his preſence, he ſetled his affection more on her then on all the reſt, and

The yeere of the world, 3450. before Chriſts Nativitie. 415.

F being ſurpriſed with her loue, he tooke her for his lawfull wife: and the nuptials were ſolemnely celebrated in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne, and in the twelfth moneth called by vs Adar, and generally February: and he ſent poſts thorow all his kingdomes to proclaime a feaſt in honour of his marriage: he himſelfe alſo feaſted the Perſians, and Medes, and the Princes of the nations, for a whole moneths ſpace for the ſame cauſe. At ſuch time as *Eſther* entred into the royall palace, he ſet a diademe vpon her head, and ſo liued with her, that he neuer queſtioned with her either of her birth, or nation. Her vncle alſo came from Babylon to Suſa (the chiefe city of Perſia)

The maiden Eſther made Queene. *Eſther* 2. Mardocheus came from Babylon to Suſa.

The yeere of the world, 3540. before Christs Natiuitie, 415.

where euery day he walked before the palace gate, enquiring how *Ester* did: for that hee loued her as deerely as if she had beene his owne naturall daughter. Now the king had made a law that no man should approch his presence, except he were called, during the time that hee was in his throne; and round about his seat there stood certen officers with their axes, ready to punish those who being vncalled should attempt to approach the throne. The king himselfe sate aloft, and holding in his hand a golden scepter, whensoeuer he intended to saue the life of any one that approached his throne vncalled, he stretched forth the same and touched him therewith: who being thus touched by these meanes auoided the penalty of death. And as touching these things we haue sufficiently spoken in this place. G

The kings command that no man should approch his throne except he were called Esther. 4.

Not long after this, when as *Bagathous* and *Theodestes*, two of the kings Eunuches, had conspired against him; *Barnabazus*, who was of the Hebrew nation and one of their seruants, disclosing their treason, discouered it to the Queenes vncle *Mardocheus*, who by her meanes made the king priuy to their conspiracy. Who sore troubled herewith, found out the truth by examination, and after he had commanded them to be executed on the gibbet, he for that time gaue no recompence to *Mardocheus* for the safegard of his life: he onely commanded his name to bee registred and chronicled in his commentaries, commanding that he should attend in the palace, and bee esteemed for one of the kings most inward friends. Now as often as *Aman* (the sonne of *Amadath* an Amalechite) came vnto the palace to visite the king, all those that were either Persians or strangers (according to the kings especiall direction) did him honour: But *Mardocheus* shewed him no honour (both by reason of that vpright iudgement that was in him, as also for that the lawes of the Iewes forbad the same. Which when *Aman* had obserued, hee demanded whence he was? and vnderstanding that he was a Iew, he was much displeased, saying in himselfe, that the Persians who were of freer condition, cast themselues prostrate before him, and he that was but a slaue disdained to do the like. Intending therfore to reuenge himself on *Mardocheus*, he thought it not sufficient to procure his punishment at the kings hands, but resolued wholly to exterminate his race (for he was by nature a capital enemy of the Iewes, by reason that the Amalechites, from whom he challenged his descent, had bin wholly ruinated by them.) For which cause, he addressed himselfe vnto the king, and accused them, saying, that there was a certaine cursed nation spred thorow his whole kingdome, insociable, and abhorring the customes of other men, who vsed diuers lawes and ceremonies hatefull both for their manners and studies, to all the rest of his subiects, and all mortall men. This nation (saith he) if thou wilt doe a gracious and acceptable fauour vnto thy people, thou shalt vtterly extinguish, and leaue neither captiue nor slaue aliue amongst them. And least your maiesties tribute should bee any waies impaired by these meanes, I promise you of mine owne reuenewes fortie thousand talents of siluer; desiring rather willingly to forbeare so much money, then that your kingdome should bee vnpurged of such a cursed race of men. When *Aman* had made this his request, the King answered, that he forgaue him the money, and that hee permitted him to deale with that nation as best him liked. When *Aman* had obtained this his desire, he presently sent an edict thorow all nations in the Kings name, and to this effect. The great King *Artaxerxes* vnto his gouernours of a hundreth and seauen and twentie prouinces, extending from India as farre as Æthiopia: Health. Hauing obtained the Empire ouer so many nations, and extended my dominion ouer the world, according to mine owne pleasure, without being constrained to offend any of my subiects, by vsing our power more proudly and importunately then becommeth vs, but shewing our selues fauourable and mercifull in prouiding for their peace, and plentifull estate, wee haue searched out the meanes thereof, to the intent that we might perceiue the fruite. Being therefore admonished by my friend *Aman* (who for his wisedome and iustice is more honoured then all other by me, and for his approued fidelitie, hath the second place in authoritie next mee) that there is a certaine race of men intermedled among you, enemies to all humanitie, vsing none but their owne lawes, and such as are different from others, disobedient to their Kings, and of depraued manners and customes, that neither allow our monarchie, nor further our affaires: I will and command, that they (being made knowne by *Aman*, a man whom we hold as deere as our father) be slaine, with their wiues, and children; so as you spare none of them, attributing more vnto your owne mercie then our edict: and this command wee to be done the fourteenth day of the twelfth moneth of this present yeere, that in one day cutting of all our enemies, heereafter it may be lawfull for you to liue in peace and securitie. This edict beeing spred thorow all places of the country, and published in euerie citie; all men addressed themselues against the perfixed day, vtterly to exterminate the Iewes: & no lesse diligence was there vsed in Susan the Metropolitane citie. Meane while

Aman being honoured by all men is neglected by the Iewes. Esther. 3.

The destruction of the Iewes granted vnto Aman.

H I K L M

A while the King and *Aman* feasted, and made good cheere, whilest the Citie hung in suspence, being troubled with the expectation of the euent of that which should follow. But *Mardocheus* hauing intelligence hereof, rent his garments, put on sackcloth, and cast ashes on his head, walking thorow the Citie, and crying that their nation had not committed any crime that deserued death: and vsing these or such like speeches, he came vnto the Kings palace, and stood before the gate, because it was vnlawfull for him to enter thereinto in that habite: The like also did the Iewes that were in the Cities, where those edicts had beene published against them, weeping and lamenting their miseries. But when the newes hereof was brought vnto the Queene, that *Mardocheus* stood before the palace gate in a lamentable estate, she was sore troubled, & sent certaine of her seruants vnto him to command him to exchange his attire; but they could not perswade B him to put off his sackcloth, because the inconuenient, for which he had put it on, was not ouerpast. She therefore called vnto her, her Eunuch *Acratheus*, and sent him vnto *Mardocheus*, to know what hateful accident had befallen him, that made him put on his desolate habit, and poure forth those lamentable teares (notwithstanding she had instantly praied him to disrobe him of the one, and dry vp the other.) Hereupon *Mardocheus* tolde the Eunuch, of the edict made against the Iewes, and sent by the king vnto all his prouinces; the offer of the money that *Aman* likewise had tendered to the King, whereby he had bought the vtter ruine of his nation at the Kings hands. Moreouer, he gaue him the copy of that which had beene proclaimed in *Susan*, to be deliuered vnto *Esther*: whom he commanded to beseech the king, and to esteeme it no dishonour to put on an abiect and base garment, to saue her nation, and to preserue the Iewes from that death, C whereunto at that time they were exposed: for that *Aman* the next in honour to the King, had accused the Iewes, and incensed his maiestie against them. When *Esther* vnderstood this, shee sent againe vnto *Mardocheus*, giuing him to vnderstand that she was not called for by the King; and that whosoeuer entred vnto him, and was not called, should die, except the king would warrantize him by stretching out his golden scepter: for he, vnto whom the King extended that fauour, although he were not called vnto him; yet suffered he not death, but obtained pardon. When these things were reported by the Eunuch from *Esther* vnto *Mardocheus*, he commanded him to tell her, that she ought not so much to tender the particular respect of her life, as the liues of her whole nation; assuring her, that if at that present she had not care of them, their succours should wholly proceed from God by some other meanes then this: but she and her fathers D house should be destroyed by them, whom she had contemned. Vpon this reply, *Esther* sent the same messenger backe againe vnto *Mardocheus*, commanding him to repaire vnto *Susan*, and to call a generall assembly of all the Iewes that remained there, willing them for three daies space to fast and abstaine from all kinde of meate for her safetie, and that both her selfe and her seruants would doe the like, promising them that at that time she would present her selfe to the King, notwithstanding his contrary edict; and that if she must needs die, shee would willingly endure it.

Mardocheus, following this direction of hers, caused the people to fast, and to pray vnto God for her: he likewise himselfe besought him that it might please him at that present to haue compassion on their desolate and distressed nation; as before that time he had oftentimes had care of them: and that as hee had pardoned them at such time as they had offended; so now also at this E present he would deliuer them from that perdition which was denounced against them. For that they were not in danger to die infamously for any offence of their owne, but because hee onely had incensed *Aman* vnto displeasure, in that he would not adore him, or performe that honor vnto him, which is onely due to God: for which cause in despite he had imagined this thing against them, who would not transgresse the diuine ordinances. The people likewise prayed to the like effect, beseeching God that he would haue care of their preseruation, and warrantize the Israelites in what place soeuer they were, from the misery at hand, which was before their eies, and already expected by them. *Esther* also besought God (according to her countrey manner) casting her selfe prostrate on the earth, cloathed in sackcloth, and abstaining for three daies space from meate and drinke, and what thing soeuer else was delectable, beseeching God to haue compassion vpon F her, that when shee presented her selfe before the King shee might haue words fit to perswade and mollifie him, and grace and beauty farre more amiable then euer shee had, to the ende that by these two meanes shee might be the better enabled to appease the King, if so be hee were displeased against her; and to succour her brethren agitated and tossed in extreame danger, whereby through the King might enforce his hatred against the enemies of the Iewes, and take compassion of their imminent danger, which without his preuention would surely fall vpon them. After she had in this sort for three dayes space both fasted and prayed, she cast off her mourning attire,

The yeare of the world, 3549. before Christs Natiuitie. 415.

The lamentation of the Iewes vpon the hearing of this edict. *Esther. 4.*

The yeere of the world 3554. before Christs Natiuitie. 410.

Fasting and praiers vnto God for the safetie of the people.

Esther resorteth to the King to solicite him in the behalfe of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world. 3554. before Christs Nativitie. 410.

and changed her habite, attiring her ſelfe like a maieſticall Queene, hauing two of her ſeruants on G whom ſhee leaned, and the third that followed her carried vp with the tops of her fingers her traine, which was large and trailed on the ground: and in this equipage came ſhe vnto the King, hauing her checkes ſtained with crimſon bluſhes, making ſhew of Maieſtie mixed with beauty, and not altogether eſtranged from feare. But when ſhe beheld the king ſitting aloft in his throne, glorious in his garments diſtinguiſht with gold, and adorned with pearle, and rich ſtones; a certaine feare ſodainly fell vpon her, and by chance he had caſt a frowning and yrefull looke on her; whereupon being preſently aſtoniſhed, her members failed her, her colour faded, and ſhe fell betwixt her handmaids armes in a ſwoune. Hereon, the king (by the will of God, as I verily eſteeme) changed his affection; and (ſuſpecting leaſt feare ſhould cauſe his wife to fall into ſome grieuous accident) hee ſodainly leapt from his throne, and embracing her with both his armes, hee raiſed her vp, and kiſſed her, and ſpake comfortable words vnto her, praying her to be of good courage, H and not to ſuſpect any ſiniſter misfortune, for that ſhe came vnto him without any motion of his: That the ordinance was onely made for his ſubiects: for which cauſe hee willed her (who was equall in gouernment with him) to feare nothing: whereupon he tooke his Scepter in his hand and laid it on the Queenes necke (according to the law) enforcing himſelfe to deliuer her from all feare; by which meanes ſhee recouered her vigour and courage, and ſpake after this manner. O King (ſaid ſhee) I cannot eaſily expreſſe vnto you the inconuenience that is ſodainly fallen vpon me: For as ſoone as I beheld the great, faire, and redoubted Maieſtie of your perſon, my ſpirits forſooke mee, and my heart failed mee. Now whileſt ſhee ſpake theſe words with paine and feebleneſſe, the King was touched with compaſſion; ſo as hee animated and encouraged her, and commanded her to expect nothing but good; yea (ſaid hee) if thou demandeſt the halfe of my I kingdome, I will grant it thee. But *Eſther* onely requeſted this at his hands, that onely he and his intire friend *Aman* would vouchſafe to grace her with their preſence at her banquet: which the King readily granted her. Now when they were come vnto the banquet, and in the midſt of their cups, the King commanded *Eſther* to aske what ſhee would, and hee would grant it her, aſſuring her that he would refuſe her in nothing; yea, although ſhe demanded the halfe of his kingdome. But ſhee deferred to diſcouer her ſuite vntill the next day, requiring him once more to repaire with *Aman* vnto her banquet. When the King had promiſed to reuiſite her, *Aman* departed with great ioy, for that he alone had the credit to banquet with the King and *Eſther*, and no other had euer obtained the like honour amongſt any Kings of that dominion. But in his returne perceiuing *Mardocheus* in the Court, he was ſore mooued, becauſe that (notwithſtanding he had lookt vpon him) hee had not done him honour: when as therefore he came home vnto his houſe, he K called *Zaraza* his wife, and his friends, and told them what honour (not onely the King, but the Queene alſo had done him; and how hee onely with the King had ſupped that day with the Queene; and was inuited the next day alſo to banquet with the King and her: notwithſtanding he told them that he was diſcontented, becauſe he ſaw *Mardocheus* the Iew in the Court. *Zaraza* his wife told him, that he ſhould cauſe a gallowes to bee raiſed of fiftie cubits high, and that the next day he ſhould demand licence of the King, that *Mardocheus* might be hanged on the iibbet. *Aman* prayſing his wiues councell, commanded his ſeruants to prepare the timber, and erect the Gallowes in his Court, to the end to hang *Mardocheus* thereon: which they diligently performed. But God mocked at *Amans* curſed hope, and knowing certainly what ſhould happen, tooke pleaſure to ſee it prepared. For the very ſame night hee depriued the King of ſleepe, who very loath to ſpend the time idlely whileſt he was awake, but to imploy it in ſomething that was profitable L for his kingdome, hee commanded his Secretarie to bring him the Chronicles of the Kings his predeceſſors, and of thoſe things that were done by himſelfe, and to reade the ſame. When as therfore they were brought and read, he found that a certaine man whoſe name was there ſet downe, had receiued a great poſſeſſion for reward in reacknowledgement of his vertue. Hee read likewiſe of another that had obtained recompence for his fidelitie; and conſequently of others; till at laſt he came to the place where the Eunuches *Bagotheus* and *Theodeſtes* were noted downe, for a ſecret conſpiracie againſt the perſon of the King; and how it was diſcouered by *Mardocheus*. Now when the Secretarie (hauing onely recited this accident) turned ouer to an other hiſtorie, the king ſtaied him, and asked him if he found therein written, that he had giuen any recompence M to *Mardocheus*: He anſwered that he found nothing ſet downe. Wherupon the king commanded him to giue ouer, and inquired of thoſe to whom that office appertained, what houre of the night it was: and knowing that the morning was already diſcouered, hee commanded that ſome one ſhould certifie him, which of his familiars attended before the palace. At this time it chanced

Amans hatred againſt Mardocheus.

A laudable cuſtome in a King. Eſther 6.

A ced that *Aman* was found there, who repaired thither ſooner then hee was accuſtomed, with an intent to beſeech the King, that it might be lawfull for him to put *Mardocheus* to death. *The yeare of the world, 3554. before Chriſts Nativity 410.*

Now when the officers had brought the King tidings that *Aman* was before the palace; they were commanded preſently to call him in. As ſoone as he came into the Kings preſence, he ſaid vnto him: Knowing that thou art my affectionate and onely friend, I prithee giue mee thy counſaile, how I may condignly honour him, according to my greatneſſe, whom I doe moſt affectionately loue? *Aman* thinking the aduice he ſhould giue, ſhould be giuen for himſelfe (becauſe he ſuppoſed that he only was beloued by the King more then all others) counſailed him that which in his opinion was the beſt, in this manner. For (ſaid hee) if you intend to inueſt the man with glorie, who (as you) ſay is beloued by you, cauſe him to be mounted vpon a braue horſe, and let
B him bee apparelled in a royall habit, and put a chaine of gold about his necke, and let ſome one of thy chiefeſt friends march before him, and proclaime thorowout the Citie, that thus is the man honoured whom the King loueth. *Aman* gaue this counſaile, in that hee hoped that it ſhould be his owne fortune. But the King (highly contented with this his aduiſe) turning towards him, ſpake thus vnto him: Thou haſt a horſe, a garment, and a chaine, ſeeke out therefore the Iew *Mardocheus*, and giue them him, and march thou before him, making this publike crie: For (ſaid hee) thou art mine inward friend, and it is very decent that the execution of that thing bee committed to thy truſt, which thou haſt ſo faithfully counſailed. And this command I to be done in this ſort; becauſe *Mardocheus* hath beene the preſeruer of my life. *Aman* hearing theſe words, beyond all expectation, was confuſed in his ſpirit, and beeing wholly diſcomforted, knew not
C which way to turne him, hee therefore iſſued out, hauing with him the horſe, the purple habite, and the chaine of gold. Meeting therefore with *Mardocheus* before the palace, who was cloathed in ſackcloth, hee enioyned him to lay his mourning habite aſide, and to cloath himſelfe in purple. But he (who was wholly ignorant of that which had hapned, and ſuppoſing that he mocked him) ſaid: O thou wickedſt man amongſt men, doeſt thou thus mocke at our afflictions? Notwithſtanding, beeing afterwards informed that the King had beſtowed this honour on him for ſauing his life, and diſcouering the treacherie of thoſe Eunuches that would haue ſlaine him, hee put vpon him the ſcarlet habite that the King wore ordinarily, and put the chaine about his necke, and afterwards mounting his horſe, he went round about the Citie, *Aman* alſo walking before him, and crying, that thus ſhould bee dealt and done with him whom the King honoured, loued, and
D thought worthy of eſtimation. Now after they had circuited the whole Citie, *Mardocheus* gaue his attendance on the King, but *Aman* came not in preſence; ſo much was hee aſhamed at that which had hapned: for which cauſe he repaired home, and told his wife and friends, with teares, of all that which had hapned; who told him, that it was no waies poſſible for him to reuenge himſelfe as yet on *Mardocheus*, becauſe God was with him. Honour offered to Mardocheus. *Eſther 7.*

Now whilſt they were diſcourſing and debating this matter together, *Eſthers* Eunuches came to haſten *Aman* to the banquet, and *Sabuchadas* one of the Eunuches ſeeing the Iibbet erected in *Amans* lodging (whereon he intended to execute *Mardocheus*) demanded of one of the ſeruants, wherefore it was raiſed vp: and vnderſtanding that it was for the Queenes vncle, whom *Aman* would require at the kings hands, to the end he might put him to death, for that time hee
E held his peace. But when the King being ſeated with *Aman* at the banquet, required the Queene to declare what ſhe ſhould require that he might grant her, ſhe began to lament the danger of her people, ſaying, that ſhe with her whole nation were made a prey to the ſword, and that for that cauſe ſhe brake out into that diſcourſe: For (ſaid ſhe) I had not troubled your maieſty, neither had I beene aggrieued, if you had commanded that all the Iewes ſhould be ſolde, and led away captiues to extreame miſerie; for that affliction might haue beene borne: ſhe therfore prayed him to redeeme them from thoſe miſeries. When as therefore the King demanded who it was, that practiſed that tyranny: ſhe began publikely to accuſe *Aman*, ſaying, that he alone was that wretched and enuious man, who had complotted their tragedie. Hereupon the king was very ſore troubled, and roſe from the banquet to depart into the garden: then began *Aman* to pray and beſeech *Eſther* to forgiue him his offence, for that at that preſent he was in a dangerous eſtate. Now
F whileſt he was fallen vpon her bed to beſeech her fauour, the king entred, and grew the more diſpleaſed at that he ſaw, and ſaid. O thou curſed amongſt men, darſt thou attempt to enforce my wife? *Aman* was wholly confounded with this queſtion; ſo as hee had not a word to anſwer him. Hereupon the Eunuch *Sabuchadas* ſtepping forth, accuſed him for that hee had found him in his lodging erecting a Iibbet for *Mardocheus*, aſſuring the king that one of his houſhold ſeruants had told him it, at ſuch time as hee was ſent to call him to the banquet; alleadging moreo- Aman hauing all his trecheries and cruelty diſcouered, in the banquet is adiudged to the gallowes.

uer that the Iibbet was fiftie cubits hie. Which when the king vnderſtood, he adiudged *Aman* G
The yeere of the world, 3554. before Chriſts Nativity 410. to no other death, but that which he intended againſt *Mardocheus*; and thereupon preſently commanded that he ſhould be hanged vpon the ſame Iibbet, vntill he were dead. And in this place it behoueth me to admire the maieſtie of God, in conſidering what his wiſedome and iuſtice is, in that he not only puniſhed the wickednes of *Aman* (as he had deſerued) but alſo cauſed him to fall into the ſame ſnare which he had prepared for an other man. Thus died *Aman*, who had vniuſtly abuſed the kings friendſhip: as for his goods they were giuen vnto the Queene.
Eſther. 8.

Amans goods beſtowed on Mardocheus.

After this, the king called for *Mardocheus* vnto him (for already he had notice that he was his wiues vncle) and gaue him the ring which he had giuen vnto *Aman:* the Queene likewiſe gaue him his goods, and required the King to deliuer the nation of the Iewes from that diſmay wherinto they were fallen, thorow the perill of their liues: letting him to ſee thoſe letters which were H
ſent by *Aman* the Amadathite thorow all his countries, aſſuring him that ſhee could not liue to behold the death of her brethren, and the totall ruine of her countrey. The king aſſured her, that he had vndertaken nothing that might diſcomfort her: auowing to her, that hee would not contradict her will, wiſhing her to write her ſelf in the kings name all that, which ſhe would haue done in the behalfe of the Iewes; promiſing that when ſhe had done the ſame, he would ſeale it with his owne ſeale, giuing her authority to ſend the ſame thorow all his realms: to the end that they that read thoſe letters, confirmed by the kings ſeale, ſhould not any waies contradict the execution of the ſame. Whereupon he ſent for his ſecretaries of eſtate, commanding them to write vnto the magiſtrates of all the nations as touching the Iewes, and to the princes and gouernors of I
one hundreth, twenty and ſeauen prouinces, from India as farre as Æthiopia. The contents of which letters were theſe: *Artaxerxes* the great King to the gouernours and thoſe that faithfully rule vnder vs; Health. Many men being puffed vp with pride, by reaſon of the many and mighty benefits and honours, which they receiue thorow the too lauiſh liberality of their benefactors, do not onely exerciſe their pride towards their inferiours, but alſo are not affraid to waxe inſolent againſt them, who are the authors of their benefits, extinguiſhing as much as in them lieth, all gratuitie that hath euer beene amongſt men, and being corrupted with vnexpected felicity abuſe thoſe graces amongſt them, by whom they haue gotten the ſame, in effect no waies fearing God, whoſe power they ſuppoſe they can deceiue. On the other ſide, other ſome enhanced to the adminiſtration of the common weale, and giuing place to the hatred they haue conceiued againſt ſome particular men, deceiue their princes, and by falſe accuſations and detractions prouoke K
and kindle their wrath againſt thoſe, who haue not done amiſſe: whence it commeth to paſſe, that they are ſometimes in extreame danger to loſe their life. The proofe whereof appeareth not onely in ancient hiſtories (the knowledge whereof we haue onely obtained by heare-ſay) but by that likewiſe which hath bin audaciouſly attempted before our eies; ſo that hereafter we ought not to giue credit to detractions and accuſations, nor to ſuch things as men inforce themſelues to perſwade: but it behoueth euery man to iudge according to the truth of that he knoweth, and to puniſh that which is faulty, and to pardon that which requireth pardon, in conſidering the acts, and not the words that are ſpoken. For it is moſt notorious vnto all men, that *Aman* the Amadathite (an Amalechite by nation, and by that meanes a ſtranger, and not of the Perſian blood, but entertained by vs) hath in all things enioyed the fruite of our bounty hitherto; ſo L
that he hath beene called our father, honoured by all men, and obtained amongſt all men, and in all things, the ſecond place of honor after vs: yet could he not equally make vſe of his good hap, neither with prudent aduice entertaine the greatneſſe of his felicity; but hath ſought the meanes to depriue *Mardocheus* of his life, who preſerued mine; ſeeking by his fraud and malice to practiſe the ruine of *Eſther* the companion of our life and kingdome; and by this meanes ſtriuing to diſpoſſeſſe me of my moſt faithfull friends, he determined to transferre the kingdome vnto others. Touching my ſelfe, in that I know that the Iewes, who are by this wretch deſtinated to die, are no wicked men, but ſuch as liue vnder a well policied gouernment, praying God continually that it would pleaſe him to continue the kingdome in vs, and our ſucceſſours: I abſolue them not onely of that penalty, contained in my former letters ſent by *Aman* (which by theſe preſents M
I vtterly diſanull) but my pleaſure likewiſe is, that they be had in all honour. As for him that practiſed theſe things againſt them, I haue cauſed him and all his race to be hanged before the gates of Suſan, according to the iuſt iudgement of God inflicted on them for their offences. My will and pleaſure therefore is, that the copy of this letter be ſent thorow all the countries of our obeiſance, to the intent that the Iewes be ſuffered to liue, according to their owne lawes, in peace; and that aſſiſtance may bee giuen them, to the end they may reuenge themſelues of thoſe, who

The Kings letters for the ſecurity of the Iewes.

haue

A haue offered them outrage in their aduerſitie. And I command that this be done the thirteenth day of the twelfth moneth called Adar, which is the day that God ordained for their preſeruation (when as they were appointed to be ſlaine) which day I deſire to fall out fortunate to thoſe that loue vs, and a monument of reuenge on thoſe that pretended our ruine. My pleaſure likewiſe is, that all men, cities and nations ſhould know, that whoſoeuer ſhall neglect, thorow obſtinacy, to fulfill the tenor of this my mandate, he ſhall be purſued with fire and ſword: and let theſe copies be ſet vp thorowout all our dominions, and let each man of the Iewes vpon the prefixed day, prepare himſelfe to be reuenged on his enemies. *The yeare of the world, 3554 before Chriſts Nativity 410.*

As ſoone as the Poaſts had receiued theſe letters, they preſently mounted on horſebacke, and road each of them his appointed way; and *Mardocheus* being cloathed in a royall habite, and a-
B dorned with a crowne of gold on his head, and a chaine of gold about his necke, iſſued forth: and the Iewes of Suſan, ſeeing him thus honoured by the King, ſuppoſed that his good hap was an aſſurance of their own: and when the kings letters were publiſhed, a ioy as it were a bright beam of conſolation enuironed the Hebrew nation, as well thoſe that were in the citie of Suſan, as they that were amid the countrey; ſo that diuers men of other nations circumciſed themſelues, for feare they had of the Iewes, ſuppoſing that in ſo doing they ſhould be in ſecuritie. For the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (by the Hebrews called Adar, and by the Macedonians Diſtre) the Poaſts that carried the kings letters certified them, that they ſhould exterminate their enemies on that very day, whereon they themſelues were in danger to bee exterminated. The gouernours likewiſe of the prouinces, the Lords, Kings, and ſecretaries, did honour to the Iewes:
C for the feare they had of *Mardocheus* conſtrained them to moderate themſelues; and after the kings letters were publiſhed thorow all the countrey, it came to paſſe that the Iewes ſlew about fiue hundreth of their enemies. But after the king had declared vnto *Eſther*, the number of the dead that periſhed in the Citie, ſuſpecting with himſelfe what might happen thorow the whole countrey, and had likewiſe queſtioned with her if ſhe requeſted any further matter, promiſing her that he would ſee it executed: ſhe beſought him that it might be lawfull for the Iews to reuenge them yet once more the next day vpon their enemies, and to hang *Amans* ten ſonnes vpon the Iibbet: which the king (being loath to contradict *Eſther*) permitted the Iews to doe: they therefore returning the fourteenth day of the moneth Diſtre, ſlew about three hundreth more of their enemies; yet aliened they not in any ſort the ſmalleſt portion of their goods. Furthermore, the
D Iewes ſlew in the champain countrey, and in the Cities, about ſeuentie fiue thouſand of their enemies, whom they diſpatched the thirteenth day of the moneth, and ſolemnized the day following. The Iews that were at Suſan, aſſembled themſelues likewiſe on the fourteenth day of the moneth, and banquetted the whole day. Whence it commeth to paſſe that all the Iewes which are thorowout the world, keepe and ſolemnize this day for a feſtiuall, and ſend preſents the one vnto the other. *Mardocheus* alſo wrote vnto the Iewes, who liued vnder the Empire of *Artaxerxes*, commanding them to obſerue thoſe daies, and to ſolemnize them; willing them to charge their ſucceſſours to doe the like, to the ende that this feaſt might continue for euer, and outliue all obliuion. For ſince on that day they ſhould haue been made away by *Aman*, they ſhould doe well if after they had eſcaped that danger, and taken reuenge on their enemies, the verie ſame
E day they ſhould obſerue the ſame to giue thankes vnto God: For this cauſe the Iewes keepe a ſolemne feaſt on theſe daies and call it *Purim*, as who ſhould ſay, *Lottes*. But *Mardocheus* was great and mightie with the king, adminiſtring the kingdome with him; he had alſo a part of the greatneſſe of the Queene: and for this cauſe the affaires of the Iewes had better ſucceſſe, then was hoped for. See here how matters paſſed, during the raigne of *Artaxerxes*.

The Iewes reuenge them on their enemies.

Eſther 9.

Phrurea feſta. Mardocheus authoritie.

CHAP. VII.

BAGOSES *Generall of* ARTAXERXES *the youngers army, offereth many outrages to the Iewes.*

F AFTER the death of *Eliaſib* the high Prieſt, *Iudas* his ſonne ſucceeded in the office. And after his death *Iohn* his ſonne obtained the place; in whoſe time *Bagoſes* generall of *Artaxerxes* army polluted the temple, and made the Iewes tributaries; ſo that before they could offer their ordinarie and dayly ſacrifices, they were compelled to pay for euery lambe fifty drachmes, which happned vpon this occaſion. *Iohn* had a brother called *Ieſus*, whom *Bagoſes* fauoured, and promiſed to giue him the high prieſthood. *Ieſus* wonne by theſe perſwaſions, quarrelled with his brother *Iohn*: who was ſo much prouoked againſt him, that he ſlewe his brother *Ieſus*

The yeere of the world, 3510. before Chriſts Nativitie, 404. Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 7. The reuenge taken on Iohn for ſlaying his brother.

The yeere of the world, 3584. before Christs Nativity, 380.

Ieſus in his choler. It was a thing very ſtrange, that *Iohn* being a Prieſt, ſhould commit ſuch an impietie againſt his brother, and yet farre more ſtrange in that ſo cruell an act, and an offence ſo impious hath neither hapned amongſt Greekes nor Barbarians. God alſo left it not vnpuniſhed, but for the ſame ſinne the people were reduced vnder captiuitie, and the temple was polluted by the Perſians. When *Bagoſes* had intelligence, that *Iohn* (the high Prieſt among the Iewes) had ſlaine his brother *Ieſus* in the temple, he reſorted thither in all haſt, and began to vtter, and breake forth into bitter threats againſt the Iewes: Haue you (ſaid he) beene ſo bold as to commit murther in your temple? And when hee thought to haue entred into the ſame, they hindred him. Whereupon he replied: Am I therefore more polluted then the body that lyeth dead in the Temple? And hauing ſpoken thus, he entred thereinto, and for the ſpace of ſeauen yeeres *Bagoſes* being thus animated againſt the Iewes, puniſhed them for murthering *Ieſus*. After that *Iohn* was deceaſed, *Iaddus* his ſonne was made high Prieſt; who had a brother called *Manaſſes*: *Sanaballath* ſent by the latter King *Darius* to gouerne Samaria (for he alſo was of the race of the Chutæans, from whom iſſued the Samaritanes) knowing that Ieruſalem was a famous Citie, and that the Kings thereof wrought much trouble vnto the inhabitants of Aſſyria, and Cœloſyria; he willingly married his daughter *Nicazo* to this *Manaſſes*, with an intent that this marriage ſhould be as a pledge of his good will to the nation of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3599. before Christs Nativitie, 365.

Iaddus high Prieſt, whoſe brother Manaſſes marrieth Sanaballaths daughter.

The yeere of the world, 3608. before Christs Nativitie. 350.

CHAP. VIII.

What beneſits ALEXANDER *King of Macedon beſtowed vpon the Iewes.*

Alexander made king after Philip his father King of Macedon.

ABOVT that time, *Philip* King of Macedon died in the citie of Ægæas, being traiterouſly ſlaine by *Pauſanias* the ſonne of *Ceraſtes*, of the race of *Oreſtes*; and his ſonne *Alexander* ſucceeded him in the kingdome: who paſſing ouer Helleſpont, gaue battell vnto the huge army of *Darius* neere the riuer Granic, and there obtained a famous victorie. And hereupon he alſo inuading the countrey of Lydia (after he had conquered Ionia, and ouer-runne Caria) finally ſet vpon the quarters of Pamphilia, as it is declared in an other place. But the Elders of Ieruſalem were ſore diſpleaſed, for that *Iaddus* brother, who was at that time high Prieſt, and had married a forraine woman, ſhould be companion and aſſociate with him in the Prieſthood; ſo as they mutined againſt him. For they ſuppoſed that that marriage would be but a meanes to animate thoſe who had a minde to prophane marriages, and prooue an inducement to other to communicate in marriage with ſtrangers: remembring them that the cauſe of their euils, and firſt captiuitie was, becauſe ſome of them had fallen, and offended by coupling themſelues with women of forraine nations.

The yeere of the world, 3629 before Christs Nativity. 325.

They therfore commanded *Manaſſes* either to forſake his wife, or elſe neuer more to approch the Altar. The high Prieſt likewiſe being incenſed againſt his brother, as well as the people, draue him in like manner from the ſacrifice. For which cauſe *Manaſſes* (addreſſing himſelfe to his father in law *Sanaballath*) told him that although he loued his daughter *Nicazo* very intirely; yet would he not notwithſtanding condeſcend for her ſake to be depriued of the Prieſthood (which was the greateſt dignity that could be among their nation, and which had euer continued in his race.) Whereupon *Sanaballath* anſwered and promiſed him, that he would not onely continue him in the Prieſthood, but alſo would giue him the power and dignitie of the high Prieſthood, & make him gouernour of all places where he commanded, prouided the mariage ſolemnized betwixt his daughter & him, were continued. He furthermore aſſured him that he would build a temple (reſembling that in Ieruſalem) vpon the mountaine of Garizim which was the higheſt among the reſt, permitting him to doe the ſame with *Darius* conſent. *Manaſſes* puffed vp by theſe promiſes, remained with *Sanaballath*, and grew in hope that he ſhould obtain the prieſthood by *Darius* meanes: for *Sanaballath* was very old. Whereas therefore diuers other, both Prieſts and common people, among the Iſraelites, were intangled in ſuch like marriages, there aroſe no ſmall commotion in Ieruſalem. For all they of this condition retired themſelues to *Manaſſes*, whom *Sanaballath* furniſhed with money, and lands to till, and houſes to inhabite in all ſorts, to fauour the intent of his ſonne in law.

The yeere of the world, 3620. before Christs Nativitie. 334.

Manaſſes vnder hope of greater fortunes retaineth the forraine wife he had.

The Apoſtaſie of the Prieſts.

At the ſame time *Darius* vnderſtanding that *Alexander*, hauing paſſed the Helleſpont had ouercome thoſe gouernours, whom he had eſtabliſhed neere vnto the floud Granicus, and that he paſſed further, ſpoyling of his countrey; he gathered together both his horſemen and footmen, reſoluing to make head againſt the Macedonians, before they ſhould gaine all Aſia: he therefore paſſed Euphrates, & mount Taurus in Cilicia, to encoũter & fight with his enemies in the coũtry.

Hedio & Ruſſinus, chap. 8.

Sanaballath

A *Sanaballath* ioyful of *Darius* deſcent, incontinently told *Manaſſes* that he would fulfill his promiſes, as ſoone as *Darius* ſhould returne from the conqueſt of his enemies. For not only he, but alſo all the Aſians perſwaded themſelues moſt aſſuredly that the Macedonians would not abide the battell againſt the Perſians, by reaſon of their great multitude; but it fell out altogether contrary to their expectation. For the Perſian encountring with the Macedonian was ouercome, and after he had loſt the greater part of his army, and left his mother, wife and children priſoners, hee himſelfe fled into Perſia. *Alexander* ariuing in Syria, ſeiſed Damaſco, tooke Sidon, and beſieged Tyre: and by his letters ſent vnto the high prieſt of the Iewes, he required him to ſend him ſome ſupplies in his warre, and to ſell his army victuals for their money; aſſuring him that if hee deſired the friendſhip of the Macedonians, he would giue him that tribute which he paid to *Darius*,
B beſides other good turnes. The high prieſt anſwered *Alexanders* meſſenger, that he had ſworne vnto *Darius* neuer to beare armes againſt him, during his life time; againſt which oath of his, hee would neuer worke any indignitie. Which when *Alexander* heard, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and reſolued notwithſtanding to continue the ſiege at Tyre, vntill ſuch time as it was taken; yet threatned he that as ſoon as he had taked the ſame, he would lead forth his army againſt the high prieſt to the end that all men might know to whom they ought to keepe their faith. For which cauſe ſparing no labour, he ouercame Tyre, and after he had giuen order to the eſtate thereof, he came vnto Gaza, and tooke it with *Babemeſes* the captaine of the garriſon that held it. But *Sanaballath* finding a fit opportunity to make himſelfe great, forſooke *Darius* & followed *Alexander*, leading with him eight thouſand of his ſubiects: and finding him vpon the beginning of the ſiege of Tyre,
C he offered to ſurrender him all thoſe places wherein he commanded, acknowledging him for his Lord more willingly then he had done *Darius*. *Alexander* accepted him willingly: wherupon, *Sanaballath* freely informed him of the whole eſtate; giuing him to vnderſtand that *Manaſſes* (who was brother to *Iaddus* the high prieſt of the Iewes) was his ſonne in law, who with diuers of the ſame nation, were deſirous to build them a temple in the countries vnder his dominion, aſſuring the king of much profit thereby, becauſe in ſo doing the force of the Iewes ſhould bee diſmembred into two parts, and they might not conſpire together to make any new inſurrection or trouble, as in times paſt they had done during the gouernment of the kings of Aſſyria.

When *Sanaballath* had permiſſion from *Alexander* to build this temple, with the greateſt ſpeed he might, he finiſhed the ſame, and made *Manaſſes* the high Prieſt thereof, ſuppoſing that
D it was the greateſt aduantage that might happen to his daughters children. Seuen moneths after the ſurpriſall of Tyre, and two after the taking in of Gaza, *Sanaballath* died. *Alexander* alſo raſed Gaza, and prepared himſelfe to come ſodainly vpon Ieruſalem. Which when the high prieſt *Iaddus* vnderſtood, he was much grieued, and ſore afraid, not knowing how to grow in fauour with the Macedonians: and on the other ſide knowing that the King was diſpleaſed againſt him (becauſe before time he had diſobeyed him:) Hee therefore commanded the people to make their prayers vnto God, and he in his owne perſon offered ſacrifice; requiring God that it would pleaſe him to be a ſhield of defence, and ſuccour to their nation, and to deliuer them from thoſe imminent dangers wherein they were plunged. But the next night following, whileſt hee ſlept,
E God appeared vnto him, and willed him to be of good courage, and commanding him that as ſoone as hee had circuited the walles, he ſhould open the gates boldly, and command the reſt of the people to attire themſelues in white; and that accompanied with them, he ſhould march forward in thoſe prieſtly ornaments, which were ordained by the lawe, to the end that in this equipage they might goe and meete with *Alexander*, without apprehenſion of any future euill, becauſe that God had preuented the ſame. As ſoone as he awaked from his ſleep, he was very ioyfull, and certified the reſt of this prediction of God; and performing that which had beene commanded him, he expected in this manner the approche of the King; and when he knew that he was not farre off from the Citie, hee marched forth to meete him, accompanied with the Prieſts, and a multitude of other people, preſenting a moſt royall manner of entertaine, and farre different from that of other nations, neere vnto a place called Sapha; which word ſignifieth a
F watch (by reaſon that from that place a man may diſcouer the Citie and temple of Ieruſalem.) The Phœnicians and Chaldæans that were of *Alexanders* traine, grounding their hopes vpon his diſpleaſure, made their attempt to ſacke the Citie, and to hewe the high Prieſt in pieces: but it fell out quite contrarie. For *Alexander* eſpying the people from afarre in white rayments, and the Prieſts going before them in their fine rochets, and the high Prieſt attired in a robe of purple, bordered with gold, hauing his miter on his head, and his plate of gold, wherein the name of God was written, *Alexander* himſelfe marched forward before the reſt of his companie; and fell

The yeare of the world, 3630. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 334.

Alexanders victory againſt Darius.

Manaſſes enioyeth his deſire.

Alexander intending to beſiege Ieruſalem meeteth with the high prieſt & people in white, & is honorably receiued by them, & doth them honor in memory of his viſion that appeared vnto him in the like habit.

The yeere of the world, 3630. before Christs Nativity 334.

fell prostrate on his face before that Name, saluting first of all the high Priest; and at the same instant all the Iewes together saluted the king with one voice, and circled him in round about. The Kings of Syria & the rest that saw that which hapned, were wonderfully astonished, and thought that the King was out of his wits: *Parmenio* onely drew neere vnto him, and asked him what he meant to adore the Priest of the Iewes, whereas all other men adored him. To whom he answered; I doe not adore him, but that God whom the Priest worshippeth: for in my sleepe I saw him in such a habite, as I see him in at this present, at such time as I was in Dio a Citie of Macedonia: and whilest I consulted with my selfe by what meanes I might attaine to the conquest of Asia, he counselled me to make no delay, but to march forward boldly, assuring me that it would be he that would guide both me and mine army, and would deliuer the Empire of the Persians into my hands. Since that time I haue not seene any one attired after the same manner: and at this present beholding this man, and remembring me of the vision, and exhortation that he gaue mee in my sleepe, I hope that mine army being conducted by diuine prouidence, I shall ouercome *Darius*, and discomfit the Persians, and that my purpose shall haue a happy issue.

Alexanders sacrifice in the temple, the confirmation of his conquest by Daniels prophecy, his bounty to the Iewes.

When he had answered *Parmenio* in this sort, he gaue the high Priest his hand, and went with him into the City, being conducted by the Priests: after this, when he came vnto the temple, he offered sacrifice, according to the high Priests direction, whom he honoured likewise with very great reuerence. And when as likewise *Iaddus* shewed him the prophecy of *Daniel*, wherin he declared that a certaine man of the nation of the Greekes, should destroy the estate of the Persians, and that in his opinion it should bee: thereof *Alexander* was very ioyfull, and dismissed the multitude that attended him, for that time. The next day assembling the Iewes, hee commanded them to demand certaine fauours at his hands: whereupon the high Priest answered, that he required the exercises of the ordinances of their forefathers, and that euery seauenth yeere they might be exempted from tributes. Which was granted them fully. They besought him likewise that by his permission the Iewes that were in the countries of Babylon and Media, might liue according to their lawes. And he promised them willingly to doe all that which they desired. He made proclamation also among the people, that if any one of them should beare armes with him (in liuing according to the custome of their nation) he was ready to receiue them with him: and diuers tooke pleasure to serue vnder him in the warres.

After that *Alexander* had in this sort demeaned himselfe in Ierusalem, hee marched with his armie against the neighbouring City: and whersoeuer he went, he was receiued with great affection. But the Samaritanes, whose Metropolitane City at that time was Sichem (situate neere vnto the mountaine of Garizim, in which there dwelt diuers Iewes also, that were reuolted from their nation) seeing how magnificently *Alexander* had entertained the Iewes, they resolued to demeane themselues like Iewes. For such is the nature of Samaritanes (as we haue declared heretofore) that when the Iewes are in affliction, they deny all acquaintance with them, (wherein they confesse the truth:) but when they perceiue any beam of good aduenture shining vpon them, so dainly thy vaunt of their alliance, saying, they are neere akin, and of the race of *Ephraim* and *Manasses* the sonnes of *Ioseph*. They came therefore to the kings presence, and met him neere vnto Ierusalem, with great magnificence, and demonstration of singular affection towards him. And after that *Alexander* had entertained them, they of Sichem approched neere vnto him (being accompanied with those men of warre that *Sanaballath* had sent vnto the king) beseeching him that he would visit their City and honour their temple with his presence: whereupon he promised that at his returne hee would visit them. They required him also, that hee would acquite them of the tribute of the seuenth yeere, because they did not sowe in the same. He asked them who they were that made that request? They answered him, that they were Hebrewes: but that they were called Sichemites by the Sydonians. He asked them againe, if they were Iewes? and they said, they were not. Well (said he) I haue made this grant vnto the Iewes: when as therefore I shall returne, if I be more particularly informed, I shall doe that which shall be held requisite. Thus dismissed he the Sichemites, but he commanded *Sanaballaths* men of war to follow him into Ægypt: promising in that place to impart possessions vnto them by lot; which afterwards he did (enioyning them to liue in garrison in the City of Thebais, to make good that country.) After *Alexanders* death, his Empire was diuided amongst his successors, and the temple builded neere vnto the mount Garizim remained intire. And if any one were accused in Ierusalē for eating vnlawfull meats, or for transgressing the Saboth, or for any such like fault, he fled vnto the Sichemites, saying, that he was accused vniustly. In that time deceased the hie priest *Iaddus*: and *Onias*, his sonne succeeded him. This was the estate of them of Ierusalem at that time.

The yeere of the world, 3632. before Christs Nativity 332.

The Samaritanes be kinsmen to the Iewes in prosperity, strangers in aduersitie.

The yeere of the world, 3635. before Christs Nativity 329.

The temple on the mount of Garizim. Onias sonne of Iaddus high priest.

THE

A

THE TVVELFTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the twelfth Booke.

B

1 Ptolomey *the ſonne of* Lagus *is made Lord of Ieruſalem, and the reſt of Iudæa by a ſtratageme, and leadeth diuers Iewes with him priſoners into Aegypt.*

2 Ptolomey Philadelphus *tranſlateth the lawes of the Iewes into the Greeke tongue, and diſmiſsing diuers captiues of that nation, he dedicateth many preſents in the Temple of God.*

3 *In what eſtimation the Iewes were with the Kings of Aſia, and how the freedome of thoſe Cities they built, was granted them.*

4 Ioſeph *the ſonne of* Tobias *drieth away the Iewes imminent calamitie, by reaſon of his friendſhip with King* Ptolomey.

5 *The friendſhip and ſocietie betweene the Lacedemonians, and* Onias *the high Prieſt of the Iewes.*

C 6 *The Iewes diſtracted by ſeditions call* Antiochus *to their aſsiſtance.*

7 *How* Antiochus *leading his armie to Ieruſalem, and poſſeſsing the Citie ſpoiled the Temple.*

8 Antiochus *forbidding the Iewes to vſe the lawes of their forefathers, onely the ſonne of* Aſmonæus *called* Matthias *contemned the King; and put his Captaines to flight.*

9 Matthias *being dead,* Iudas *his ſonne ſucceeded him.*

10 Apollonius *a Captaine of* Antiochus *is ouercome in Iewry and ſlaine.*

11 *The ouerthrow and death of* Lyſias *and* Gorgias *ſent out againſt the Iewes.*

12 *How diuiding their armies,* Simon *ouercame the Tyrians and Ptolemaidans, and* Iudas *the Ammonites.*

13 *The death of* Antiochus Epiphanes *among the Perſians.*

D 14 Antiochus Eupator *ouerthrowing the armie of the Iewes, beſiegeth* Iudas *in the Temple.*

15 Antiochus *giuing ouer his ſiege, plighteth a league of friendſhip with* Iudas.

16 Bacchides *a Captaine belonging to* Demetrius *being ſent with his armie againſt the Iewes, returneth backe to the King, without the diſpatch of his buſineſſe.*

17 Nicanor *elected Captaine after* Bacchides, *and ſent out againſt the Iewes, is ſlaine with his whole armie.*

18 Bacchides *ſent out once more againſt the Iewes ouercommeth them.*

19 *How* Iudas *being ouercome in battell, is ſlaine.*

E

CHAP. I.

PTOLOMEY *the ſonne of* LAGVS *ouercommeth and ſurpriſeth both Ieruſalem and Iudæa by a ſtratageme, and leadeth away diuers of the Iewes priſoners into Aegypt.*

F

ALEXANDER King of Macedon hauing ouercome the Perſians, and eſtabliſhed the eſtate of the Iewes (according as it hath beene ſpoken) he departed this life. Whereupon his dominions and kingdomes fell into diuers mens hands; *Antigonus* was Lord of Aſia: *Seleucus* of Babylon, and the bordering nations: *Lyſimachus* had Helleſpont: *Caſſander* Macedon: and *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Lagus* held Ægypt. Now when as theſe men were at diſcord amongſt themſelues (whileſt each of them affected the ſoueraignty, and fought the one with the other) diuers great and continuall warres grew to head, which afflicted many Cities: whereby it came to paſſe, that many of the inhabitants thereof died in fight, and all Syria likewiſe vnder *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Lagus* (who beyond his merit was called *Soter*, that is as much to ſay, as a Sauiour) liued in little ſafetie. Hee it was that ſeized Ieruſalem by a ſtratageme, and

The death of Alexander, and the warres of his ſucceſſors.

The yeare of the world, 3643. before Chriſts Nativitie, 321.

The yeare of the world, 3643. before Christs birth. 321.

Ierusalem surprised by policie, and the Iewes led away captiue.

and policie : for hee entred the Citie vpon a Sabboth day, vnder pretext to offer sacrifice ; and whilest the Iewes suspected nothing, but spent the day in idlenesse and quiet, hee surprised the Citie without resist, and ouerpressed the Citizens with hatefull captiuitie. *Agatharchides* the Cnidian (who wrote the actes of *Alexanders* successors) witnesseth no lesse, reproching vs of superstition ; as if intending thereby, that by that meanes we lost our Citie. Hee writeth to this effect. There is a certaine nation, which are called Iewes, who inhabite a Citie which is called Ierusalem, both strong and mightie. They suffered it to fall into *Ptolomeis* hands, because they would not stand vpon their guard, and through their importunate superstition, they permitted themselues to be subdued by a Tyrant conqueror. See here what *Agatharchides* saith in this place of our nation. But *Ptolomey* leading away with him diuers prisoners of the better quarters of Iudæa, and the places neere vnto Ierusalem, of Samaria and mount Garizim, sent them into Ægypt to inhabite there : and beeing assured that those of Ierusalem were most firme in maintaining their oaths and promises, according as it appeared by their answer made to *Alexander*, when as after the discomfiture of *Darius*, hee sent Embassadours vnto them : hee put diuers of them into his garrisons, giuing them the same priuiledges in the Citie of Alexandria, which the Macedonians had. After hee had receiued their oath, that they should be faithfull vnto his successors, in memorie of the great trust and fauours hee had bestowed on them, many of the other Iewes likewise of their owne accord went into Ægypt, partly allured thereunto by the plentie of the countrey, partly by the liberalitie of *Ptolomey* towards their nation. Yet were there continuall seditions betwixt their posteritie and the Samaritanes : for that they would keepe and maintaine the customes and ordinances of their forefathers ; whereupon diuers warres arose amongst them. For they of Ierusalem said that their Temple was the true sanctuarie of God, and would that the offrings and sacrifices should be sent thither : the Samaritanes contrariwise commanded them to be brought to the mount Garizim.

Sedition betwixt the Iewes and Samaritanes as touching the Temple.

CHAP. II.

PTOLOMEY PHILADELPHVS *causeth the lawes of the Iewes to bee translated into the Greeke tongue : and dismissing many captiue Iewes, dedicateth many presents in the Temple of God.*

The yeere of the world. 3680. before Christs Natiuitie. 284

Hecto & Rufinus, chap. 2.

The library of Ptolomey Philadelphus.

AFTER him *Philadelphus* succeeded in the kingdome of Ægypt, and held it for nine and thirty yeeres space. He it was that translated the law into the Greeke tongue, and deliuered the Iewes from that seruitude, wherein they were enthralled in Ægypt, to the number of sixescore thousand, vpon the occasion that ensueth. *Demetrius Phalereus* Master of the Kings library, endeuoured to his vttermost to gather vp all sorts of books that were in the world, and bought all that which was agreeable to the Kings intent, who aboue all things was curious to assemble diuersitie of bookes. Hee beeing one day demanded by the King, how many thousands of volumes hee had already gathered : hee answered him, that hee had already assembled about some two hundred thousand volumes : but that shortly he would gather to the number of fiue hundred thousand. Besides, hee certified him, that he had beene lately aduertised that there were diuers volumes among the Iewes, wherein many things as touching their lawes and policies were written, which were worthy of note, and deserued to be put in so memorable and famous a library as his was : which being written and set downe in the Hebrew tongue, were very laborious and difficult to those that should attempt to translate them into the Greeke tongue. For their characters seeme to haue some reference to the Syriacke, and their pronunciation likewise not much dissonant from the same : and notwithstanding they haue their phrase proper and peculiar vnto themselues. For which cause there was no impediment, but that they might be translated : for the King defraying the charge, might easily cause it to bee done, to the ende that being faithfully translated, they might be afterwards placed in his librarie. Heereupon the King praising *Demetrius* care in collecting and gathering bookes, wrote vpto the high Priest of the Iewes, commanding that this translation might bee finished. In the meane time a certaine man called *Aristæus*, who was intirely beloued and befriended by the King, by reason of his modestie, and had diuers times before that present resolued with himselfe to sollicite the King, to dismisse all the Iewes that were in his kingdome, supposing that at that instant hee had fit opportunitie offered him to make his request, hee spake vnto *Sosibus* the Tarentine, and *Andrew* the chiefe captaine of the Kings guard, beseeching them to fauour him in that which he intended to moue the King in. Hauing therefore sounded the affections of these noble men, he addressed himselfe

A himſelfe vnto the King,and ſpake vnto him after this manner: Since my ſoueraigne, it behoueth vs not to deceiue our ſelues by diſſimulation,but it neceſſarily importeth vs to diſcouer the truth: wheras we haue concluded with our ſelues,not onely to tranſcript, but alſo to tranſlate the lawes of the Iewes, the rather to performe ſome acceptable ſeruice to your grace;what honeſt pretext is there left for vs to attaine thereunto, as long as there are ſo great a number of Iewes kept in thraldome in thy kingdome? You ſhall therefore doe a worke anſwerable to the greatnes of your courage and benignitie, if you deliuer them from their miſery, conſidering that hee who gaue them their lawe is God, who gouerneth your kingdome (as by diligent inquiſition I haue certainely apprehended) for both they and wee adore one God creator of all things, whom we call by the name of *Iupiter*,for as much as he maintaineth our life & the liues of all men.For that honour therefore which you owevnto God,ſend backe theſe people into their countrey, and per-
B mit them to inhabite the ſame,who amongſt al men are moſt ſingularly affected to their religion. Neither hath your Grace occaſion to ſuſpect, that I offer theſe ſupplications and prayers vnto you in their fauour, and for their profit, becauſe I am either allied or deſcended of any of their tribes: But where there is but one God,who is the maker of all men,and I my ſelfe am aſſured, that he taketh pleaſure in thoſe men that addict themſelues to beneficence,this is the onely cauſe that induceth me to make this requeſt vnto you. When *Ariſtæus* had ended this diſcourſe of his, the king beholding him with a cheerefull and pleaſant countenance, asked him how many thouſands he thought they were,whoſe liberty he required? *Andrew* (beeing hard at hand) anſwered, that there were more then one hundreth and twenty thouſand. Whereupon the king replyed,
C Is this demand *Ariſtæus* a matter of ſmall conſequence, which thou requireſt? *Soſibius* and the other aſſiſtants anſwered,that his reacknowledgement which he made vnto God, who had giuen him the kingdome,was worthy the greatneſſe of his courage; ſo that reioycing at this their content,he charged him at ſuch time as they deliuered the men of warre their pay, they ſhould ouer & aboue the ſame,pay euery one of them that had priſoners with them,ſix ſcore drachmes: and as touching the requeſt made by them, he promiſed them to diſpatch his letters pattents, in moſt ample manner,to bring a happy iſſue to *Ariſtæus* ſuite; or rather to ſatisfie the will of God, which was eſpecially to be reſpected. Whereunto conforming himſelfe, he ſent out his proclamation: certifying thereby that hee not onely ſet them at liberty, who had beene brought thither by his father, or thoſe of his army who attended him; but them alſo who before time had
D beene in his kingdome; or that ſithence likewiſe had beene brought thither: and notwithſtanding it was told him that the money that would be required for their ranſome would amount to more then foure hundreth talents; yet ceaſed he not to confirme that which he had promiſed.But that it may more plainely appeare how great his royal magnificence was,I haue thought good to inſert in this place the copie of his edict, which he ſent abroad to this effect. Whoſoeuer of you that in my fathers ſeruice(by bearing armes vnder him) haue made any roades into Syria and Phœnicia, and after the conqueſt of Iudæa haue taken any priſoners, and brought them to our Cities and countries, with an intent to ſell them: all they alſo, who haue heretofore detained any, or at this preſent haue any ſuch captiues in their poſſeſſion, they are to ſet them at libertie that liue vnder their thraldome, receiuing for the ranſome of euery perſon ſixe-
E ſcore drachmes: namely the men of warre, at ſuch time as their wages ſhall be paid them: as for the reſt,they ſhall receiue their money out of the kings treaſurie. For I am of that opinion, that contrarie to my fathers mind,and againſt all right,they haue beene taken priſoners,and that their country hath bin in this ſort euilly intreated,by the inſolencie of the ſoldiers,who haue thought to make their profit and merchandize by them, in transferring them into Ægypt. Hauing therefore an eſpeciall reſpect of iuſtice, and intending to ſhew mercy to thoſe who are wrongfully oppreſſed, I command that all thoſe Iewes, who are detained in ſeruitude be diſcharged, and that they who held them captiue receiue the ranſome publiſhed by vs; ſo as no deceit or fraud be vſed therein. And to the end that our ordinance be exactly and fully fulfilled,our will is, that this edict of ours be publikely proclaimed three daies after it ſhall come vnto your hands; and that
F thoſe,who hold ſuch priſoners in their poſſeſſion,declare how many priſoners they hold.For we ſuppoſe,that in ſo doing it ſhall redound to our profit. Moreouer, it ſhall be lawfull for any man that will, to accuſe the contemners of this decree, and our pleaſure is that ſuch as contradict the ſame,ſhall haue their goods confiſcate to the Kings vſes. When this edict of the Kings publiſhed to this effect, was proclaimed abroad, and that onely point was omitted, that concerned thoſe that before time had beene, and afterward the ſecond time were led away priſoners, in whoſe behalfe hee had giuen no direction; he ſhewed himſelfe moſt bountifull in like manner toward

The yeere of the world. 3684. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 280.

The king of Egypts proclamation touching the liberty of the Iewes ſollicited by Ariſtæus.

The yeare of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativitie. 280.

theſe: And gaue order that the number and tallie ſhould be ſpeedily gathered, and the money diſtributed to the committees, and treaſurers appertaining to him. Which being ſpeedily performed in the ſpace of ſeuen daies, all the kings ordinance was accompliſhed, and there was laid out for the ranſomes of them all to the ſumme of more then foure hundreth and ſixtie talents: For the maſters exacted ſixeſcore drachmes for the children alſo, grounding themſelues vpon the kings edict, by which it was ordained that for euery perſon they ſhould haue that ſumme, extending the ſame euen vnto the children. G

Theſe things beeing thus magnificently exployted, according to the kings command, hee gaue *Demetrius* in charge to make a decree, as touching the tranſlation of the bookes of the Iewes. For the king did nothing raſhly, but adminiſtred all things with great wiſedome, and circumſpection; and for that cauſe the copie of *Demetrius* ſuggeſtion, and the letters ſent to this effect, are orderly regiſtred, and recorded in writing: the number likewiſe of the preſents that were ſent, and by whom they were offered. So that whoſoeuer ſhall behold the ſame, he ſhall incontinently iudge by the curious workemanſhip the high perfection of the workeman, and by the excellencies of the pieces he ſhal incontinently know by whom each of them was faſhioned. H

Demetrius' exhortatory letter to Ptolomey as touching his library.

The copie of the aduice and ſuggeſtion made by *Demetrius* is this: *Demetrius* to the great king: Health. Moſt mightie Prince, ſince you haue committed the truſt vnto me to finde out thoſe bookes that are deficient in your librarie, and to ſearch for ſuch volumes as hitherto haue beene hid from my ſight, to the end that I might gather them and perfect them, and that thoſe which are loſt, might be reſtored with all the diligence that thereunto belongeth, after that I had vſed herein all the care that in me was poſſible; I giue you to vnderſtand that amongſt others, we want the bookes of the lawes of the Iewes. For in that they are written in Characters and Hebrew words, we haue no notice thereof; where-through they haue beene more negligently handled then was behouefull: for that vntill this day it hath neuer hapned, that any Princes thought hath extended ſo farre. It therefore behoueth thee to haue them exactly interpreted; for ſince that thoſe lawes proceeded from God himſelfe, it is moſt certaine that of all other lawes in the world they are the wiſeſt and incorrupteſt. For which cauſe, *Hecataeus* the Abderite ſaith, that neither Poets nor Hiſtorians haue made any mention of them; neither of thoſe, who haue beene policied and gouerned vnder the ſame: becauſe in themſelues they are pure, and are not to be declared by impure lips. May it therefore pleaſe your Maieſty to write vnto the high Prieſt of the Iewes, commanding him to ſend you ſixe Ancients of euery tribe, ſuch as hee ſhall know to be moſt expert in their law, by whom wee may cleerely apprehend the ſenſe contained in thoſe bookes, to the end that hauing the faithfull interpretation of thoſe things that are contained therein, we may collect and gather them together, to the full ſatisfaction of your Maieſties deſire. I K

The kings liberalitie towards the Iewes.

When the king had in this ſort beene both aduiſed and ſuggeſted, hee wrote vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt of the Iewes, as touching this matter: giuing him likewiſe to vnderſtand of that liberty by him granted vnto the Iewes that were in his kingdome: He ſent him alſo fifty talents of gold, to maks cups, ewers and veſſels, with an infinite number of precious ſtones, commanding his coferers, who had the charge of his Iewels, to ſuffer the workmen to chooſe what ſtones they beſt liked. Furthermore, he willed that a hundreth talents ſhould bee giuen for the ſacrifices and oblations, and other vſes of the temple. But after that I haue declared what was the coppy of the letter ſent vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and the manner how hee obtained that ſacerdotall dignitie; I will ſet downe both the rich preſents, and their curious workemanſhip. L

After the death of *Onias* the high Prieſt; his ſonne *Simon* ſurnamed the Iuſt, ſucceeded him in his place, who for that cauſe was ſo called, by reaſon of the piety which he ſhewed toward God, & the good affection which he bare vnto his countrimen. This *Simon* dying and leauing behind him one only ſon, of yong & tender yeers who was called *Onias*: his brother (which was this *Eleazar* of whom we ſpeake at this preſent) took vpon him the prieſthood, and to him wrote *Ptolomey* in ſuch manner as is hereafter expreſſed. King *Ptolomey* to the high Prieſt *Eleazar*, health:

Ptolomeis epiſtle to Eleazar for interpreters to tranſlate the Bible.

Wheras diuers Iewes dwelt in my kingdome, whom my father had honored (though during the raigne of the Perſians they were drawne thither as priſoners) ſome of whom he hath eſtabliſhed to be chieftaines in warre, vnder honourable wages and conditions: To other ſome borne in his time in Ægypt, he hath committed his forts and garriſons, to the end they might bee reſpected among the Ægyptians: After that I haue beene called to the gouernment, I haue behaued my ſelfe graciouſly towards all men, and eſpecially towards thoſe of your nation, of whom I haue deliuered more then one hundreth thouſand out of captiuitie, diſburſing their ranſome out of M

mine

A mine owne cofers: I haue likewiſe inrouled ſome of thoſe that were of age in the companies and bands of my men of warre: I haue receiued ſome into my court, whom I took to be faithfull and loyall, and in my opinion well worthy of ſuch preferment: ſuppoſing that the moſt acceptable and the deereſt preſent I might offer vp vnto God, for his prouidence extended toward me in aduancing me to the kingdome, was to performe the ſame. And being deſirous not onely to gratifie them, but alſo all thoſe Iewes that are in the whole world, I haue determined to cauſe your law to be tranſlated; that after it hath beene tranſcripted out of Hebrew into Greeke, I might place it in my librarie. You ſhall therefore do well, if you chooſe me out ſixe diſcreet and learned men of euery tribe amongſt you, who are already ſtept in yeeres, and ſend them vnto me, who by reaſon of their age ſhall bee well inſtructed in your lawes, and ſufficiently enabled to expound the ſame. B For in ſo doing, I ſhall accept it at your hands, as a great honour. For this cauſe I ſend vnto you *Andrew* the principall Captaine of my guard, and *Ariſtæus* alſo (whom we eſpecially honour) to conferre with you: by whom I haue ſent you one hundreth talents of ſilner, as the firſt fruits of thoſe gifts and ſacrifices, which wee intend to offer in the Temple. You ſhall doe vs an eſpeciall fauour, if you ſignifie your minde vnto vs by your letters.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 280.

As ſoone as *Eleazar* had receiued the Kings letters, he returned him an anſwer full of honour and affection, according to the tenour which enſueth. The high Prieſt *Eleazar* to King *Ptolomey*: Health. If you, your Queene *Arſinoe*, and your children be in health, all our affaires likewiſe haue no leſſe fortunate ſucceſſe. Wee haue receiued your princely letters with no ſmall ioy, and haue both read and conſidered vpon the contents thereof; we haue alſo publiſhed them in the preſence of all the people, and haue declared vnto them your pietie towards God, and haue ſhewed them C thoſe viols which you ſent vs, twenty of gold, and thirty of ſiluer; with fiue veſſels, and a Table which in way of preſent you haue ſent vnto vs. Wee haue likewiſe ſhewed them thoſe hundreth talents which *Andrew* and *Ariſtæus* (very vertuous and excellenty learned men, and honoured by you amongſt your deereſt friends) haue brought vnto vs, to be employed in ſacrifices and other neceſſities of the Temple. Know therefore, that whatſoeuer ſtandeth either with your content or profit, wee will enforce our owne natures, to the end wee may acknowledge the benefits, which you haue diuers waies beſtowed vpon our nation. We haue therefore duely and continually offered ſacrifice for you, your Queene *Arſinoe*, your children and friends: the people likewiſe haue prayed that God would ſend you happy ſucceſſe in whatſoeuer you deſire, that your kingdome D may be continued in peace, and that the tranſlation of our law may be accompliſhed in ſuch ſort, as you deſire, for your owne commodity. To that intent we haue choſen ſixe Elders out of euery Tribe, whom we ſend vnto you, together with the originall of our law. Our requeſt is, that according to your accuſtomed pietie and iuſtice, you returne vs both our lawes and theſe interpreters in ſafety, as ſoone as they haue ſatisfied your expectation. Fare you well.

Eleazars letters in anſwer to Ptolomey.

This in the anſwer which the high Prieſt ſent vnto him. Yet haue I thought it to be a matter meerely vnneceſſarie to ſet downe the names of the ſeuentie two Elders in particular, who were ſent by *Eleazar* together with the law, notwithſtanding they were ſet downe in the Epiſtle. Yet thinke I it not amiſſe, to recite the excellency and faſhion of thoſe preſents that were ſent by the King, and offered vp vnto God, to the end that all men may know how zealous he was towards E the ſeruice of God. For in performance thereof, he ſpared no immeſurable expence, but continually aſſiſted the workemen, and examined their workemanſhip, to the end that nothing might bee careleſly finiſhed, or negligently performed. I will therefore ſet downe (as neere as in me lieth) the excellencie of euery peece (although it may be thought that the courſe of hiſtorie requireth it not) but therefore will I diſcourſe the ſame, becauſe my deſire is by ſo doing to expreſſe vnto the Readers, how great the liberalitie and generoſitie of the King hath beene. And firſt of all I will begin to deſcribe the Table.

The deſcription of thoſe preſents which Ptolomey dedicated in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

The king deſirous to make it great in all dimenſions, deſired to know the greatneſſe of that which was at Ieruſalem, to the intent that he might cauſe it to be far greater. And hauing certaine notice how great it was, and that there was no let but that he might make his far greater, hee ſaid F that he would haue it fiue times greater then the other: but that he feared, leaſt being ſo great, it would be vnfit to offer ſacrifice thereupon; and his intention was, that the oblations, which he offered, ſhould not only ſerue for ſhew, but that they might alſo be ſomewhat proper for the vſe and ſeruice of the temple. For this cauſe, concluding that the firſt was of ſufficient and conuenable meaſure, hee reſolued his ſhould not exceede the other in greatneſſe; but that equalling the ſame in quantity of gold, it might exceede the other in variety and beauty of workmanſhip. For he was ingenious to obſerue the nature of diuers things, and to inuent new and vnex-

The golden Table.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativity, 320.

pected fashion: so that by his ripe iudgement, hee shewed the workemen such inuentions, as be- G
fore time had not beene in vse; and commanded them to make and finish them, hauing alwaies
an eye to the module, that he had proposed them to worke by. He vndertooke therefore to make
the Table of two cubits and a halfe in length, of one in breadth, and of one and a halfe in height,
all of massiue gold: about the which there was made a border, a hand breadth large; enriched
with mooving waues, on which there was a bend grauen with admirable art, appearing on three
sides: For being triangulary, euery angle presented the same engraving; so that when it was tur-
ned, it seemed that one and the same, and no waies different figure, represented it selfe: within the
inside of this border it was inchased with diuers goodly figures, but on the outside it was farre
more excellently beautified and wrought, because in that part it was most open to the eye. For
this cause the vpper part of the Table appeared to be of two parts, and of three angles, which (as
we said) were apparant at such time as the Table was turned, each one seeming of equall magni- H
tude with the other. Vpon the graued bends there were precious stones inchased, distant by e-
quall proportion the one from the other, and fastned by golden buttons tyed by loopes. The
sides of the borders (which presented themselues to the eye) were beautified with rich stones,
disposed after the manner of an ouall; and there was a border of golden twigs engrauen round a-
bout the Table: vnder the ouals there was a crowne garnished with clusters of diuers sorts of
fruits, the clusters of grapes hung downe, the spikes of corne stood vpright, and all was inclosed
with pomgranats, and the precious stones were enchased in gold thorow the whole circuit of the
Table, to represent each sort of fruit in their natiue colours. There was also a ranke of ouals vn-
der the crowne, not vnlike vnto the former, made of gold: so that on both sides, both the variety
and delicacie of the worke appeared, both in the bends and borders; as also in the table, in which
there appeared not any difference, on whatsoeuer side it was turned; and from the top vnto the I
lower foote one and the same workmanship appeared. For it had a plate of gold some foure fin-
gers broad, comprehending the breadth of the Table, on which the feete of the same were staied,
which were afterwards fastned to the border by buttons and claspes of gold, to the end that the
excellent and curious workmanship might the better bee seene, and that on what side soeuer it
were turned, it might alwaies seeme the same. They engraued also on the same a labyrinth, in the
midst whereof there were diuers kinds of precious stones, shining like starres; and amongst the rest
there were Rubies and emeraulds of most orient brightnes, as also all other sorts of stones that ei-
ther are esteemed or desired for their beauty or price. Neere vnto this labyrinth from the one end
vnto the other, there were certaine corded pleites in the middle like vnto a Rhombus or Loseng,
vpon which there were certaine pieces of Crystall and Amber, enchased and placed the one by K
the other in equall distance, and proportion: which gaue a marueilous contentment to whomso-
euer beheld the same: The Chapters of the feete were made after the forme of a lillie; the leaues
whereof bent themselues vnder the Table, whereas otherwaies the stalke seemed to be stretched
out straight. The base of the same was an hands breadth large, adorned with a carbuncle in eue-
ry part. The breadth thereof was eight fingers, on which all the plate of the feete was staied; and
on euery one of them was there ingrauen by curious workmanship Iuie, and vine branches loa-
den with clusters of grapes; so made to life, that they seemed to be very grapes indeede. For the
whole was so subtill and delicate, that when the winde blewe, the workemanship waued and was
carried vp on high; so that it seemed that these fruits were rather naturall, then counterfaited by
art. The worke was made after a new fashion, as if it consisted of three pieces: and notwithstan-
ding it was so well shut and closed together, that the seames and ioynts might not any waies be L
seene. The thicknes of the table was no lesse then halfe a cubit.

See heere what this present was, which through intire affection the king presented; wherein
the price of the stuffe, the diuersity and beauty of the workmanship, and the excellencie of the
engrauing was accomplished in perfection. Moreouer, in this he so farre inforced himselfe to
performe so much, that if it might not surpasse the other which was already in the temple, at least
wise in art, new inuention and excellencie of proiect, it might be farre more excellent and admi-
Two golden standing cups. rable. He gaue besides this, two vessels of gold, scaled from the bottome as farre as the halfe part
of the Cup; and besides that, inriched with diuers precious stones curiously and diuersly
enchased. And in the midst of them there was a labyrinth a cubite hie, made of all sorts of preci- M
ous stones, and at the foote thereof were ingraued spires, after the manner of twigs, and fast by
them a certaine fould like vnto a net made in ouall fashion, that ascended euen vnto the brims.
The midst thereof was filled with little targets, of the greatnes of foure fingers, made of preci-
ous stones, and round about the edges thereof were lillies, iuy, flowers, and vines with their clu-

sters

A sters of grapes engrauen round about. This was the beauty and excellency of those two cuppes, each of them containing twenty and foure pintes. There were also others made of siluer, so transparent, as if they had bin of the purest crystall, thorow which all things that were put into them, were naturally and manifestly discouered. He caused also thirty ewers to be made, in which all the gold that was not couered with precious stones, was shadowed with Iuie leaues, and vine branches most curiously engrauen: and all these things were not onely miraculously wrought by the wonderful cunning of the workmen; but were in like sort seconded by an ambitious diligence of the king, who thinking it not enough that without parsimonie he had vndertaken the charge, did oftentimes (forsaking his more serious affaires) visit the shops, and examine the workes; and that which more and more encreased their diligence, was, for that they saw him so intent vpon
B the busines, which made them the more earnest vpon their worke.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativity 308.

Two siluer standing cups. Thirty viols. Ptolomeis charge and diligence in the finishing of his presents.

And these were the presents which were sent by this king to be dedicated in the temple of Ierusalem. All which being consecrated and laid vp in the temple by the high Priest *Eleazar*, after he had greatly honoured those that brought them thither, and deliuered into their hands certain presents to be tendred in his behalfe vnto the King, he dismissed and sent them backe againe. No sooner were they arriued in Alexandria, but the King (hauing notice thereof, and how the seuentie two Elders were come with them) he sent to seeke out his Embassadors *Andrew* and *Aristæus*, who came and presented him with letters from the high Priest *Eleazar*, and answered him to all that which he demanded of them face to face. And being desirous to communicate with the Elders that came from Ierusalem to expound and interpret the law, he contrary to his ordinary cu-
C stome and manner, dismissed all those that resorted thither for their particular affaires, to whom hee was accustomed to giue audience euery fift day; as it was his ordinary manner also to giue monethly satisfaction to forraine Embassadours. Hauing therefore for that time dismissed them, he kept those by him whom *Eleazar* had sent vnto him; who comming to his presence (accompanied with those presents which the high Priest had deliuered them to present vnto him, with the originall wherein the law was written with golden letters) he asked them where their bookes were: and they discouering and opening them, shewed them vnto him. After the King had seene them, he was very much astonished, to see the membranes and parchments so delicate, and to behold the whole forme thereof so perfectly conioyned, that it was impossible to discouer the seames: and he told them that he gaue them thanks for that they were come vnto him, and more
D great thanks vnto him that he had sent them, and the greatest and most speciall thanks vnto God, who was the author of these lawes. Whereupon, the Elders and those that assisted them, cryed out altogether, and wished that all good hap might befall the King: who, through the excessiue ioy that he conceiued, burst out into teares: For *naturally extreame ioy and most grieuous sadnesse haue like effects*. After he had commanded that these bookes should be committed to their trust, who were deputed to that office, at length he saluted the Elders, telling them that it was very behouefull for him first of all to debate with them vpon the matter, to which intent hee had sent for them: and afterwards to giue them entertainment: In a word, hee confessed vnto them, that their accesse was so gratefull vnto him, that hee promised them, so long time as hee liued, hee would euery yeere renue and honour the memory of the same (and by good hap it was the very
E same day wherein he ouercame *Antigonus* by sea.) His pleasure was also, that they should be his guests, and he caused diuers goodly lodgings to be assigned them vnder the Castle.

The 70. interpreters comming to Alexandria are royally entertained.

Nicanor likewise, who had the charge to entertaine strangers, commanded *Dorotheus* (who was ordinarily emploied in the same) to prepare for euery one of them such things, as were necessary for their diet and entertainment. For so was it ordained by the king, that in euery City that had any particularity in their manner of life; there should bee a commissary appointed to prouide for forrainers that arriued in that place, to the intent they might be entreated according to their customes: intending thereby that their entertainment should be the more agreeable vnto them, and that they might be the lesse tired with forraine nouelties. This custome of his was put in practise at this time by *Dorotheus* care and exact diligence, who in his owne person disposed all that which was necessary for that hospitality. He prepared two places to banquet in, in
F two seuerall parts (according as the king had commanded him) so that some of them might sit on either side of him, and the rest might be placed neere vnto his table, omitting nothing of that which concerned either their honour or kind enteruiew. When they were in this sort placed, the king commanded *Dorotheus* to entertaine them in like manner, as he was wont to doe those, who repaired vnto his court from Iudæa. Hereupon, he dismissed the Ægyptian priest, and other that were woont to make the ordinary praiers: which done, hee commanded that one

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativity. 80.

The banquet that Ptolomy made for the Iewes, and their praiers before meate.

of the elders called *Eliſeus* (who in like ſort was a prieſt) to bleſſe the table: whereupon he ſtanding vpright in the midſt of them all, beſought God to bleſſe both the king and his ſubiects with all happines. Whereupon there aroſe an applauſe and acclamation of all men, intermixed with ioyfull delight; which being ceaſed, they fell to their banquet, and made good cheere, with that which was ſet before them. When the king had held his peace ſo long as he thought conuenient, he began at laſt to play the Philoſopher, asking of euery one of them certaine queſtions in Phiſicke, praying them to decide and diſcuſſe the ſame: and when as each of them in order had very pertinently anſwered to the queſtion that was propounded vnto them, the king tooke great pleaſure therein, and for twelue daies ſpace hee continued this feaſt. Who ſo deſireth to know the queſtions that were propoſed vnto them in particular, let him reade the booke which *Ariſtæus* hath written to that effect. In a word, the King was not onely aſtoniſhed at their anſwers, but the Philoſopher *Menedemus* alſo: who hauing affirmed that all things were adminiſtred by diuine prouidence, and that it appeared what the vertue and excellency of this diſcourſe was, this queſtioning debate was finiſhed. But the king proteſted in their preſence, that their acceſſe had infinitely contented and inſtructed him, in that by their meanes hee had obtained the good hap to bee enformed by them how to gouerne his kingdome. Whereupon hee commanded that each of them ſhould haue three talents giuen him, and that they might bee conuaied to their lodgings. Some foure dayes after, *Demetrius* tooke them with him, and led them ouer that trench of the ſea, that containeth ſeuen furlongs, and that bridge which couereth the Iſland with the continent, and towards the northermoſt end therof, he aſſigned them a lodging remote from all noiſe, an fit for contemplation: to which place after he had brought them, he beſought them, that ſince they had all thoſe things that were neceſſary for the interpretation of their lawes, they would intend the ſame without any diſcontinuance of the worke, vntill they had brought it to perfection; and they for their parts imployed all their labour and diligence that was in them poſſible, to the end the interpretation might be exact, intending onely and continually this labour from the morning vntill three houres after noone: after which time they imployed the reſt of the day in their refections; and to that end they were furniſhed in all aboundance with all ſorts of victuals. Ouer and beſides, *Dorotheus* preſented them with a part of diuers diſhes, which were prepared for the King: for ſo had his maieſty commanded it. Thus euery morning entred they the Kings palace, and after they had ſaluted him, they retired themſelues to their accuſtomed place; and after they had waſhed their hands in the ſea water, and were purified, they ſet them downe in that manner to proceede, and proſecute their tranſlation. Now when the law was fully interpreted, and the worke was fully finiſhed in the ſpace of ſeuentie and two daies: *Demetrius* aſſembled all the Iewes in that place where the law had beene tranſlated, and cauſed it to be read ouer in the preſence of the interpreters themſelues. Which done, the aſſembly approoued the expoſition of the interpreters; and praiſed *Demetrius*, by whoſe ſuggeſtions, and inuention they enioyed ſo great a good. They requeſted likewiſe, that this expoſition ſhould be peruſed, and ouerread by the Nobles and Gouernours. After this, both the Prieſt, the Elders of the interpreters, and the magiſtrates of the people required, that ſince this tranſlation was ſo happily atchieued, it might remaine vnaltered; ſo that no iot thereof might be changed.

The tranſlation of the Bible into the Greek tongue

Which reſolution being allowed by all men, it was ordered that if any man perceiued any thing in that tranſlation, which was either exuperant or deficient, he ſhould conſider thereupon and giue notice thereof, to the end it might be corrected: dealing herein very diſcreetly, to the end that that which had once beene adiudged good, ſhould continue inuiolable for euer. The King therefore was highly contented, ſeeing his endeuours and purpoſe in that behalfe ſo happily and profitably finiſhed: but aboue all things, he tooke pleaſure in reading of the law, admiring at the deepe conceit and wiſedome of the law-maker; and began to queſtion with *Demetrius*, by what meanes it came to paſſe, that neither any Poet, nor Hiſtoriographer had made mention of that law, notwithſtanding that in it ſelfe it was ſo admirable. To whom *Demetrius* gaue this anſwer: that no man was ſo hardie to touch that worke, by reaſon that it was diuine and euery way venerable: aſſuring him alſo, that certaine men who had attempted to ſet their hands thereto, had beene puniſhed by God: giuing him to vnderſtand, how *Theopompus* intending to reduce certaine contents of that law into his hiſtory, had beene diſtraught in minde for more then thirtie daies, and that hauing ſome intermiſſion of his fit, he appeaſed God by prayer; thereby eaſily coniecturing what was the cauſe of his malady. Moreouer, he was certified by a viſion that appeared vnto him in his ſleepe, that this inconuenient befell him, in that he had too curiouſly ſearched into ſacred and diuine matters, and had intended to communicate the ſame with

Gods iuſtice vpon thoſe Ethnicks that intermedled with the ſacred ſcriptures.

pro-

A prophane men: from which enterprise sith hee had desisted, hee recouered his right wits againe. Hee likewise insinuated further, that *Theodestes* the tragicke Poet, intending to make mention in some of his Poems of a certaine historie written in the sacred Scriptures, was strooken blind; and acknowledging the cause hereof to proceede from his audacious presumption, he was restored to his sight after he had appeased Gods displeasure. *The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativity, 280.*

When the King had considered on these words, according as *Demetrius* had discoursed them vnto him, hee prostrated himselfe on the earth, and commanded that the bookes should be carefully kept, to the end they might continue in their pure integritie. Furthermore, he exhorted the Translators to repaire oftentimes vnto him from Iudæa, assuring them that in so doing the matter would redound both to their honour and profit; telling them that for that time hee thought
B good to dismisse them: but when they should returne vnto him againe of their own motion, they should obtaine all that which their wisedome deserued, or his magnificence might impart vnto them. This said, he gaue them leaue to depart, after he had giuen each of them three seuerall sutes of apparrell, two talents of gold, and a cup that was in value worth a talent, and a certaine bed or curious seate to sit and banquet vpon. This gaue he them for themselues. But to *Eleazar* the hie Priest hee sent by them ten couches, whose feete were of siluer, and the furniture correspondent, and a vessell of thirty talents. Tenne purple robes likewise, and a magnificent crowne, and one hundred peeces of fine linnen: and besides that, he sent in way of present vnto the Temple, Ewers, Basons, and two golden vessels: beseeching *Eleazar* by his letters, that if any one of his subiects had a will to come vnto him, hee would permit him, assuring him that hee would highly e-
C steeme the conuersation of so learned men: and that he had riches which he would imploy with great pleasure in such affaires. See heere how *Ptolomey Philadelph* esteemed and honoured the Iewes.

The presents which the King bestowed vpon the Interpreters, and those he sent to Eleazar.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the nation of the Iewes, and gaue them libertie and freedome to dwell in those Cities that were builded by them.

D THEY receiued honor likewise at the hands of the Kings of Asia, because they had borne armes vnder them. For *Seleucus* surnamed *Nicanor*, highly respected them, and permitted them to dwell in those Cities, which hee built in Asia and lower Syria; yea in Antioch likewise, which was the Metropolitane and chiefe Citie. Moreouer he ordained, that they should be held in as great estimation, as either the Macedonians or Greekes that inhabited therein: so that euen vnto this day that order is continued (as it appeareth by this) for that the Iewes refusing to annoint themselues with forraine oyle, doe receiue a certaine summe of money from the masters of the exercises in lieu of the oyle. Which when the people of Antioch intended to abolish, during the present warre, *Mutianus* at that time gouernour of Syria, opposed himselfe against them. Againe, when as *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* had conquered the world, although the Alexandrians and Antiochians required them, that the priuiledges that the Iewes enioyed
E might continue no more; yet could they not obtaine the same. Whereby the humanitie and valour of the Romanes may appeare, and in especiall of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, that notwithstanding they had beene so trauelled by the wars of the Iewes, and were so bitterly incensed against them, for that they had not by laying downe their armes submitted themselues, but had continued war against them to the vttermost; yet depriued they them not of their afore-said priuiledges, but surmounted their displeasure, which they had long before conceiued against them: and in like sort had not regard to the request of two so puissant cities, as Alexandria, and Antioch were: In such sort as they granted nothing in fauour of them, neither ordained any thing in disfauour of those whom they had ouercome in warre, to the intent to abolish one onely iot of those priuiledges which they had in times past; but said that they that had resisted them by armes, & who had bin ouercome, were sufficiently punished for their obstinacie: and as touching those that had not
F committed any offence, they saw no reason to depriue them of their rights and prerogatiues. We know likewise, that *Marcus Agryppa* was of the same opinion, as touching the Iewes. For whereas the Ionians were sediciously bent against them, and besought *Agryppa* that it might bee onely lawfull for them to make vse of the priuiledge, which *Antiochus Seleucus* Nephew (whom the Greekes intituled by the name of God) had giuen them; requiring that if the Iewes were of their blood, they might be tied to adore the same gods which the Ionians worshipped: When as therfore

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. The immunities and priuiledges granted to the Iewes by Selencus Nicanor, King of Syria.

The priuiledge in Antioch continued to the Iewes.

The yeere of the world. 3684. before Christs Natiuitie. 280.

fore this matter was referred to the determination of the Iudges, the Iewes had the day, and obtained the libertie to liue according to their owne lawes and cuſtomes: and he that at this time pleaded their cauſe, was *Nicholas Damaſcene*. For *Agryppa* pronounced, that it was vnlawfull for them to innouate any waies: And if any man deſire to haue exact knowledge hereof, let him read the hundred twentie three, and twentie fourth booke of the hiſtories of *Nicholas*. Neither ought this iudgement of *Agrippaes* to ſeeme in any ſort ſtrange: for at that time our Nation had not by any wars procured the Romans diſpleaſure. But vpon iuſt occaſion may a man admire the magnanimitie of *Veſpaſian* and of his ſonne *Titus*, who behaued themſelues with ſuch moderation after ſo great a warre, and ſo grieuous battels, as they had fought againſt vs. G

Antiochus the great, king of Aſia and Syria vexeth the Iewes,

Now will I returne to my purpoſe, from whence I haue digreſſed. At ſuch time as *Antiochus* the great raigned in Aſia, the countrey of Iewrie was grieuouſly ſpoiled, and both the Iewes and the inhabitants of Cœloſyria endured many miſeries. For *Antiochus* making warre againſt *Ptolomey Philopator* and his ſonne, called *Ptolomey* the Famous, they were pitifully perplexed. For whether *Antiochus* either ouercame or was ouercome, they were continually ſpoiled: ſo that betwixt the proſperitie and aduerſitie of *Antiochus*, they fared like a ſhippe toſſed and tormented with a ſtorme. Finally, after *Antiochus* had ouercome *Ptolomey*, he conquered Iewrie. After the death of *Philopator*, his ſonne ſent a great army into Cœloſyria vnder the conduct of *Scopas*, who ſeized a great number of thoſe Cities; and our nation alſo was inforced by warre and conquered by him. H

The yeare of the world, 3742. before Christs Natiuitie. 222.

Not long after this, *Antiochus* fought with *Scopas*, neere vnto the flood Iordan, and obtained the victorie, diſcomfiting the greater part of his enemies armie; at which time *Antiochus* recouered againe thoſe Cities of Cœloſyria, which were before time ſurprized by *Scopas*. He tooke Samaria alſo: which when the Iewes perceiued, they ſubmitted themſelues of their owne accord vnto him, and hauing entertained him in the Citie of Ieruſalem, they gaue both his armie and his Elephants abundance of prouiſion, and willingly aſſiſted him with their forces, to ſubdue thoſe garriſons which *Scopas* had planted in the fortreſſes of the higher Citie. For which cauſe *Antiochus* ſuppoſing it to be a matter behoouefull for his honour, to acknowledge and remunerate the affection and forwardneſſe which the Iewes had expreſſed in his ſeruice, wrote vnto his captaines and friends, ſignifying vnto them how forward the Iewes had beene in his wars: and to expreſſe likewiſe what gifts he intended to beſtow vpon them. I

Ptolomey Epiphanes king of Ægypt warreth againſt the kings of Syria.

Hereafter I will inſert the copie of his letters, which he wrote in fauour of them, after I haue recited that which *Polybius* the Megalopolitane writeth, anſwerable to this purpoſe, which I will recite out of the ſixteenth booke of his hiſtories. *Scopas* (ſaith he) the Generall of *Ptolomeys* army, marching towards the mid-land, did in one winter ouercome the whole nation of the Iewes. He reciteth alſo in the ſame booke, that after that *Scopas* had beene ouercome, *Antiochus* ſeized Bathanæa, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara; and anon after the Iewes, which dwelt at Ieruſalem where the temple was, ioyned themſelues with him: and although we are to ſpeake more amply and particularly of that apparition that hapned neere vnto the temple; yet notwithſtanding we will defer the recitall thereof vntill another time. This is that which *Polybius* hath written. But to returne vnto our purpoſe: I will recite in this place the copy of thoſe letters which were ſent by the King. King *Antiochus* to *Ptolomey*; Health. Whereas the Iewes haue giuen vs a moſt apparent teſtimony of their affection towards vs, ſince the firſt time of our entrance into their country, and haue magnificently entertained vs at ſuch time as we were in perſon before their Citie, by preſenting themſelues before vs with all their Elders; and haue alſo furniſhed vs largely with all that which was neceſſarie for our ſouldiers and our Elephants; and haue likewiſe taken armes with vs againſt the Ægyptian garriſon: we haue thought it a matter anſwerable to our honour, to affoord them ſome ſatisfactiō in repairing their City, ruinated by humane caſualties, to the intent it might be inhabited and peopled againe, by gathering together thoſe Iewes that are ſcattered abroad in diuers places, and planting them againe in the ſame. And in eſpeciall (to the end that the ſeruice of God may be renued) we haue ſet downe a certaine ſumme of money to be imployed in ſacrifices, and in buying beaſts for their offerings, wine, oyle, and incenſe; that is to ſay, twentie thouſand ſicles of ſiluer; and for fine floure according to the law of the place, one thouſand, foure hundred and ſixtie meaſures of wheate, and three hundred, ſeuentie and fiue meaſures of ſalt. And my will is, that all theſe things that are aboue named, be deliuered vnto them according to the forme of our ordinance. We likewiſe command, that the worke of the temple be finiſhed with the galleries, and other neceſſarie buildings; and that all the ſtuffe of timber be brought out of Iudæa and other places, and eſpecially out of Libanus, without any taxe or tallage: which exemption alſo ſhall take effect in all other neceſſaries that are requiſite towards the reparation of ſo famous K L M

The yeere of the world, 3760. before Christs Natiuitie, 204.

Polybius the Megalopolitane of Scopas Ptolomeis captaine.

Antiochus Epiſtle to Ptolomey, as touching the liberty of the Iewes,

A mous a temple. My pleasure likewise is, that all they of the same Nation gouerne their estate, according to their owne lawes. Let the ancient Priests and Scribes of the temple also, and the singing men be freed from all taxations, that are paid by the powle, and the tributes of the crowne, and al other whatsoeuer. And to the end that the city may be the sooner builded, I grant vnto all them that inhabit the same at this present, or that hereafter shal transport themselues thither within the moneth of October to inhabite, the same exemption of all charges for three yeeres space. Wee forgiue them moreouer the third part of their tributes, to the intent they may recouer themselues of their losses. We wil also that those Citizens that haue bin forcibly led from thence into seruitude, be set at liberty, both they themselues as also those that are of their alliance; commanding their goods to be restored vnto them. Farewell.

The yeere of the world, 3760. before Christs Nativity 204.

B These were the contents of this Letter. And to yeeld the more honour vnto the Temple, he sent an Edict thorow all his kingdome to this effect: That it should not be lawfull for any stranger to enter within the inclosure of the Temple, without the Iewes permission; except those that should be purified, according to the law and custome of the place. That no man should bring into the City any flesh of horse, mulet, wild or tame asses, leopards, foxes, or hares, or generally of any cattell prohibited to be eaten by the lawes of the Iews. That it should not be lawful likewise for any man to bring their skinnes into the City, or to nourish any such beasts in the same; but that it might onely be lawfull to vse those beasts which might be sacrificed vnto God, according to the law of their ancestors. That whosoeuer should contradict those inhibitions, he should pay 3000. drachmes of siluer vnto the Priests. Furthermore, to expresse his piety and fidelity towards

The Edict of Antiochus the great in honor of the Temple.

C vs, at such time as he heard of the troubles that hapned in Phrygia and Lydia, he wrote also vnto *Zeuxis* gouernour of one of the higher prouinces, and his intire friend, commanding him to send certaine of our nation from Babylon to Phrygia, writing vnto him to this effect. King *Antiochus* to *Zeuxis* his father: Health. If thou art well, I am glad of it: I likewise am no lesse healthy. Vnderstanding that those of Lydia and Phrygia are newly grown to rebellion, I haue thought good (according to my duty) to preuent the same: and whil'st I consulted with my friends what was to be done, it hath beene thought fit that two thousand families of the Iewes, with all their houshold should be sent thither, all which should be drawne out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, to plant them in garrisons, and places of security. For I am perswaded of their good affection and zeale towards vs, both in respect of their deuotion towards God, as also for the testimony which

Antiochus Epist. to Zeuxis, in which he maketh honorable mention of the Iewes.

D our predecessors haue borne of them; namely, that they are faithfull, and ready to execute that wherein they are emploied. And although it be a difficult matter to remooue them, yet resolue I my selfe that it shall be done; and withall, I permit them to liue according to their lawes. Now when as they shall arriue in that place, thou shalt bestow on euery one of them places to build them houses on, with sufficient lands both for tillage and to plant their vineyards in: for which they shall pay no tribute for ten yeeres space: and during such time as they may gather of their owne for their sustenance, they shall be allowed their prouision of corne for them and their seruants. Our will is also that they, who shall be imploied on necessary affaires, be sufficiently prouided of that they need, to the intent that being so bountifully dealt withall by vs, they may shew themselues the more affectionate in that which concerneth vs. Thou shalt giue order also to the vt-

The yeere of the world, 3764. before Christs Nativity. 200.

E termost of thy power, that this natiõ be no waies querpressed, or interessed by any man. Farewel.

Hitherto we haue sufficiently declared, what friendship *Antiochus* the great bare vnto the Iewes. After this, *Antiochus* contradicted alliance and friendship with *Ptolomy*, who gaue him his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, and assigned him for her dowrie Cœlosyria, Samaria, Iudæa, and Phœnicia: and for that these two kings diuided the tributes betweene them, the chiefest in authority in euery Prouince, redeemed the exaction of their countrey, and paid the sum agreed vpon to the kings treasurie.

Antiochus friendship and confederacie with Ptolomey.

The Samaritanes molest the Iewes.

At that time the Samaritanes puffed vp with their prosperitie, vexed the Iewes, spoiling their country, & leading them away prisoners perforce. This hapned vnder the high Priest *Onias*. For after the decease of *Eleazar*, *Manasses* his vncle obtained the Priesthood; and after the death of

The yeere of the world, 3770. before Christs Nativity 194.

F *Manasses*, *Onias* the son of *Simon* surnamed the Iust, enioyed this dignity. *Simon* was brother to *Eleazar*, as I haue heretofore declared. This *Onias* was of no great capacity, & withal was very couetous: by which means he failed to pay the twenty talents of siluer, which his predecessors were wont to pay to the kings of Egypt, of that tribute which the people paid vnto him. Whereupon *Ptolomey Euergetes*, the father of *Philopater*, was grieuously incensed against him; so as he sent an Embassador to Ierusalem to accuse him, for that he failed to pay his accustomed tribute, threatning him, that if henceforward hee receiued it not, hee would diuide his countrey amongst his

Hecto & Rufinus, chap. 4. Onias the hie priest, pronoketh the King of Egypt for non paiment of his tribute.

souldiers,

The yeere of the world, 3770. before Christs Natiuitie, 154.

ſouldiers, and ſend them to inhabite the ſame. When the Iewes were aſcertained of his com- G
plaints, they were confuſed, and amazed: but *Onias* was no whit mooued thereby, becauſe he was wholly giuen ouer to couetouſneſſe.

CHAP. IIII.

IOSEPH *the ſonne of* TOBIAS *preuenteth the imminent calamitie of the Iewes, and becommeth* PTOLOMIES *friend.*

The taxation of the high Prieſt for offending the King.

BVT a certaine man called *Ioſeph*, the ſonne of *Tobias*, and of *Onias* ſiſter, who was the high Prieſt, being yong in yeeres) but honoured in Ieruſalem for his wiſedome, foreſight, and iuſtice) hauing certaine notice by his mother of the arriuall of this Embaſſadour, came vnto the Citie (for he had beene abſent in the village of Phicala where he was borne) and ſharp- H
ly reproued *Onias* his vncle on the mothers ſide, for that he did not any waies prouide for the ſecuritie of his Citizens, but ſought to draw his countrey-men into a generall hazzard, for that he retained in his hands that money which was leuied for the tribute: Whereby he told him that he had obtained the gouernment ouer the people, and purchaſed the high Prieſthood. And that if he were ſo bewitched with money, that for the loue of the ſame he could haue the patience to ſee his countrey in hazzard, and behold his Citizens alſo ſuffer all that which crueltie could inflict vpon them; he counſelled him to repaire vnto the King, and to require him to beſtow the whole or the halfe of the tribute vpon him. Hereunto *Onias* anſwered, that he would no more execute the gouernment, and that if it were poſſible for him, he was ready to giue ouer the Prieſthood, and that that therefore he would not repaire vnto the King, becauſe he was not any waies mooued with theſe occurrences. Whereupon *Ioſeph* asked him, if hee would permit I
him in the peoples behalfe to goe Embaſſadour vnto *Ptolomey*. Whereunto *Onias* anſwered that he gaue him free leaue. Vpon this occaſion *Ioſeph* went vp into the temple, and ſummoned the people to a generall aſſembly, exhorting them to be no waies troubled, and to conceiue no feare through the negligence of his vncle *Onias*, requeſting them to be confident in heart, and eſtranged from all ſiniſter ſuſpicion; promiſing them that he himſelfe would go in Embaſſage vnto the King, and faithfully plead their cauſe before him, and perſwade him that they had committed no inſolent neglect, or contempt againſt his maieſtie. Which when the people vnderſtood, they gaue *Ioſeph* heartie thankes. Whereupon he preſently came downe from the temple, and honourably entertained the Embaſſadours that came from *Ptolomey*, and hauing preſented them with gifts of great price, and feaſted them magnificently for many daies, he ſent them backe to their Prince; K
aſſuring them that he would in perſon follow them. And the rather was he incited to this iourney, becauſe the Embaſſadour had perſwaded him to repaire into Ægypt, vnder ſuch aſſurance, that he would obtaine all his requeſts at *Ptolomeys* hands; the rather for that he was won with the yong mans free ſpirit and noble entertainment.

The Kings Embaſſadour honourably entertained, who reporteth Ioſephs liberalitie vpon his returne into his countrey.

Aſſoone as the Embaſſadour returned into Ægypt, he certified the King of *Onias* ingratitude, and *Ioſephs* humanitie: certifying him that he would come in perſon to intreat pardon for the people, for that offence they had committed againſt him; and the rather, for that he was in eſpeciall authoritie among the people: and ſo farre vſurped hee vpon *Ioſephs* praiſes, that both the King and the Queene *Cleopatra* had a good opinion of him, notwithſtanding hee was as yet abſent. But *Ioſeph* ſent vnto Samaria to his friends, and borrowed money, making his preparation for his voyage. Hauing therefore furniſhed himſelfe with apparell, veſſels, and horſes, with the L
expence of almoſt twentie thouſand drachmes, he arriued in Alexandria.

At that very time it chanced that the Princes, and gouernours of Phœnicia and Syria repaired thither to buy their tributes: for the King was accuſtomed euery yeere to ſell them to the men of moſt reſpect in euery city: Theſe meeting with *Ioſeph* on the way, began to mock at his baſeneſſe and pouerty. But when he came to Alexandria, and had intelligence that the King was at Memphis, he ſet forward and went out to meet him. When as therfore the king, accompanied with the Queene & *Athenion* his friend, who had diſcharged the place of Embaſſadour in Ieruſalem, came riding onward in his charriot; *Athenion* (who had beene honourably entertained by *Ioſeph*) per- M
ceiuing him vpon the way, certified the king that it was he, of whom he had ſpoken vpon his returne from Ieruſalem; proteſting on his behalf that he was both a good & honorable yong man. Whereupon *Ptolomey* embraced him aboue the reſt, and made him mount his charriot. Where he was no ſooner ſeated, but the king beganne to accuſe *Onias* for that which he had committed. But *Ioſeph* ſaid vnto him: Pardon him, O King, and haue reſpect to his olde yeeres. For you know

A know that ordinarily old men and yong children haue one and the ſame vnderſtanding ; but for our ſelues, who are yong, you ſhall haue what you pleaſe to require without any pretext or cauſe of diſcontent. Hereupon the King tooke pleaſure in the good behauiour and pleaſant diſcourſe of the yong man, and began to loue him the more, as if hee had receiued a preſent atteſtation of his wiſedome: whereupon he commanded that he ſhould be lodged in his owne palace, and that daily he ſhould accompany him at his princely Table. *The yeere of the world, 3770. before Chriſts Nativitie, 194.*

As ſoone as the King came backe to Alexandria, the Lords of Syria ſeeing *Ioſeph* ſitting neere vnto the King, were ſore diſpleaſed: and the day drawing neere wherein they were to receiue the aſſurance of their tribute, they that were of the greateſt reckoning in their Countrey farmed the ſame ; ſo that the tributes of Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Iudæa, and Samaria, amounted together to
B eight thouſand talents. Whereupon *Ioſeph* ariſing, blamed the farmers for that they had plotted amongſt themſelues to beate downe the price of the tributes, promiſing to giue the double ; and that hee would likewiſe returne the forfeitures that were leuied vpon the goods of ſuch as offended ; which were farmed together with the tributes. The King gaue eare to this diſcourſe of his with great content, and ſaid, that hee approoued the ſale of theſe tributes vnto *Ioſeph*, who in this ſort augmented his reuenue. When as therefore he was demanded whether he could giue ſureties : he made him anſwer with a bold courage : O King (ſaid he) I will giue thee ſuch pledges as are both worthy and honourable, and ſuch as you cannot miſtruſt. When as therefore the King inſtanted him to produce them: I will (ſaid he) O King, preſent thee for ſureties, thy ſelfe, and the Queene thy wife, that one of you may be a ſurety for me to the other. *Ptolomey* ſmiling heereat,
C granted him the farme of the tribute, without further ſurety. This fauour of his diſpleaſed thoſe Gouernours of the Cities that were come into Ægypt, in that they ſaw themſelues contemned and conſtrained to returne with ſhame vnto their houſes. But *Ioſeph* obtained two thouſand footmen from the King, to the end to enforce the tribute from thoſe Cities, who were negligent in their paiments : and after he had borrowed fiue hundreth talents of the Kings friends in Alexandria, he departed into Syria. *The tributes of Cœloſyria committed to Ioſeph.*

As ſoone as hee came to Aſcalon, hee demanded the paiment of the tribute at the Citizens hands, which they not onely refuſed to performe, but moreouer vpbraided him with iniurious words. For which cauſe laying hold on about ſome twenty of the principals among them, hee put them to death : and hauing gathered their ſubſtances together, hee ſent the King ſome thou-
D ſand talents, certifying him of that which he had done. *Ptolomey* admiring at his wiſedome, and allowing of his execution, permitted him to diſpoſe of all things at his pleaſure. The Syrians vnderſtanding hereof, were ſore abaſhed; and perceiuing that the Aſcalonites were ſlaine by *Ioſeph*, through the ſeueritie of his iuſtice and their diſobedience, they opened him the gates, and receiued him willingly, and paied him their tributes. Wheras alſo the Scythopolitanes in way of contumacie refuſed to lay downe according to order, their accuſtomed tributes ; he ſlew the chiefeſt amongſt them : the confiſcations of whoſe goods he ſent vnto the King. When as therefore he had gathered much ſiluer, and made great gaines of the purchaſe of the tributes, to the intent to eſtabliſh and make his power of more continuance, hee liberally employed his gettings ; conſidering with himſelfe that it was a part of wiſedome to keepe and entertaine his good hap, by thoſe
E riches which he himſelfe had gotten : For he ſent many preſents both to the King and Queene, and beſtowed liberall bountie both on their familiars and fauourites, and alſo on all thoſe which had any authority, credite or fauour in the Court, to winne and bind them vnto him by his beneuolence. And in this felicitie of his continued hee the terme of twenty two yeeres ; during which time he was the father of ſeuen children by one wife, and of another called *Hircanus*, whom he begot on the daughter of his brother *Solymius*, whom he married vpon this occaſion which enſueth. *The Aſcalonites and Scythopolitanes puniſhed for their contẽpt.* *Ioſephs wealth and children.*

Walking vpon a time in Alexandria in the company of his brother (who ledde with him his daughter already mariageable, to the intent to beſtow her vpon ſome Iew of good quality (whilſt he ſate at meate with the king, there entred into the banquet a certaine faire damſell, trained vp in
F dancing ; with whom growing enamoured, he tolde his brother thereof, praying him that ſith by the lawes of their Countrey it was forbidden that a Iew might marry with a ſtranger, that he would hide his fault, and bee a faithfull aſſiſtant vnto him, to the end that he might enioy her whom his heart deſired. His brother promiſed him to ſhew his willing forwardneſſe herein ; and in the meane time he adorned and decked his owne daughter, and brought her by night vnto his bed: whereupon he lay with her (not knowing who ſhe was, by reaſon he had drunke ouermuch) and had her company. Which comming to paſſe diuers times, he was as yet far more burningly

The yeere of the world, 3770 before Christs Natiuitie, 194

burningly inflamed with the loue of this Dancer, and told his brother that hee was in danger to G
be enamoured all his life time; and that notwithstanding the King would not grant her vnto him.
His brother told him that he ought not to vexe himselfe, promising him that he should assuredly
enioy her whom he loued, and that already shee was his wife; opening vnto him how all things
had hapned, and how hee had rather wrong his owne daughter then to suffer his brother to fall
into dishonour. After that *Ioseph* had praised the kinde and naturall affection of his brother to-
Hircanus offspring and towardnesse. wards him, he tooke his daughter to wife, who bare him a sonne called *Hircanus*, as it hath beene
said. Who beeing thirteene yeeres olde, gaue testimony of that naturall spirit, and dexteritie that
was in him; by reason whereof his brethren conceiued a certaine hatred against him, the rather,
for that he excelled them in all things, and had such parts in him, as might draw them to emulate
him. Whereas therefore *Ioseph* was desirous to know which of his children had the ripest iudge-
ment, and vnderstanding; hee sent them one after another to those Masters, who were most re- H
nowned for Science in that time; but all of them returned backe vnto him rude, and illettered,
by reason they were negligent and idle. Whereupon, hee sent *Hircanus* the youngest of them
after all the rest, into a desert place distant from the high way some seuen daies iourney, and gaue
him with him three hundreth couple of oxen, to sowe the ground in that barren place, hiding
from him before his departure the yokes that should couple them together.

When as therefore he came vnto the place, and perceiued that the yokes were missing, he as-
ked aduise of some of the husbandmen: who counselled him to send some one backe vnto his fa-
ther to fetch the couples. But he supposing that he ought not to lose so much time as would bee
spent in sending backe a messenger, deuised a cunning expedient stratageme, more then might bee
expected from one of his yeeres. For he caused tenne couple of oxen to be slaine, and distributed
the flesh amongst his workmen, and made them cut the skinnes, and fashion couples thereof, and I
hauing yoked his oxen, he caused the land to be manured, according to his fathers direction; and
afterwards returned home vnto him. Who loued him the more intirely, by reason of his wise-
dome, and the subtiltie of his vnderstanding; praising besides that his resolution and execution,
esteeming him the more, for that he was his onely true son, to the generall discontent of the rest.

Ioseph sendeth his sonne Hircanus to Ptolomey. When as therefore newes was brought vnto *Ioseph*, that about that time King *Ptolomey* was
blessed with a yong sonne, and how all the chiefest Lords of Syria, and the countries vnder his
obeisance, repaired to Alexandria in great pompe to celebrate the birth day of the Kings sonne;
hee beeing of himselfe vnable (by reason of his age) to repaire thither, hee sounded his children,
whether any one of them would goe and visit the King. When as therefore the eldest sonnes had
excused themselues, and made refusall to vndertake the iourney, pretending that they were of in- K
sufficient ability to performe the message, and all of them gaue counsaile that their brother *Hir-
canus* might be sent: *Ioseph* tooke great pleasure thereat, and calling for *Hircanus*, asked him if he
would goe to King *Ptolomey*: who promised to vndertake the iourney, and tolde his father that
he needed no great sum of money to performe the voyage; because in the way he would trauell
frugally, and content himselfe for the whole expence with ten thousand drachmes. *Ioseph* was ve-
ry glad to heare of his sonnes prudence; and after *Hircanus* had kept silence for a while, he coun-
sailed his father, that hee should not present the King with any thing out of Iudæa, but that hee
should write vnto his factor in Alexandria, commanding him to deliuer such summes of money
as hee thought conuenient to buy that which hee found to bee most magnificent and of best
The yeere of the world, 3780. before Christs Nativity. 184. esteeme in that Citie. *Ioseph* imagining with himselfe, that perhaps he would onely employ some
ten talents in presents, and allowing his sonnes counsell, wrote vnto his factor *Arion* (who had L
the vse of almost three thousand talents of his in Alexandria.) For gathering vp his money in Sy-
Treason intended against Hircanus. ria, he was wont to send it thither; and as oft as the prefixed time came wherein the kings tri-
butes were to be paid, he commanded *Arion* to defray the same. Hauing therefore letters of cre-
dence vnto him, he iourneyed towards Alexandria. Whereupon his brethren wrote presently
vnto all the Kings friends, that by some meanes they would make him away.

As soone as he was arriued in Alexandria, and had deliuered his fathers letters to *Arion*;
Arion asked him how many talents he would haue? hoping that he would craue but ten, or some
little ouerplus: but when *Hircanus* had told him that he had need of a thousand, he waxed wroth
and reprooued him for his prodigalitie, telling him how his father had gathered his goods with M
much trauell, & thrifty sparing; and refusing his demands, he praied him to imitate his fathers ex-
ample who had begot him: and in a word he told him, that he would deliuer him no more then
ten talents; & that for no other vse, then to buy gifts to present the king withall. Whereupon *Hir-
canus* waxing angry, caused *Arion* to be kept in prison: All which his wife certified to *Cleopatra*,

praying

A ing her that ſhee would moderate the yong man (for *Arion* was in great eſtimation with the Queene, who for this cauſe acquainted the King with the matter. Whereupon *Ptolomey* ſent for *Hircanus*, and ſaid vnto him; that he maruelled that being ſent vnto him from his father, he had not as yet viſited him; and beſides that, he had committed his fathers agent to priſon: he therefore commanded him to yeeld him a reaſon thereof. Whereunto he anſwered, that there was a law among the Iewes, that no man ſhould taſte of the ſacrifices that had not firſt of all viſited the temple, and ſacrificed vnto God; and that in that reſpect he had not hitherto viſited his maieſtie, becauſe he expected certaine preſents to preſent his Highneſſe with from his father, who was his bounden ſeruant. Furthermore, hee alleadged, that he had puniſhed his fathers ſeruant, becauſe hee had diſobeyed his commandement, which he ought not to doe, whether his maſter were ei-
B ther noble or ignoble: and if (ſaid he) we chaſtiſe not ſuch men, as they haue deſerued, expect (O
H King) that you alſo ſhall be neglected by your ſubiects.

The yeere of the world, 3780. before Chriſts Natiuity, 184.

Hircanus apologie of his actions.

When *Ptolomey* heard theſe words, he began to ſmile, and wondred at the magnanimitie of the yong man. *Arion* perceiuing that the King held himſelfe ſatisfied, and that he was like to haue no aſſiſtance at his hands, deliuered *Hircanus* the thouſand talents, and by this meanes was he ſet at libertie. Some three daies after, *Hircanus* came and ſaluted both the King and Queene; who entertained him graciouſly, and feaſted him kindly, for the affection ſake which they bare vnto his father. He priuily enquiring among the marchants, bought one hundreth yong lads well lettered, and in the flower of their age; paying a talent for euery one; and the like number of virgins for ſo many talents. Being therefore inuited to a banquet by the King, with all the Princes and o-
C ther Lords, he was placed beneath them all, becauſe that (by reaſon of his yong yeeres) they that aſſigned the places, according to euery mans dignitie, made ſmall account of him. Now when as all the gueſts, after they had eaten their meates, laid all their bones before *Hircanus*, ſo that the table was loaden round about him, a certain pleaſant fellow of the Kings called *Triphon* (whoſe merry conceits and ieſts the king very willingly liſtned vnto) during the time hee was at meat, being ſollicited by thoſe that were at the table, came vnto the king and ſaid vnto him. See here my liege, what ſtore of bones are before *Hircanus*: hereby you may coniecture, that his fa- Hircanus ieſts
ther hath fleeced all Syria, as he hath bared theſe bones of fleſh. The king laughing at *Triphons* words, asked *Hircanus* how he came by ſo many bones before him? Not without great cauſe (ſaid he) O king; for dogs deuoure the fleſh with the bones, as theſe do (in which ſpeech he glan-
D ced at thoſe who ſat with him at the table, becauſe they had no bones before them) but men eate the fleſh, and caſt the bones away, as I do, becauſe I am a man. The king wondring at his diſcreete anſwer, commanded all the reſt to applaud him, in approbation of his witty vrbanity.

The next day he ſought out all the kings friends, and the principals in court, and ſaluted them Hircanus ſounding what other men would giue, gaue more then the reſt, for which he receiueth another kingly reward.
one by one, enquiring of their ſeruants, what preſents they would court the king with vpon the birth of his ſonne? Who told him, that ſome of them would giue twelue talents, and otherſome that were in dignity, would preſent them according to their ability. Whereupon *Hircanus* made a ſhew of diſcontent, in that he wanted power to offer ſuch a preſent, pretending that he had no more but fiue talents. All which theſe ſeruants preſently reported to their maſters: who were very ioyfull thereat, for the hope they had conceiued that *Ioſeph* ſhould be blamed, and would
E offend the King thorow the abiectnes of his preſent. Now when the day of the ſolemnity was come, and they likewiſe that pretended to preſent the king moſt magnificently, offered no more then twenty talents: *Hircanus* preſented the hundreth young Lads he had bought, to the King, and the virgins vnto *Cleopatra*: for whom hee had paid a talent by the powle. At this vnexpected magnificence of his gift, al men were amazed: but beſides this, he gaue gifts of diuers talents to the King and Queenes fauourites and ſeruants, and their attendants; whereby hee warranted himſelfe from the danger that might fall vnto him by their meanes. For the brothers of *Hircanus* had written vnto them, to murther him. *Ptolomey* was highly delighted in the great magnificence of this young man, and willed him to aske whatſoeuer gift he beſt liked at his hands. But he required no other thing, but that it would pleaſe the King to recommend him, by his letters, to his father and brethren. When as therefore the King had ſingularly honoured him, and had
F giuen him many bountifull rewards, he wrote vnto his father and his brethren, and all his gouernours, and commiſſaries, and in that ſort ſent him away. His brothers hearing newes how hee Hircanus brothers aſſailing him on the way, are ſlaine and diſcomfited.
had in all things highly contented the King, and that hee returned with great glory, they iſſued out to meete with him, with an intent to murther him, with their fathers knowledge. For he being diſpleaſed with him, by reaſon of his aboue named large expence, had no care to warrantize him: yet concealed he his diſcontent for feare of the king. But when his brothers came and en-

countred him on the way, he ſlew diuers of thoſe that accompanied them, and two of his bre- G
thren alſo were left ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt fled vnto Ieruſalem vnto their father. And
when as vpon his repaire vnto Ieruſalem, he perceiued that no man entertained him, he was afraid,
and departed preſently from thence to the other ſide of Iordan, where he paſt his life in receiuing
and gathering the tributes of the Barbarians. In that time *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Soter* the ſonne of
Antiochus the great raigned in Aſia. At that time alſo died *Ioſeph*, *Hircanus* father, who was a man
of good conceit and great courage; who eſtabliſhed the people of the Iewes in their entire peace,
and hath releaſed them from pouerty and many diſaſters, and had held the tributes of Syria,
Phœnicia, and Samaria for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres. His vncle *Onias* dyed alſo about the
ſame time; leauing the Prieſthood to his ſon *Simon*; after whoſe death, his ſonne *Onias* was made
high prieſt: to whom *Arius* king of Lacedemon ſent an Embaſſade and letters, the copy whereof H
hereafter enſueth.

The yeere of the world, 3780. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 184.

Ioſephs death. Onias, and after him Simon his ſon high Prieſt. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

CHAP. V.

The friendſhip and ſociety of the Lacedemonians, with ONIAS *the high Prieſt of the Iewes.*

ARIVS King of Lacedemon, to *Onias* Health: We haue found out a certen writing wher-
in it is recorded, that the Iewes and Lacedemonians are of the ſame race, and both of
them deſcended from *Abraham*. It is therefore requiſite, that ſince you are our brethren,
that you giue vs to vnderſtand wherein we may pleaſure you. The like will we doe alſo, and will I
repute that which is yours to be ours; as that which is ours, ſhall in community be yours. *De-
moteles* our meſſenger bringeth you our letters foulded in ſquare, the ſeale whereof is an Eagle
holding a Dragon in her talons. Theſe were the contents of the Lacedemonians letters. After
the death of *Ioſeph* it came to paſſe, that the people began to mutine in the quarrell of his chil-
dren. For the elder brethren made warre againſt *Hircanus*, who was the younger, by meanes
whereof the people were diuided: The greater part of them followed the Elder faction, and the
high Prieſt *Simon* alſo, by reaſon of his affinitie with them, followed their party. Whereupon
Hircanus reſolued to repaire no more vnto Ieruſalem, but fixing his habitation on the other ſide
of Iordan, he made continuall warre againſt the Arabians, ſlaying a great number of them, and ta-
king many priſoners. He builded a huge tower of white marble from the bottome to the top, and K
on the ſame planted he the figures of many liuing creatures in ſculpture of great height. About
the ſame he drew and forced a deepe trench of flowing water; and hauing hewed the front of the
rocke that ſtood oppoſite againſt his building, he made diuers caues therein, many furlongs long.
He made alſo diuers chambers therin, both to eate, ſleepe, and dwell in. He drew thither likewiſe
currents of ſpringing water, in ſo great aboundance, that it gaue much delight to thoſe that dwelt
there, and great ornament to the whole building. The mouth of euery caue was ſo little, that but
one onely man could enter at once: which he therefore made ſo narrow, becauſe they might the
better ſerue for his ſecurity and refuge; that if ſo be he were at any time aſſailed by his brethren,
he might auoid the danger of ſurpriſall. Moreouer, he builded many huge halles, which he ador-
ned with great and goodly gardens: and this place thus builded, was called by him Tyre: and is L
ſituate betweene Arabia and Iudæa, on the other ſide of Iordan, not far from the countrey of Eſ-
ſebonitis. He commanded in this countrey ſome ſeuen yeeres, all that time that *Seleucus* raigned
in Syria. After whoſe death, his brother *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, obtained the kingdome.
Ptolomey alſo king of Egypt (who was likewiſe called *Epiphanes*) died, and left two children very
yong behind him, of whom the eldeſt was called *Philometor*, and the yonger *Phiſcon*. When as
therefore *Hircanus* perceiued *Antiochus* grew mighty and ſtrong, and feared to be puniſhed by
him for his executions done againſt the Arabians, he ſlew himſelfe with his owne hands, and *An-
tiochus* enioyed all his goods.

The letter of the king of Lacedemon to the high Prieſt of the Iewes. 1. *Machab.* 12.

Sedition amongſt the people after Ioſephs death

Hircanus afflicteth the Arabians with continuall warre.

Hircanus buildeth a ſtrong tower

The yeere of the world, 3790. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 174.

Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria.

The ſons of Ptolomey Epiphanes, Philometor and Phyſcon.

Hircanus killeth himſelfe. Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 6. 1. *Machab.* 1.

CHAP. VI. M

A mutinie of the rich Iewes againſt the other.

ONIAS the high Prieſt being dead about this time, *Antiochus* gaue the prieſthood to *Ie-
ſus* his brother. For that ſonne, vnto whom *Onias* had left the ſucceſſion, was as yet very
young (of whom wee will ſpeake in conuenient time and place.) This *Ieſus* (*Onias* bro-
ther) was depriued of the prieſthood, thorow the kings diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, who
gaue

Ieſus created high Prieſt by Antiochus Epiphanes.

Ieſus depriued of the prieſthood.

A gaue it ſhortly after to his yonger brother called *Onias*: For *Simon* had three ſonnes, who, as we haue declared, ſucceſſiuely poſſeſſed the prieſthood: this *Ieſus* cauſed himſelfe to be called *Iaſon*, as his other brother cauſed himſelfe to be called *Menelaus*, wheras his name was *Onias*. But *Ieſus*, who had firſt of all beene eſtabliſhed in the place of the high Prieſt, aroſe againſt *Menelaus*, who was elected in the place after him. The people therefore were diuided into factions, and *Tobias* ſonnes were on *Menelaus* ſide: but the greater number of people followed *Iaſon*: ſo that *Menelaus* and the ſonnes of *Tobias* being grieuouſly vexed by them, retired themſelues to *Antiochus*, giuing him to vnderſtand, that it was their intent to forſake the religion and ordinances of their fathers, and to follow that of the kings, and to liue after the maner of the Greeks; exhorting him to giue them licence to erect a place of Exerciſes in Ieruſalem. Which when *Antiochus* had gran-
B ted them, they ſo demeaned themſelues, that there appeared no more ſigne of Circumciſion in them; ſo that at ſuch time as they were naked, there was no difference betweene them and the Greekes, and neglecting all the ordinances and cuſtomes of euery countrey, they conformed themſelues to the behauiour and manners of other nations. *Antiochus* hauing all things in his kingdome, according to his hearts deſire, reſolued to make warre in Egypt: deſiring to bee poſſeſſed of the ſame, both for that he contemned *Ptolomeies* ſonnes age (who were as yet weake) as alſo for that they were not as yet capable to manage their ſo mighty eſtates. Arriuing therfore neere to Peluſium with a great power, he circumuented by a ſubtill policy the young Ptolomey *Philometor*, and ſubdued Egypt: for after he had beſieged Memphis and taken the ſame, he came to Alexandria, with an intent to beſiege the City, and to lay hold of the king who was therein.
C But he was driuen, not onely from Alexandria, but alſo out of all Egypt, by the ſommons that was ſent him in the name of the Romans, who commanded him to depart, and diſlodge his army out of that countrey, as we haue heretofore declared in an other place. Now will I more largely and particularly diſcourſe the actes and geſts of this king, who ouercame Iudæa, and ſpoiled the temple: For hauing onely made a briefe mention of him in my former workes, I thinke it neceſſary in this place to make a more exact recitall of his Hiſtory.

The yeere of the world, 3790. before Chriſts Natiuity, 174.

Onias ſurnamed Menelaus ſubſtituted in his place.

The wars betwixt Iaſon & Menelaus.

Apoſtates from the Iewiſh religion

Antiochus enforced to depart out of Egypt.

The Hiſtory of Antiochus Epiphanes.

CHAP. VII.

ANTIOCHVS *leadeth out his army againſt Ieruſalem, taketh the City*
D *and ſpoileth the Temple.*

AFTER that King *Antiochus* was returned out of Egypt, and for the feare of the Romans, had forſaken that countrey, hee led his army againſt Ieruſalem, and encamped before the City, and ſurpriſed it by ſurrender, in that the gates of the City were ſet open vnto him by thoſe of his faction: all which hapned in the hundreth, forty and third yeere of the raigne begun by *Seleucus*. Now when he ſaw himſelfe Lord and maſter of Ieruſalem, he ſlew diuers of the contrary faction; and after hee had gathered together many great and rich ſpoiles, he returned backe to Antioch. This misfortune hapned ſome two yeeres after the ſur-
E priſall of the City, in the hundreth, forty and fiue yeere of the raigne of that family, on the fiue and twentith day of that moneth which we call Chaſleu, and the Macedons Apellaus, the Romans December; in the hundreth, fiftie and three Olympiade; at which time he neither ſpared them, who gaue him peaceable entrance, and opened him the gates, and effected him the meanes to ſpoile the ineſtimable riches of the temple, with greater freedome: but being no leſſe tyrannous to the friend, then to the offender, he ſpared neither. For hauing ſeene what quantitie of gold was in the temple, and how huge a number of preſents and precious ornaments were in the ſame, he was ſo ouercome with couetouſneſſe, that hee brake and violated all conuentions and conditions. After therefore hee had ſpoiled the Temple, and carried away the veſſels dedicated vnto God, the golden candleſticke, the golden altar, the table of the ſhew-bread, the cenſers, and pulled downe the curtaines made of fine linnen and ſcarlet; after hee had emptied the treaſures that were hidden, and left nothing behind him of any valew: he drowned all the Iewes in grie-
F uous lamentations. For he inhibited and forbad them to offer their vſuall and daily ſacrifice vnto God, according to the preſcript order of the law: and after he had ſpoiled the whole City, he ſlew a part of the inhabitants, and carried away the reſt of them into captiuity, with their wiues and children, to the number of ten thouſand. Furthermore, he burned the faireſt buildings of the City, and raſed the walles, and raiſed a fortreſſe in the lower City. For the temple was as it were a high cittadel, commanding the reſt. For this cauſe, hauing incloſed it with high walles

Antiochus entring Ieruſalem ſpoileth the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 3796. before Chriſts Nativity, 168.

The yeere of the world, 3798. before Chriſts Nativitie. 166.

The yeere of the world, 3798. before Christs Nativity. 166.

and towers, he planted a garrison of Macedonians therein, with whom remained the rabble and G
scumme of the wicked Apostate Iewes, who were giuen ouer to all impieties, and who also afflicted their fellow Citizens with many and mischieuous iniuries. The King also commanded that an Altar should be erected in the temple, on which he caused swine to be slaughtered, offering sacrifice contrary to religion and ordinance of the Iewes. He constrained them likewise to forsake their deuotion towards God, and to adore those Idols whom he reuerenced for Gods, building in euery City and Borough both Temples and Altars, on whom he ordinarily caused swine to be offered. He forbade them likewise to circumcise their children, threatning to punish him whosoeuer he were, that was found to doe the contrary. Moreouer, he chose certaine ouerseers that should constraine them to fulfill his commandement; so that a great number of Iewes, some of their owne accord, other some for feare of the threatned punishment, endeuoured themselues to satisfie the Kings decree. But those men who were of vpright hearts, and valiant minds, little re- H
spected these menaces: For hauing more respect to their laws and customes, then to the torments wherewith they were menaced, if they performed not the edict; they were beaten, and exposed to most cruell punishment, for many daies, amidst the which they yeelded vp the ghost. For after they were whipt and maimed in their bodies, they were crucified and tortured aliue: they strangled the women also with their circumcised children, whom according to the Kings command they hung about the neckes of their parents, who were crucified: And if in any place they found any sacred scripture, they defaced and burnt it; and they with whom it was found, were put to a most cruell death.

Antiochus abrogating Gods law thorow extreame tyranny enforceth the Iewes to idolatry, and fortifieth the temple, Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

The diuel seeketh to abolish the Bible.

The variable wits of the Samaritanes which made them so odious in the sight of the Iewes.

The Samaritans seeing this affliction of the Iewes, claimed them no more for their kinsmen, I
and called their temple of Garizim no more the temple of God, but (as we haue heretofore declared) they shewed their own corrupt and vnconstant natures, and challenged their descent from the Medes and Persians, as in effect they were: for which cause they sent embassadours to *Antiochus* with letters to this effect; *To King Antiochus the mightie God, the suggestion of the Sidonians that dwell in Sichem.* Our ancestors enforced by the continuall pestilence that raunged in their countrey, and induced by a certen ancient superstition, haue bin accustomed to obserue that day as festiuall, which the Iewes call their Sabbath; and hauing builded on the mount of Garizim a temple, and dedicated it vnto a God, who hath no name, haue offered vp in the same diuers and solemne sacrifices. But since that you haue inflicted punishment on the Iewes, according as their wickednes deserueth, the commissaries of the king supposing that we were tied to their customes K
(by reason of some alliance between vs) couple vs with them, and charge vs with the same accusations: whereas we are borne Sidonians, as it appeareth by the rolles of our common-weale. We therefore beseech you, who are our benefactor and Sauiour, to command your gouernour *Apollonius*, and your steward *Nicanor*, not to molest vs any more, by charging vs with those accusations which appertaine vnto the Iewes: who neither are tied vnto vs by alliance, neither accord with vs in manners; but that our temple, which hath not hitherto borne the name or title of any God, may now be called the temple of *Iupiter* of Greece: by which means we shall be deliuered from all trouble, and being at liberty to attend our affaires, we may the easier and more willingly pay you greater tributes. To this request of the Samaritanes the King answered, sending them backe their owne letter: King *Antiochus* to *Nicanor*; Health. The Sidonians of Sichem haue L
sent vs this suggestion; which we annexe vnto these our letters. Since therefore they, who were sent vnto vs to this intent, haue sufficiently approoued both to vs and our councell of friends, that they are vtterly strangers vnto those crimes, wherewith the Iewes are charged, and are desirous to liue according to the lawes of the Græcians, wee absolue them in as much as concerneth this cause, and their temple, which hereafter shall be called by the name of *Iupiter* of Greece: we haue written to the like effect also to *Apollonius* our Magistrate. Giuen the forty and sixt yeere and the eleuenth of the moneth Hecatombæon, which signifieth August.

The yeere of the world, 3799 before Christs Nativity, 165.

CHAP. VIII.

ANTIOCHVS *forbiddeth the Iewes to vse their lawes: onely* MATTHIAS *the sonne of* ASMONAEVS *contradicteth him, and obtaineth the victory against* ANTIOCHVS *captaines.* M

AT that same time there dwelt a certen man in Modin (a village of Iury) whose name was *Matthias*, who was the sonne of *Iohn*, and who was the sonne of *Simon*, the sonne of *Asmonæus* a priest of the ranke of *Ioarib*, borne in Ierusalem: This *Matthias* had fiue sonnes,

Iohn

A *Iohn* called *Gaddis*, *Simon* called *Matthes*, *Iudas* called *Machabæus*, *Eleazar* named *Auran*, and *Ionathas* called *Apphus*. This *Matthias* oftentimes complained vnto his ſonnes, as touching the miſerable eſtate of their Common-weale, the ſacke of their Citie, the ſacriledge of the Temple, and the miſeries of the people, telling them that it were better for them to die for the law, then to liue in ignominie. When as therefore the Commiſſaries deputed by the King, came vnto the Borough of Modim, to conſtraine the Iewes to performe that which was enioyned them, and to command them to ſacrifice, according to the ordinance; requiring *Matthias* (who ſurpaſſed the reſt in honour, and other qualities, but in eſpeciall in excellency of deſcent and nobilitie) to begin firſt of all to offer ſacrifice, to the end that the reſt might follow him and bee induced by his example; promiſing him that in ſo doing, the King would honour him greatly: *Matthias* anſwered
B thereunto, that he would in no ſort commit that idolatry, aſſuring them that notwithſtanding all other nations of the world, either in reſpect of loue, or for feare of iuſtice ſhould obey the edicts of *Antiochus*; yet that neither hee, nor any of his children could or would be induced to forſake their fathers religion. Now as ſoone as hee had returned this anſwer, and held his peace, a certaine Iew ſtepped forth to offer ſacrifice according to *Antiochus* ordinance; wherewith *Matthias* was in ſuch ſort diſpleaſed, that both he and his ſonnes fell vpon him, and with their ſwords hewed him in peeces. He ſlew *Apelles* the kings captain likewiſe, with certen other ſouldiers, who would haue withſtood him. And not content herewith, he ouerthrew the Altar, crying out with a loud voice: If (ſaid he) any one bee affectioned to the lawes of his fathers, and the ſeruice of God, let him follow me: and this ſaid, he ſodainly retired himſelfe into the deſart with his ſonnes,
C leauing the borough vtterly diſpoſſeſſed. The reſt doing the like, retired themſelues into the deſart, with their wiues and children, and made their habitation in certen caues. The kings captaines hauing intelligence hereof, gathered thoſe forces that were at that time in the Cittadel of Ieruſalem, and purſued the Iewes into the deſart. And hauing ouertaken them, they laboured firſt of all, to make them ſubmit themſelues, and to make choice of that which ſtood with their profit, rather then to indanger themſelues, and inforce them to chaſtice their diſobedience, with blood in war. But the Iewes reſpected them not a whit, but contradicted them in their demands who had already concluded and reſolued among themſelues, rather to die then commit ſuch an impietie: For which cauſe they (who omitted no opportunity) aſſailed the Iewes on a Sabbath day, and burned them within their caues, who neither reſiſted their enemies, nor ſo much as clo-
D ſed vp the mouths of their caues: And therefore abſtained they from all defence by reaſon of the day, reſoluing with themſelues in no ſort to violate the Sabbath day (for we are commanded to ceaſe from all labour, on that day.) There were therefore about ſome thouſand ſtifled in their caues, accounting both men, women and children. Yet notwithſtanding, diuers eſcaped, who ioined themſelues with *Matthias*, whom they appointed likewiſe for their captaine; who declared vnto them that they ought to fight on the Sabbath day, aſſuring them that if they did it not, but ſcrupulouſly obſerued the law, they themſelues ſhould be enemies vnto themſelues, if perhaps the enemy ſhould aſſaile them that day, and ſhould not ſtand vpon their guard: for by that meanes they ſhould be deſtroyed without reſiſt. By theſe words he perſwaded them to doe as he had ſaid: and vntill this day it is a cuſtome among vs, that if need require wee make no dif-
E ficulty to fight on the Sabbath day. *Matthias* therefore hauing aſſembled a ſufficient number of men about him, deſtroyed the Altars, and ſlue thoſe that had forſaken their religion, as many of them as he could lay hands on. For diuers were ſcattered heere and there among the nations, for the feare they had; theſe commanded hee to circumciſe their children that were not circumciſed; driuing thoſe from euery place, whom King *Antiochus* had ordained to ſee his law executed.

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Chriſts Nativity, 165.

The zeale & piety of Matthias and his ſonnes.

An Apoſtata ſlain by Matthias.

Matthias with his ſons flieth into the deſart.

The Iewes are ſlaine on the Sabbath day, which ſlaughter maketh Matthias more weary.

Matthias rooteth out all Idolatry.

After therefore *Matthias* had gouerned for the ſpace of one yeere, hee fell ſicke of a moſt deſperate diſeaſe; for which cauſe he called for his ſonnes, and ſpake vnto them after this manner. My ſonnes, I muſt now walke the way that is deſtinated vnto all men: I therefore recommend and exhort you to follow my deliberation, and diligently to obſerue the ſame, remembring you of the intent of me your father, who haue begot and nouriſhed you, which is, to main-
F taine the lawes of our countrey, and to eſtabliſh our eſtate, which is vpon the point to be ouerthrowne, except you ſubmit vnto thoſe who either voluntarily or forcibly betray the ſame: ſhew your ſelues therefore to be worthy ſons of me who am your father; ſtrengthen your hearts with courage to ouercome all force and neceſſity; thinking with your ſelues, that if God ſee that you be ſuch, he will not forſake you, but taking pleaſure in your vertue, he will once more grant you the fauour to recouer your former peace and liberty, and will eſtabliſh you in aſſured poſſeſſion

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

Matthias exhorteth his ſons to piety fortitude and concord.

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Christs Natiuitie, 165.

of your ancient lawes. True it is, our bodies are mortall and subiect vnto destiny; but the memory G
of our vertuous actions are enfranchised by immortality: being therefore stirred vp with the loue
therof, striue and bestirre your selues to obtaine honor, to the end that projecting mighty things,
you make no difficulty to hazzard your liues in the execution of the same. Aboue all things, I ex-
„ hort you vnto concord, to the end that in whatsoeuer one of you shall bee found more naturally
„ apt and fitted then another, he may prosecute the same without any contradiction of the rest. I
„ charge you also to obserue and obey your brother *Simon* (who is a politique and valiant man) in
„ whatsoeuer he shall counsell you. As touching your chieftaine, you shall serue vnder *Machabæus*,
„ because he is both valiant and strong: for he shall reuenge the iniuries and outrages, which haue
„ beene done to our nation, and put our enemies to flight: second him therefore with men of va-
„ lour, and such as feare God: and by this meanes you shall augment your forces. H

CHAP. IX.

MATTHIAS *dieth, and his sonne* IVDAS *succeedeth him.*

1. *Mac.* 3. Mathias death. Iudas Machabæus appointed gouernor.

AFTER *Matthias* had spoken in this sort vnto his sonnes, and prayed God to fauour their enterprises, and to restore the people to their ancient policy, and the accustomed fashion of their life, which they had in former times continued and obserued; he died anon after, and was buried in Modin. After the people had grieuously lamented and mourned for him, I
for a certaine time; and performed publikely such honour in his funerals, as was agreeable to his estate: his sonne *Iudas Machabæus* tooke vpon him the gouernment of the warres, in the hundreth forty and sixt yeere; and by the assistance both of his brethren and other Iewes, hee draue the enemies out of the country, and put those of his owne nation to death, who had forsaken their religion; and purged the country of all vncleannes, which had beene brought into it.

CHAP. X.

APOLLONIVS *generall of* ANTIOCHES *army, commeth into Iurie, and is discomfited and slaine.*

K

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. Iudas Machabæus ouercommeth Apollonius in battell. Seron gouernour of Cœlosyria is put to flight in Iudæa.

WHen *Apollonius*, who was *Antiochus* generall in Samaria heard hereof, he gathered his army together, and inuaded Iudæa: against whom *Machabæus* made head, and ouercame him in a battell, wherein there died many, and amongst the rest *Apollonius*; whose sword *Machabæus* got as his part in the spoile. There were a great number of them also who were wounded, and much bootie was taken in the enemies campe: after which execution enriched with spoiles, hee retired himselfe. But *Seron* gouernour of Cœlosyria hearing hereof, and vnderstanding that diuers had ioyned themselues with *Iudas*, and that hee had already about him a sufficient power to keepe the field, and bid the battell; he thought that it concerned him to begin to punish those, who resisted the kings Edicts. For which cause, after he had assembled all the forces that he had, and besides them hired certaine apostate or fugitiue Iewes, hee marched L
forth against *Iudas*, and came as farre as Bethoron a village in Iewry, where he incamped. *Iudas* also came out to meete with him, determining with himselfe to bid him battell: and seeing that his souldiers would hardly be drawn out to fight (both by reason of their inequality of number, as also for that they had eaten no meate, but had fasted a long time) he encouraged them, saying, that the meanes to obtaine victory, and to haue the vpper hand ouer their enemies, consisted
„ not in the greatnes of their number; but in their deuotion towards God: wherof they had a most
„ euident example in their forefathers, who had oftentimes defeated with a small number of men
„ diuers thousands of their enemies, because they fought for iustice, for their law, and for their chil-
„ dren: for the greatest force (said he) that a man may haue, is to bee innocent and without iniurie.
„ By these words perswaded he his souldiers, so that without any feare of the multitude of their e- M
nemies, they altogether ranne vpon *Seron*, and encountring with him, they discomfited the Syrians. For their chieftaine beeing slaine, all the rest betooke them to their heeles, in which thing onely consisted the safetie of their liues. *Iudas* therefore, pursuing them as farre as the champaine, slew about eight hundreth of them. The rest saued themselues in those quarters that bounded vpon the sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The yeere of the world. 3799. before Christs Natiuitie. 165.

LYSIAS *and* GORGIAS *lead their armies into Iewry, and are ouerthrowne.*

WHEN King *Antiochus* heard these tidings, he was highly displeased at that which had hapned: he therefore assembled al his forces, and hiring diuers strangers and mercenary Islanders, he prepared himselfe to inuade Iudæa about the spring time. But after the muster of his army, when he truely found that his treasure failed him, and that hee was in great scarcitie of money (for all his tributes were not truely paid him, because the Nations were rebellious) being likewise in his owne nature a man of great and magnificent spirit, that could not be contented with that which he then had, he resolued first of all to goe into Persia, to gather his tributes. He therefore left the charge of his affaires with *Lysias* (a man very much esteemed by him, and such a one as gouerned all the counrey from Euphrates, as far as the borders of Egypt, and the lower Asia) giuing him likewise a part of his army and some of his Elephants. To him had the king giuen charge to see his sonne *Antiochus* well and carefully trained vp, vntill his return: commanding him expresly, that when he had conquered Iudæa, he should make the inhabitants thereof his slaues, and sel them to those that would giue most, and destroy Ierusalem, and vterly abolish that race. The king hauing giuen this charge to *Lysias*, led foorth his army towards the country of Persia, in the hundred, forty and seuenth yeere: and after he had passed Euphrates, he marched onward toward the gouernours of the higher countrey.

Antiochus preparation to inuade Iudæa.

Antiochus committing his kingdome prouinces and son to Lysias charge, departeth into Persia.

As for *Lysias*, he chose *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Dorymenis*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* (men of great power and authority amongst the kings friends) and gaue them forty thousand footmen, and seuen thousand horsemen, to inuade Iewry. Who marching as farre as the city of Emaus, encamped in the plaine fielde, and strengthened their army with diuers allies out of Syria, and of the countries thereabouts, and with diuers Iewes also, who were Apostates. There came also certain Merchants with them, with an intent to buy those that should be taken prisoners, bringing Giues with them to manicle those that should be apprehended, and money to pay for them.

The yeere of the world, 3800. before Christs Natiuitie. 164.

When *Iudas* had viewed the campe, and numbred the enemy, he encouraged his souldiers, exhorting them to repose their confidence and hope of victory on God, willing them to inuocate and call vpon him, according to their law, and that clothing themselues in sackcloth, they should humble themselues according to their accustomed maner in such extreame dangers, and call vpon God with supplications and praiers; and that in so doing, God would haue compassion on them, and giue them force to stand against their enemies, and put them to shame. When as therefore he had arranged his battell, according to the ancient custome of his countrey, by thousands and hundreths, and sent away those that were newly married, and such as had newly bought possessions, for feare least such men being too niggard of their liues, or distracted by such affections, should not fight couragiously: he stood vp in the midst of them, inciting his souldiers to fight valiantly, in these or such like words; My countrimen and companions, neuer haue wee hitherto had any occasion more necessary, wherein we ought to expresse our courages, and contemne our dangers, then at this present. For at this time, if you fight couragiously, you may recouer your liberty: which of it selfe is so acceptable vnto you all, that being of it selfe most desired, ought the rather more earnestly to be affected, because by it onely you shall win the meanes to serue God. As therefore you shall be disposed at this time, you may obtaine the same, and withal enioy a happy life (which consisteth in liuing according to our lawes, and ancient customes) if you behaue your selues valiantly: but if you proue cowards in fight, you are to expect no worse then the extreamity of infamy, and hope no lesse then the vtter extermination of all your race. Thinke therefore with your selues, that if you fight not, you must die: and on the other side, assure your selues that in fighting for your libertie, for your lawes, and for pietie, you shall obtaine immortall glorie: prepare your courages therefore in such sort, that to morrow morning you may bid your enemies battell. Thus spake *Iudas* to his armie, to encourage them.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 10 Ptolemey, Gorgias, and Nicanors war in Iudæa.

Iudas oration to his soldiers.

Whil'st thus he was intent about the future battell, certaine tidings was brought him, that *Gorgias* was sent with one thousand horsemen, and fiue thousand footmen, to the end that (vnder the conduct of some fugitiues, he might by night time, and when he least suspected him, set vpon him: Whereupon he decreed the very same night to breake into the enemies army, especially for that he knew that their forces were diuided. Hauing therfore refreshed both himselfe & his army somewhat liuely, aad left a number of fires in his campe, hee marched all the night, and sought out the enemie, who was at Emaus. *Gorgias* perceiuing that the Iewes had forsaken their campe, supposed

1. *Mach.* 4.

The yeere of the world, 3800 before Christs Nativity, 164.

ſuppoſed that they were retired for feare into the mountaines to hide themſelues: For which cauſes trauailing onward, he determined to ſearch diligently in what place they might be. But early in the morning, *Iudas* accompanied with three thouſand men (who were ſlenderly armed by reaſon of their pouerty) ſhewed himſelfe vnto his enemies, who were at Emaus; and after hee had ſurueyed and ſeene their warlike diſcipline, and mighty number, and how ſouldier-like they were encamped, he exhorted his followers, telling them that it concerned them to fight, notwithſtanding they ſhould be naked: for although they were in that eſtate, yet God (who tooke pleaſure in the greatnes of their courage) had already giuen them the victorie againſt a number of armed ſouldiers: and ſuddainly hee commanded the trumpets to ſound, ſo that ruſhing in vpon his enemies on the ſuddaine, he diſmaied them, and diſcomforted their hearts. And after hee had ſlaine diuers of them who reſiſted, and put all the reſt to flight, he purſued them as farre as Gadara; and the Plaines of Idumæa, of Azot, and of Iamnia. In this encountrie there died about ſome three thouſand of the enemy. Notwithſtanding, *Iudas* would not permit his ſouldiers as yet to take the benefit of the ſpoile, becauſe they were as yet to fight againſt *Gorgias* and his army; aſſuring them, that as ſoone as they had valiantly executed the ſame, it ſhould be lawfull for them to make their booty, without feare, becauſe they ſhould haue no further enemies either to feare or expect.

Iudas ouercommeth Lyſias army.

Whileſt he ſpake in this ſort vnto his ſouldiers, they that were with *Gorgias* diſcouering from the toppe of a certaine hill, perceiued that the armie that was left behind them, was put to flight; and that their campe was on fire: for although they were farre off, yet did the ſmoake aſſure them of the ſame. When theſe men vnderſtood that the matter had fallen out in this ſort, and perceiued *Iudas* and his fellowes in battell ray expected their comming, they feared, and betooke them to flight. When as therefore *Iudas* perceiued that *Gorgias* troupes were diſcomfited, without ſtroke ſtriken, he went out to gather the pillage; and after he had gotten together great ſtore of gold, ſiluer, ſcarlet, and purple, he returned to his dwelling place, with ioy, praiſing God for their happy ſucceſſe: for this victory did not a little aduantage them, towards the attainement of their libertie. But *Lyſias* being confuſed at the diſcomfiture of thoſe whom he had ſent, aſſembled an other army of almoſt threeſcore thouſand choſen men, and fiue thouſand horſmen, to inuade Iudæa. After he had therefore made his entry by the mountaines, he incamped in Bethſura, a village of Iudæa.

Iudas gathereth a huge prey.

Lyſias once more inuadeth Iudæa and loſeth fiue thouſand of his ſouldiers.

Iudas hauing knowledge therof, came forth againſt him, accompanied with ten thouſand men; and diſcouering the number of his enemies far to exceed his (after he had beſought God by praier that it would pleaſe him to fight with him) hee charged the vauntguard of the enemy with ſo great force, that he diſcomfited them, and ſlew about ſome fiue thouſand of them, leauing the reſt in great feare. *Lyſias* knowing the reſolution of the Iewes, and how they were preſt to die, except they might liue in liberty; on the other ſide redoubting their deſperations, more then their forces, he gathered together the reſt of his army, and returned backe to Antioch: where he ſoiourned, hiring many forraine ſouldiers, to make a greater army and preparation to inuade Iewry withall. After that *Antiochus* captaines had beene diſcomfited ſo many times, *Iudas* aſſembled the people together, and tolde them, that after they had obtained ſo many victories thorow the mercy of God, it behoued them to aſcend vp vnto Ieruſalem, and to purifie the temple that was deſolated; and to offer thoſe ſacrifices ordained by the law. Aſcending therefore thither with a multitude of people, he found the temple deſert, and the gates thereof burned, and graſſe growing within the ſame, thorow deſolation. Being therefore confuſed with ſo pitious a ſpectacle, he began to weepe with al thoſe that accompanied him: And hauing choſen out certen of his beſt ſouldiers, he commanded them to enforce the garriſons that were in the fortreſſe; whiles hee himſelfe purged the temple. Which command of his being exactly and reſolutely fulfilled, he ſent for new veſſels, a candleſticke, a table, an altar of incenſe, all made of gold. Hee put alſo vailes or hangings to the doores, accuſtomed to be ſpred abroad; and ſet gates to the temple. And hauing throwne downe the altar of burnt offerings, which had bin prophaned by *Antiochus*, he builded a new of all ſorts of ſtones, neither hewen, nor hammered according to art. The fiue and twentith day of the moneth of Chaſleu (with vs September) there were lights ſet vpon the candleſticks, and perfumes laid vpon the altar, and loaues impoſed vpon the table, and ſacrifices offred vpon the new altar. Al which hapned the ſame day three yeeres wherein before time the ſacred Religion was changed into prophane and hatefull impiety. For the temple was ruinated and left deſolate by *Antiochus*, and remained in that eſtate for the ſpace of three whole yeeres. For this deſolation hapned in the hundreth, forty and fift yeere, and the fiue and twentith day of the month called Apellæus or Auguſt; in the hundreth, fiftie and three Olympiade: and the temple was repurged on the ſame day,

The Temple of Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Chriſts Nativity. 163.

The Temple left deſolate for 3 whole yeeres ſpace, *Dan. 12.*

in

A in the yeere one hundreth, fortie and eight; and the hundreth, fifth and fourth Olimpiade. This desolation of the Temple hapned, according as *Daniel* had foreprophecied, foure hundred and eight yeeres before: for he declared euidently that the Macedonians should destroy the same. *The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Nativitie. 163.*

After that *Iudas* had reestablished the seruice of the Temple, both hee and his countrimen solemnized a feast for eight daies, omitting not any kinde of honest pleasure, banquetting them sumptuously and magnificently, and honouring God in Hymnes and Psalmes. Thus reioyced they at this reestablishment, seeing that contrary to all hope after so long time, they had recouered the customes of their countrey, and their ancient Religion: so that a decree was made for those which should come after, whereby it was commanded, that for the space of eight daies the rebuilding of the Temple should bee solemnized, with the ceremonies and ancient ordinances: The festiuall solemnized for the reestablishment of the temple.

B and euer since that time vntill this day wee celebrate this feast, called the feast of Lights; for this cause in my opinion, for that this so great felicitie began to shine vnto vs as a light, contrary to all hope. He inclosed the Citie likewise with a wall, and builded high towers thereon, in which hee planted garrisons against the incursions of the enemies. Hee fortified the Citie of Bethsura also, that it might serue as a fort against the enemy.

Whilest these things passed thus, the nations round about displeased with the reestablishment and force of the Iewes, oppressed diuers, whom they surprised by ambushes and treacherie. On those *Iudas* made continuall warre to hinder their incursions, and to make them partakers of those euils they had inflicted vpon the Iewes. So that inuading Acrabathan, hee slew the Idumæans that were descended from *Esau*, and brought away a great prey out of their countrey, and shut vp Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11 *Machab.* 5. Iudas maketh continuall war with the neighboring nations.

C the sonnes of *Baan* their Prince, who lay in waite for the Iewes; and hauing besieged them, hee ouercame them, setting fire on their towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this he departed from thence, and made warre vpon the Ammonites, who had a great and mighty armie, vnder the conduct of *Timotheus*. These did hee encounter with and ouercome, and tooke their Citie of Iazor, and burned it, and led away their wiues and children into captiuitie, and afterwards returned into Iudæa. The neighbouring nations hearing of his departure, assembled themselues together in Galaad against the Iewes, who inhabited the frontiers of Galaad; who hauing retired themselues to the fort of Dathema, sent letters vnto *Iudas*, giuing him to vnderstand, that *Timotheus* intended to surprise the place whereunto they were retreated, and requested him to deliuer them from this danger. And whilest he was reading of these letters, certaine mes- Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11.

D sengers came vnto him out of Galilee, giuing him to vnderstand, that they were assaulted by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and other people there-abouts.

CHAP. XII.

IVDAS *fighteth with the Ammonites,* SIMON *against the Tyrians, and others, whom hee discomfiteth.*

E IVDAS bethinking himselfe of that which best concerned him in these two vrgent and instant occasions, commanded his brother *Simon* to take three thousand chosen men with him, and to goe and succour those Iewes that were assailed in Galilee: and himselfe, accompanied with *Ionathan* his other brother, and eight thousand fighting men, repaired vnto the countrey of Galaad; leauing the gouernment of the rest of the forces in the hands of *Ioseph* the sonne of *Zachary*, and with *Azarias*, commanding them to haue a carefull and diligent eye to Iudæa, and not to enter battell with any one, vntill his returne. *Simon* arriuing in Galilee, fought against his enemies, and discomfited them; and afterwards pursuing them that fledde as farre as the gates of Ptolemais, hee slew about three thousand: and after hee had gathered the spoiles of such as were slaine, hee set many Iewes at liberty, who were prisoners; and hauing restored them their goods, retired himselfe backe againe to his countrey. But *Iudas Machabæus*, and *Ionathan* his brother hauing past Iordan, and marched on the other side thereof for the space of three daies, encountred with the Nabatheans, who peaceably came out to meete them; by whom hee vnder- Simon ouercomming his enemies in Galilee, deliuereth the Iewes that were captiue. Iudas and Ionathan succour the Iewes besieged in Gaiaad.

F stood the estate of those that were in Galaad, and how diuers of them were in extreame penurie, inclosed and besieged in Castles and Cities of the countrey by their enemy. Who likewise besought him to make haste and encounter the strangers, and to seeke the means to saue their countrimen. For this cause he returned into the desert, and first of all assailed the inhabitants of Bosra, and tooke their City, and set it on fire, killing all the men that were therein, who were able to beare armes. Neither was he contented therwith, but when night drew on, he marched towards Bosra taken and burnt.

another

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Nativitie, 163.

another Castle where the Iewes were incloſed, and ſhut vp by *Timothy* and his army; and attaining the ſame about the mornings brie, he ſurpriſed the enemy, at ſuch time as they were raiſing their ladders to ſcale the walles, and addreſſed their engins for battery: whereupon he cauſed the trumpet to be ſounded, and after he had encouraged his people to fight valiantly and faithfully for their kinſmen and friends being in great danger, and had diſtributed his forces into three battalions, he ſet vpon the enemies rereward. *Timotheus* ſouldiers perceiuing that it was *Machabæus*, whoſe valor and good hap they had already approued to their great loſſe, they without delay tooke themſelues to flight. But *Iudas* with his army followed after them, and ſlew about eight thouſand of them, and marching towards Malla (a city of the enemies) he ſurpriſed the ſame, and ſlew all the men therein, and afterwards conſumed it with fire. After this, departing thence, hee tooke and deſtroied Chaſpoma, Boſor, and diuers other places in Galaad. G

Iudas ſuccoureth the beſieged Iewes.

Timothies ſoldiers ſlain.

Malla taken and burnt.

Chaſpoma & Boſor taken.

Anon after *Timothy* leuied another great army, and drew out with him all his allies to his ſuccour, and a number of Arabians, whom he had hired for wages: with this army of his paſſed he the floud, and encamped neere vnto a towne called Rapha; exhorting his ſouldiers to behaue themſelues like valiant men againſt their enemies the Iewes, and to hinder their paſſage ouer the ſtreame: foretelling them, that if they ſhould win the paſſage, both he and his were aſſured of the worſt. *Iudas* vnderſtanding that *Timotheus* was prepared to fight, took with him all his forces, and marched haſtily againſt the enemy; ſo that hauing paſſed the riuer he ſet vpon them, killing diuers of them that reſiſted, and grieuouſly affrighting the reſt, who caſting away their armes, were conſtrained to flie. There were ſome of them, who ſaued themſelues by ſwiftneſſe of foot: and ſome alſo, who retired themſelues into a temple called Carnain, where they were in hope to be ſecured and ſo to eſcape: but after that *Iudas* had taken in the City where the temple was, he ſlew them, and burnt the ſame, enforcing his enemies to ſuffer diuers and dreadfull ſorts of death. After this execution, he led away with him from Galaad all the Iewes, their wiues and children, and ſubſtance, and brought them with him vnto Iudæa. When as therfore he drew neere vnto the towne of Ephron, which was ſituate directly in his way, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to march any other waies or returne home, except they leuelled their way (which they refuſed to doe) he ſent Embaſſadors to the inhabitants to pray them to open their gates, and to grant him free paſſage thorow their city. For they had made Baricadoes of ſtones to cut off the paſſage. When as therfore the Ephronites would giue no eare vnto him, he beſieged their City for a day and a nights ſpace, and tooke and burned the ſame, and ſlew all the men that were therin; and afterwards drew onwards on his way; and ſo great a number was there of thoſe that were ſlaine, that he marched vpon the bodies of dead men. H I K

Timothy gathereth new forces, and is ouercome by Iudas.

The Iewes are brought out of the country of Galaad into Iudæa.

Ephron beſieged & burnt.

After they had paſt Iordan, they came into a great Plaine, wherein the City of Bethſan (by the Greekes called Scythopolis) confronted their eies; from whence they departed and came into Iudæa with ioy and gladnes, ſinging and praiſing God, and vſing their accuſtomed paſtimes and ſongs of victory. This done, he offered vp ſacrifices of thankſgiuing for their happy ſucceſſe, and the ſafetie of his army; for that in all thoſe battels and encounters he had not loſt one Iew.

An admirable victory of Iudas Machabæus, who in all theſe conflicts loſt not one man.

In the meane while two captaines, to wit, *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Zachary*, and *Azarias*, who were left for the garriſon of Iudæa (whil'ſt *Simon* went into the countrey of Galilee againſt thoſe of Ptolemais, and *Iudas* and *Ionathan* his brother were in Galaad againſt the Ammonites) deſirous alſo for their part to obtaine the honour and reputation of valiant men of war by ſome notable exploit; tooke their forces, and went towards Iamnia. Againſt theſe iſſued out *Gorgias*, who was Gouernour in that place, and charged them in ſuch ſort, as the Iewes loſt ſome two thouſand men, and fled as farre as the marches of Iudæa. This miſchiefe fell vpon them, becauſe they had diſobeyed *Iudas* commandement, who had prohibited them to fight with any before his return. For beſides many other proiects of his warlike prudence, this is to be wondred at, that he foreſaw that if they ſhould attempt any thing contrary to his command, they ſhould haue but bad ſucceſſe therein. *Iudas* and his brethren making war againſt the Idumæans, gaue them no reſpite, but continually charged them on euery ſide: they tooke alſo the City of Chebron, and deſtroied all the fortifications in the ſame, and burnt the towers, ſpoyling all the country of the enemies, and raced the City of Mariſſa likewiſe. Afterwards comming to Azot, they took and ſpoiled it, and carried away a great quantity of bootie from thence, and returned backe into Iudæa in ſafety, ioyfull of their victory. L M

Ioſeph & Zachary ouercome by Gorgias, loſe two thouſand ſouldiers.

Chebron and Mariſſa beſieged.

CHAP.

Chap. XIII.

The death of Antiochvs Epiphanes *in Perſia.*

The yeere of the world, 3891. before Chriſts Natiuity, 163.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 13. 1. Mac. 6.

Antiochus deſirous to ſpoile Dianaes temple, beſiegeth Elymais, and is ſhamefully repulſed to Babylon.

The yeere of the world, 3902. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 162.

Antiochus Epiphanes burdened with cares, falleth ſicke.

Polybius Megalopolitan of the cauſe of Anciochus ſickneſſe.

A T that time *Antiochus* trauelling along the higher countries of his kingdome, vnderſtood that there was a very wealthy Citie in Perſia called Elymais, in which there was a rich temple of *Diana*, repleniſhed with all ſorts of preſents: wherein alſo he was enformed, that *Alexanders* armes and curets, who was *Philip* King of Macedons ſonne, were reſerued there of long time. Vpon theſe conſiderations he was incited to repaire vnto Elymais, which he beſieged and laboured to take by force. And for that the inhabitants thereof, were neither affrighted with his approach, nor terrified with his ſiege, but ſuſtained the ſame valiantly, he failed of his purpoſe. For they draue him from their citie, and ſallying out vpon him, they purſued him ſo hotly, that he fled backe to Babylon, and loſt a great number of his men. Whileſt thus he was diſcomfited, for that he had beene fruſtrated of his hope, newes was brought him of the ouerthrow of his captaines, whom he had left to warre againſt the Iewes, and how they of Iewry were now the ſtronger, and had the vpper hand. This trouble ſeconding his former diſcontent, he was ſurpriſed with deſpaire, and fell ſicke; which ſickneſſe aggrauated with other accidents, increaſed in ſuch ſort, that he knew well that he ſhould die: and for that cauſe he called for his moſt familiar friends, and certified them, that his ſickneſſe was violent and deſperate, and that he was ſeized with ſuch affliction, for that he had tormented the people of the Iewes, and deſtroied their temple, committed horrible ſacriledge, and contemned the reuerence of God: and whil'ſt thus he ſpake vnto them, he gaue vp the ghoſt. So that I wonder at *Polybius* the Megalopolitane (who is otherwiſe praiſe-worthy) for that he writeth that *Antiochus* died, for that he would haue ſpoiled the temple of Diana in the countrey of Perſia. For ſith he had onely intended to commit ſacriledge, but had not effected it, he merited not to ſuffer puniſhment for the ſame. And if it ſeemeth good vnto *Polybius*, that *Antiochus* was puniſhed by death for this occaſion, it is far more likely to be true, that his death befell him for the ſacriledge he had committed in the temple of Ieruſalem. But our purpoſe is not to argue againſt thoſe that maintaine, that *Polybius* reaſons are of greater truth and conſequence, then ours are.

Chap. XIIII.

Antiochvs Evpator *diſcomfiteth the Iewes, and beſiegeth* Ivdas, *and ſhutteth him vp in the Temple.*

Antiochus appointeth Philip gouernour of his kingdome, and committeth his ſonne Antiochus to his charge.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

Lyſias createth Antiochus the yonger, King, and ſurnameth him Eupator.

The Macedons in the caſtle of Ieruſalem doe much harme to the Iewes.

Iudas Machabæus beſiegeth the caſtle.

The fugitiue Iewes flie out of the caſtle, and require Antiochus aſſiſtance.

B EFORE *Antiochus* gaue vp the ghoſt, he called for *Philip* one of his chiefeſt familiars, and made him gouernor of his kingdome. And hauing deliuered the Diademe into his hands, his royall robe, and his ring with other iewels, he charged him to beare and deliuer them to his ſon *Antiochus*, requiring him earneſtly to haue care of his bringing vp, and to maintaine the kingdome in his behalfe, vntill hee comming vnto the yeeres of diſcretion, were fit to manage it himſelfe. This done, *Antiochus* died, the hundred, fortie and ninth yeere of the kingdome of Syria. After that *Lyſias* had certified the people of the Kings death, he proclaimed his ſonne *Antiochus*, whom at that time he had in his protection, King, ſurnaming him *Eupator* (according to the inſtructions that were giuen him.) About that time, the garriſons and Apoſtataes that were in the fortreſſe of Ieruſalem, did much miſchiefe vnto the Iewes. For ſetting vpon thoſe at vnawares, who aſcended the temple to worſhip and offer their ſacrifice, they ſlew them: for the fortreſſe commanded the temple. For theſe cauſes *Iudas* reſolued to cut off theſe garriſons, and to that intent he aſſembled all the people, and beſieged it. This enterpriſe was vndertooke in the yeere one hundred and fiftie, after that *Seleucus* had vſurped the gouernment of thoſe countries. Hauing therefore made him certaine engines, and raiſed diuers rams, he induſtriouſly continued the ſiege: But diuers of thoſe Apoſtataes that were reuolted, and of that garriſon, iſſued out by night, and aſſembling together ſuch men as were of ſo malicious nature as themſelues, they came vnto king *Antiochus*, requiring him that he would not ſuffer them to be abuſed in ſuch ſort by thoſe of our nation, nor ſo careleſly neglected by them, conſidering their diſgrace grew by his fathers ſeruice, for whoſe ſake they had forſaken their owne religion, and followed his lawes and ordinances. Furthermore they inferred, that the fortreſſe was in danger to be ſurpriſed by *Iudas*, and his aſſociates, except ſome preſent ſuccours were ſent vnto them. When *Antiochus* the yonger had notice hereof, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and ſent for his Captaines and friends, commanding

The yeare of the world, 3803. before Christs Nativitie, 161.

ding them to hire ſtrange ſouldiers, and all thoſe in his kingdome, who were of yeeres to beare armes; ſo that he gathered in ſhort time an army of one hundred thouſand footemen, and twentie thouſand horſemen, and thirty two Elephants: and with this Equipage departed hee out of Antioch, committing his army to *Lyſias* direction. As ſoone as he came into Idumæa, hee went vp vnto Bethſura a walled Citie, and very difficult to be ſurpriſed, which he beſieged and begirt: but with ſuch diſaduantage, that the Bethſurians reſiſting him valiantly, and ſallying out vpon him, burned thoſe preparations and engines which he had furniſhed for the battery of the towne. When as therefore a long time was conſumed about this ſiege, *Iudas* hauing intelligence of the Kings approach, raiſed his campe from before the Caſtle of Ieruſalem, and marching forward to meete the enemy, he ſhut his army in a certaine ſtreight, in a place called Beth-zacharia, ſome ſeuenty ſtounds diſtant from the Enemies campe.

Antiochus marcheth into Iudæa with his army. Bethſura beſieged. Iudas with his forces encountreth the King at Beth-zacharia.

The King hauing tidings hereof, raiſed his ſiege from Bethſura, and marched toward the ſtreight wherein *Iudas* army was incloſed, and about the morning hee ſet his ſouldiers in battell array. Hee firſt of all cauſed his Elephants to march one after another thorow the ſtreight (for that it was impoſſible for them to march in ſquare. About euery Elephant were one thouſand footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen. Theſe Elephants bare high towers on their backs, garniſhed with Archers. Touching the reſt of his forces, he cauſed them to aſcend two ſeuerall waies by the mountaines, vnder the conduct of his moſt intireſt friends, commanding them with a huge ſhout and cry to charge their enemies, and to diſcouer their golden and brazen bucklers, to the end the reflection thereof might dazle the eyes of the Iewes: whereupon, the mountaines reſounded with fearefull cries of *Antiochus* army: Yet was not *Iudas* any waies amated hereat. For entertaining the charge with a noble courage, hee ſlue almoſt ſixe hundred of the forlorne hope. But *Eleazar*, ſurnamed *Auranes*, *Iudas* brother, ſeeing a huge Elephant among the reſt armed with royall trappings, and ſuppoſing that the King was vpon the ſame, he ranne againſt him with a mighty courage; and after he had ſlaine diuers of them that enuironed the Elephant, and ſcattered the reſt, he thruſt his ſword into the belly of the beaſt, and wounded him to the death: ſo that the Elephant falling vpon *Eleazar*, ſlew him with the waight thereof; and thus nobly died this worthy man, ouerthrowing a great number of his enemies, through his infinite valour. *Iudas* ſeeing his enemies forces ſo great in number, retired backe to Ieruſalem to continue his ſiege: and *Antiochus* ſent part of his army to Bethſura to ſurpriſe the ſame, and with the reſt he himſelfe marched onward to Ieruſalem.

Eleazar Iudas brother killeth an Elephant. Iudas returneth to Ieruſalem, and Antiochus followeth him.

The Bethſurites being affraid of this mighty army of the King, and ſeeing their neceſſary prouiſions failed them, yeelded vp their Citie, after they had taken the Kings oath, that they ſhould receiue no outrage. When as therefore *Antiochus* became Lord of this Citie, he offered them no iniurie; onely hee thruſt them out diſarmed from the Citie, and planted a garriſon therein. Hee ſpent a long time alſo in beſieging the temple of Ieruſalem, for that they who kept the ſame, defended it valiantly. For againſt euery engine the King builded and raiſed vp againſt them, they erected a contrarie engine. Their onely want was victuals, becauſe their old prouiſion was conſumed, and the ground had not bin manured that yeere becauſe it was the ſeuenth; in which, according to the law, the countrey and ſoile ſhould not be ſtirred: which was the cauſe that diuers of thoſe that were beſieged, fled ſecretly for want of victuals, inſomuch that very few remained for the defence of the Temple. In this eſtate were they who were beſieged in the temple.

The Bethſurites yeeld vp their citie. The Temple of Ieruſalem beſieged.

When as King *Antiochus* and *Lyſias* the Generall had receiued tidings, that *Philip* comming out of Perſia, intended to make himſelfe Maſter and Lord of the countrey; they concluded to giue ouer the ſiege for that time, and to march forward againſt *Philip*, without giuing any inkling thereof either to his ſouldiers or captaines. He onely commanded that *Lyſias* ſhould communicate the ſame with the captaines, without diſcouering of his deliberation or enterpriſe againſt *Philip*; and to tell them that for theſe reaſons he leuied the ſiege: firſt, for the length thereof; next, for the ſtrength of the place; laſtly, for want of victuals, and for many affaires that required ſome circumſpect and carefull foreſight in the kingdome: Furthermore, for that he thought it moſt expedient to capitulate with the beſieged, and contract friendſhip with all the nation of the Iewes, promiſing and permitting them the exerciſe of their religion, becauſe they onely rebelled for that they were depriued of the ſame; and for that hee was aſſured, that hauing the grant thereof, they would each of them returne into their owne countries. When *Lyſias* had expreſſed and publiſhed theſe reaſons; all the armie and the captaines approoued the ſame.

Antiochus hearing newes of Philips intent to inuade Perſia, giueth ouer his ſiege to meete him.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XV.

ANTIOCHVS *giueth ouer his siege, from before their City, and entreth a league and alliance with* IVDAS.

The yeare of the world, 3803. before Christs Nativitie. 161.

VVHEREVPON *Antiochus* sent a herauld to *Iudas* and those that were besieged with him, promising them peace, with permission to liue according to their religion. Which condition they willingly entertained: and hauing taken an oath and assurance from the king; they surrendred vp the temple. Wherupon *Antiochus* entred the same, and seeing it to be a place so well fortified, he contrary to his oath, commanded his army to leuel the wall that enuironed the same with the ground: which done, he returned to Antioch, leading away with
B him the high priest *Onias*, who was called *Menelaus*. For *Lysias* had counselled the King to murther *Menelaus*, if he intended that the Iewes should liue in peace, without any commotion: and the rather, because it was he onely who was the author of all these euils, by reason of the counsaile he had giuen to *Antiochus* his father, to inforce the Iewes to forsake their religion. The king for that cause sent *Menelaus* vnto Berœa a city of Syria, where he commanded him to be put to death, after he had enioyed the high priesthood for the terme of ten yeers. He was a wicked and impious man, who for his onely ambitious desire of authority had inforced our nation to reuolt from their religion. As soone therfore as *Menelaus* was dead, *Alcimus* was made high Priest, who was called *Iacimus*. Now when *Antiochus* found that *Philip* had already conquered a great part of his countrey, he fought with him, and taking him prisoner, slew him. But *Onias* the son of the
C high priest (whom as we haue heretofore declared, was left an Orphan in his infancie) seeing that the king had slaine his vncle *Menelaus*, and giuen the priesthood to *Alcimus*, who was not of the race of the priests, and had transferred this honour into another family at the perswasion of *Eysias*, he fled vnto *Ptolomey* King of Ægypt, where being honorably entertained by the King and his Queene *Cleopatra*, he obtained a place in the Heliopolitane signiorie, where he builded a temple like vnto that which was at Ierusalem: whereof we shall hereafter haue more fit opportunity to speake.

Antiochus maketh peace with Iudas. The wall of the temple defaced. Onias otherwaies called Menelaus, led away prisoner

Alcimus or Iacimus made high Priest.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Christs Nativitie. 160.

Philip slaine by Antiochus. Onias the high priests son builded a temple in Egypt resembling that at Ierusalem.

CHAP. XVI.

D BACCHIDES *generall of* DEMETRIVS *army, commeth to make warre against the Iewes, and returneth backe againe vnto the King without performance of any thing.*

AT that time *Demetrius, Seleucus* sonne fled to Rome, and tooke possession of Tripolis in Syria, and after he had set the Diademe vpon his head, and had leuied and hired certaine souldiers, he inuaded the kingdome: where he was receiued to the generall content of all men, who submitting themselues vnto him laid hold on the King *Antiochus* and *Lysias*, and brought them aliue vnto him; but he incontinently commanded that they should be put to death, after that *Antiochus* had raigned two yeeres, as we haue alreadie declared in an other
E place. To this new elected King, diuers Iewes (banished for their impietie) and with them the high Priest *Alcimus* made their resort: who in generall accused their nation, and as principals *Iudas* and his brethren, obiecting against them, that they had slaine his friends, and all such as were on his side; and that among all those that were in the kingdome and expected his comming, some of them were slaine; and that the rest being driuen from their natiue countrey were banished into other places: requiring him that hee would send some one of his friends to take knowledge of the outrages committed by *Iudas* and his brethren. *Demetrius* was much mooued by these reports of theirs, and for that cause sent *Bacchides* (who was in times past much esteemed by *Antiochus Epiphanes* for his valour, and to whose gouernment at that time all Mesopotamia was committed:) To whom he gaue an army, ioyning with him the high priest *Alcimus*,
F with commission to kill *Iudas*, and his confederates. *Bacchides* departing from Antioch with his army, came into Iudæa, and sent a certaine herauld to *Iudas* and his brethren, to intreat with him vpon certaine articles of peace, because his intent was to surprise them by some subtiltie and treacherie. But *Iudas* smelling his drift, gaue little trust vnto him: for in that hee came thither with so great an armie, he easily coniectured that he intended no peace; but to make warre: notwithstanding some of the people gaue eare vnto the peaceable proclamation of *Bacchides*; and supposing that there was no sinister intent in *Alcimus*, who was their countryman, they submitted them-

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 13. 1. *Machab.* 7. Demetrius seizeth Tripolis & other cities of Syria, and killeth Antiochus and Lysias. Alcimus the high priest, with Apostates accuseth Iudas before Demetrius.

Bacchides killeth diuers that trust his oath.

themſelues vnder his gouernment. Hauing therefore receiued an oath from them both, that neither they, nor any of their followers ſhould any waies be endomaged by them, they committed themſelues to their protection. But *Bacchides* ſetting light by his oath, ſlue threeſcore of them; and by this breach of his faith towards theſe, he cauſed others (who intended to ſubmit themſelues) to forſake and flie his gouernment. As ſoone as therefore he had remooued his army from Ieruſalem, he came vnto the village of Bethzeth, and there apprehending many of thoſe which had fled, and ſome others among the people, he ſlue them all, commanding all thoſe that liued in the countrey to obey *Alcimus*, to whom he left in that place for the guard of his perſon a part of his army: and that done, he returned vnto Antioch to King *Demetrius*. In the meane while *Alcimus* intending to aſſure his eſtate and gouernment; and ſuppoſing that it ſhould be ſo much the better confirmed, if ſo be he could obtaine the good will of the people, he vſed all kinde of plauſible and familiar ſpeech vnto them; and deuiſing with euery man pleaſantly and graciouſly, hee adioyned in ſhort time great forces to thoſe which he had before: amongſt whom there were many fugitiues and vngodly men, by whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance he marched thorow the countrey, killing all thoſe whom he found to be of *Iudas* faction. *Iudas* perceiuing that *Alcimus* hauing gathered great forces, had already ſlaine diuers of the moſt vprighteſt men, and ſuch as feared God in all his nation, he addreſſed himſelfe alſo to ouerrunne the countrey, and ſlue as many of *Alcimus* partakers, as he could meet with. Who perceiuing in himſelfe that he was vnable to reſiſt *Iudas*, made his account to recouer *Demetrius* fauour. For which cauſe he repaired to Antioch, and incenſed *Demetrius* grieuouſly againſt *Iudas*, accuſing him for inforcing many iniuries againſt him: proteſting that he ſhould endure farre more, except he were preuented and puniſhed by a good army ſent out againſt him.

The yeere of the world. 3804. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 160

Bacchides vſeth great tyranny in Bethzeth.

Alcimus vſeth popularitie and familiaritie to win the peoples hearts, and killeth all ſuch as were of Iudas faction.

Iudas reſiſteth Alcimus power.

Alcimus accuſeth Iudas to Demetrius.

CHAP. XVII.

NICANOR *being ſent after* BACCHIDES *to be Chieftaine of the warre againſt* IVDAS, *is diſcomfited with all his army.*

DEMETRIVS imagining, that if *Iudas* ſhould increaſe in power, it ſhould be ſome preiudice to his eſtate, he ſent *Nicanor* his moſt intire and faithfull friend, to make war againſt him: (who was one of them alſo, who accompanied him in his flight from Rome.) Hauing therefore furniſhed him, in his owne opinion, with a ſufficient army, and able to make head againſt *Iudas*, he commanded him to ſpare no one of that nation. As ſoone as *Nicanor* came to Ieruſalem, hee intended not incontinently to make warre vpon *Iudas*, but caſt with himſelfe to ſurpriſe him by ſome ſubtiltie: to this intent he ſent him a peaceable meſſage, alledging that it was neither neceſſary nor conuenient for him to fight or hazzard his fortune; proteſting vnto *Iudas*, that he would offer him no iniurie; and that he reſorted thither with his friends, onely to expreſſe the good affection of king *Demetrius* towards him, and how well he was affected towards the nation of the Iewes. *Iudas* and his brethren beleeued this falſe embaſſage of *Nicanors*, and ſuſpecting no kinde of ſiniſter dealing, they gaue him credit, and entertained both him and his army. When as therefore *Nicanor* had ſaluted *Iudas*, he conferred with him, and in the meane while gaue a ſigne vnto his ſouldiers to lay hands on him: who perceiuing and diſcouering his treaſon betime, incontinently brake from him, and fled vnto his ſouldiers. When *Nicanor* ſaw that his intent and ſubtiltie was diſcouered, he reſolued to make open warre vpon *Iudas*, and to bid him battell neere vnto a borough called Caphar-ſalama: in which place obtaining the victory, he conſtrained *Iudas* to retire himſelfe into the fortreſſe in Ieruſalem. When as therefore *Nicanor* returned from the ſiege of *Iudas* in the temple of Ieruſalem, certain of the prieſts and Elders went out to meet with him, and after they had done their reuerence, they ſhewed him thoſe ſacrifices, which (as they ſaid) they intended to offer vnto God for the Kings proſperity and health. But he blaſpheming, threatned them; that if the people did not deliuer *Iudas* into his hands, he would deſtroy the temple vpon his returne, and with theſe menaces he departed out of the city. Which when the Prieſts heard, they began to ſhed aboundant teares, praying God that it might pleaſe him to defend his ſacred temple, together with thoſe which called on his name therein, from the violence and outrage of their enemies.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 16. Demetrius ſendeth Nicanor againſt Iudas.

Nicanor diſſembling with Iudas laboured to ſurpriſe him.

Nicanor threatneth the people that except they yeeld vp Iudas he will deſtroy the temple.

When as therefore *Nicanor* departing from Ieruſalem arriued neere vnto the borough of Bethoron, he encamped there; and to that place a great ſupply of ſoldiers came vnto him out of Syria. Now *Iudas* was encamped in an other borough called Adas, about thirty furlongs diſtant from Bethoron, hauing with him at the moſt not aboue one thouſand men. Notwithſtanding he exhorted

A exhorted his ſouldiers not to be afraide of the multitude of their enemies; neither to thinke with themſelues againſt how many they were to fight; but againſt whom, and for what recompence they were to fight, to the intent they might altogether couragiouſly ſet vpon the enemie, at ſuch time as he ſhould lead them forth to the onſet. Whereupon aſſailing *Nicanor*, there aroſe a dangerous conflict betweene them; wherein *Iudas* had the vpper hand: for hee ſlew a great number of the enemy, and finally *Nicanor* himſelfe fighting couragiouſly was ſlaine; and as ſoone as he fell downe dead, his army betooke them to flight. For hauing loſt their Chiefetaine, they diſperſed themſelues, and caſt away their weapons: *Iudas* ſpeedily purſuing them, made a great ſlaughter, and by ſound of trumpet certified them of the neighbouring villages, that hee had diſcomfited the enemy. Whereupon the inhabitants thereabout vnderſtanding heereof, betooke
B them to their weapons, and meeting with thoſe that fled in the foreward, ſlue them, ſo as no one eſcaped from this battell: notwithſtanding they were to the number of nine thouſand. This victorie hapned on the thirteenth day of the moneth Adar, as our countrimen call it, and the Macedonians Diſtre: And heereof each yeere there is both a ſolemne feaſt and memoriall obſerued. From this time forward the nation of the Iewes were in quiet without any inuaſion, and liued in peace for a little time: but afterwards they were troubled with the like combates and dangers. Whereas therefore the high Prieſt *Alcimus* intended to beate downe an olde wall of the ſanctuarie, which had beene builded by the holy Prophets, he was ſuddainly ſtrooken by God; ſo that he incontinently loſt his ſpeech, and fell to the ground; and after he had endured many grieuous torments for diuers dayes, at laſt he died miſerably: after he had enioyed the Prieſthood for the ſpace of foure yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 160.

Iudas and his followers put Nicanor and his ſouldiers to flight.

Adar, March.

Alcimus the high Prieſt dieth.

C After his death, the people with a generall conſent gaue his place to *Iudas*. Who vnderſtanding of the great power of the Romanes, and how they had conquered Gaule, Spaine, Carthage, Greece, and the Kings *Perſeus* and *Philip*, and beſides all theſe, the great King *Antiochus* determined to make friendſhip with them, and ſent *Eupolemus* the ſonne of *Iohn*, and *Iaſon* the ſonne of *Eleazar* his two intire friends vnto Rome, to intreate the Romanes to be their allies and confederates, and to write vnto *Demetrius*, that hee ſhould giue ouer to warre againſt the Iewes. When the Embaſſadours that were ſent from *Iudas*, were arriued in Rome, the Senate entertained them; and after they had diſcourſed with them vpon the occaſion of their Embaſſage, they accepted and concluded vpon their alliance, and made a decree, the copie whereof was then brought into
D Iudæa, and the originall reſerued in the Capitoll, engraued in a Table of Braſſe. Which arreſt or decree of the Romanes, as touching their alliance and good affection they bare vnto the Iewes, contained theſe articles. *That no man vnder the obedience of the Romanes, ſhould maintaine warre againſt the nation of the Iewes: neither ſhould furniſh them with victuals, ſhippes, or ſiluer, who ſhould make warre vpon them. And if any enemies ſhould aſſaile the Iewes, the Romanes ſhould giue them ſuccours to the vttermoſt of their power. And that likewiſe if any one ſhould make warre againſt the Romanes, the Iewes ſhould ſuccour them. That if the Iewiſh nation would adde or diminiſh any thing of that aſſociation, it ſhould bee done with the common aduiſe of the people of Rome, and that that which ſhould bee ordained, ſhould remaine irreuocable.* This arreſt was written by *Eupolemus* the
E ſonne of *Iohn*, and by *Iaſon* the ſonne of *Eleazar*, at ſuch time as *Iudas* was high Prieſt, and his brother *Simon* Generall ouer the Armie. See heere, how the firſt amitie and alliance was contracted betweene the Romanes and the Iewes.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 17 1 Machab. 8. Iudas couenanteth a peace with the Romanes.

The decree of the Romanes touching ſocietie and friendſhip of the Iewes.

CHAP. XVIII.

BACCHIDES *is ſent once againe into Iudæa, and obtaineth a victorie.*

F WHEN as *Nicanors* death, and the diſcomfiture of his army was reported to *Demetrius*, hee ſent a new army into Iudæa, vnder the conduct of *Bacchides*: who departing from Antioch, and repairing to Iudæa, encamped in Arbela a citie of Galilee: where hauing inforced, conquered, and taken a great number of thoſe that were retired into caues, he departed from thence, and repaired in all haſte to Ieruſalem. And vnderſtanding that *Iudas* was encamped in the village of Berzeth, he marched out againſt him with twenty thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſemen. Now *Iudas* had not on his ſide in all aboue two thouſand men, who perceiuing the multitude of *Bacchides* ſouldiers were afraide; ſo that ſome of them forſaking their campe, fled away: by which meanes there remained no more with *Iudas*, but eight hundred men. Seeing himſelfe therfore abandoned by ſo many of his men, and preſſed by his enemies, who gaue

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 18. 1 Mac 9. Demetrius ſendeth Bacchides with forces into Iury. Bacchides meeteth Iudas with 20000. ſouldiers.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Christs Natiuitie, 160.

Iudas with a small army intendeth to assaile a mighty hoast.

him neither truce nor time to reassemble his forces, hee resolued to fight with those eight hundreth which he had: whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: but they answered, that they were insufficient to make head against so huge an army, and counsailed him to retire, and to stand on his guard for that time, vntill hee had gathered forces that might be able to confront the enemy. But *Iudas* replyed to this effect: God forbid (said hee) that the Sunne should see mee turne my backe vpon mine enemies. And if by this meanes I meete with my death, and that I must needes spend my last blood in this battell, I will neuer soyle so many notable actions so worthily atchieued, nor staine so much glorie obtained with so great vertue by one ignominious flight. And hauing in this sort exhorted the small remnant of those souldiers that were with him, he commanded them that without any apprehension of danger, they should bend themselues altogether against the enemy.

CHAP. XIX.

IVDAS *ouercome in the battell, dieth.*

Bacchides disposeth his army and fighteth with Iudas.

BVT *Bacchides* drew out his army, and arranged them in battell, placing the horsemen on both the wings; his light armed souldiers and archers in the front of the army; and after these a strong band, called the Macedonian Phalanx; and hee himselfe led the right wing of the battell. And in this array hee approched *Iudas* campe, and caused the trumpets to be sounded, commanding all his souldiers to giue a great shoute, and to charge their enemies. *Iudas* did the like, and encountred *Bacchides*; so that on both sides there was a most cruell conflict, which continued vntill the sunne-set. And when as *Iudas* perceiued that *Bacchides* and the flower of his army fought in the right wing, he chose out a certaine number of his most resolute followers, and drew towards that quarter, and setting vpon them, hee brake their squadron; and afterwards thrusting into the midst of them hee forced them to flie, and pursued them as farre as the mount Aza. They of the left wing, perceiuing the flight of those in the right, went after *Iudas*, and enclosed him on the back-part. Hee being vnable to flie, and seeing himselfe enclosed by his enemies, resolued with his souldiers to fight it out. When as therefore hee had slaine a great number of his enemies, and beeing infeebled more through wearinesse, then by the wounds receiued of them, hee fell to the ground, and was himselfe at last slaine likewise: adding this honourable manner of death to his former notable and valiant exploites. His souldiers seeing him dead, and hauing no Gouernour of respect left amongst them after the losse of so valiant a Captaine, betooke them all to flight. *Simon* and *Ionathan* his brothers vpon intreatie recouered his body, and carried it to Modim (a place where his father was buried) there was hee entered by all the people, who wept for him diuers dayes, and honoured him publikely according to the custome of their countrey. Such was *Iudas* ende, who was a valiant man, a great warriour and very respectiue of the commandements of his father *Matthias*, hauing done and suffered all that hee might for the liberty of his countrey. Beeing therefore after this manner adorned with vertue, he hath left behinde him a perpetuall renowne of his worthy actes, and an honourable memorie of himselfe obtained by the liberty, in which he reestablished his nation, retyring them from the seruitude of the Macedonians: who died also after hee had discharged the office of the high Priest, for the space of three yeeres.

Iudas dispersed the enemies army, killeth some, and at last is slaine himselfe.

Iudas is buried in Modim.

THE

A

THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the thirteenth Booke.

B 1 Ionathan *after his brother* Iudas *death, ſucceedeth him in the gouernment.*
2 Ionathan *hauing wearied* Bacchides *by warre, compelleth him to draw to a league, and to depart away with his armie.*
3 Alexander *the ſonne of* Antiochus Epiphanes, *maketh warre vpon King* Demetrius.
4 Demetrius *ſendeth an Embaſſador to* Ionathan *with preſents, perſwading him to be of his faction.*
5 Alexander *by greater proffers then* Demetrius *did offer, and by offering the high Prieſts place to* Ionathan, *draweth him to fauour his faction.*
6 *Of the temple of God builded by* Onias.
7 *How* Alexander *after the death of* Demetrius, *highly honoured* Ionathan.
8 Demetrius *the ſonne of* Demetrius, *ouercomming* Alexander, *poſſeſſeth the kingdome, and*
C *plighteth friendſhip with* Ionathan.
9 Tryphon Apamenus *after he had ouercome* Demetrius, *reſerueth the kingdome for* Antiochus, Alexanders *ſonne, who receiueth* Ionathan *into fauour.*
10 Demetrius *being ouercome by the Parthians,* Tryphon *breaketh his couenant of peace, and laying hold on* Ionathan *traiterouſly killeth him, and afterwards aſſaulteth* Simon *his brother.*
11 *How the nation of the Iewes committed both the prieſthood and the geuernment of the army to* Simon.
12 Simon *driuing* Tryphon *into Dora beſiegeth him, and entreth friendſhip with* Antiochus *ſurnamed* Pius.
13 *A debate ariſing betweene* Antiochus *and* Simon, Cendebæus *the kings captaine is driuen out*
D *of the countrey.*
14 *How* Simon *was traiterouſly ſlaine at a banquet by* Ptolomey *his father in law.*
15 *How* Ptolomies *endeuours being made fruſtrate,* Hircanus *obtained the gouernment.*
16 *How* Antiochus *ſurnamed the Iuſt, leading an armie againſt* Hircanus, *for three hundreth talents is both reconciled and tied in league of friendſhip.*
17 Hircanus *expedition into Syria.*
18 *How* Antiochus Cyzicenus *aſſiſting the Samaritanes is both conquered and enforced to flie.*
19 Ariſtobulus *was the firſt that ſet the Diademe on his head.*
20 *The actes of* Alexander *King of the Iewes.*
21 *The victorie of* Ptolomey Lathurus *againſt* Alexander.
E 22 Demetrius Eucærus *ouercommeth* Alexander *in battell.*
23 *The expedition of* Antiochus Dionyſius *into Iewrie.*
24 Alexander *being dead, his wife* Alexandra *ſucceeded him in the kingdome.*

CHAP. I.

IONATHAN *after the deceaſe of his brother* IVDAS, *ſucceedeth him in the gouernment.*

F WE haue declared in our former booke, how the nation of the Iewes (after they had beene vnder the ſubiection of the Macedonians) recouered their libertie: wee haue likewiſe diſcouered the great and grieuous conflicts, which *Iudas* their captaine performed, and in which hee finally died in the behalfe of their libertie: how likewiſe (after the death of *Iudas*) all the wicked Apoſtate Iewes, who had reuolted from their religion, tooke courage, moleſting and doing many iniuries to the reſt of their countrymen. Finally, how beſides their malice, the famine

The yeere of the world, 3805. before Chriſts Nativity. 159.

The yeere of the world. 3805. before Christs Natiuitie. 159.

inuaded the countrey; so that diuers being vnable to sustaine these two mortall scourges of famine and warre, were constrained to submit themselues vnto the Macedonians. In the meane while, *Bacchides* gathering together the false Apostataes (who were fallen from the religion of the Iewes, with an intent to liue after the prophane manner of the Paganes) committed the gouernment of the countrey vnto them: who laying hold on *Iudas* friends and partakers, betraied and deliuered them to *Bacchides*: who first of all tormented and beate them at his pleasure, and afterwards put them to death. This so grieuous affliction (then which the Iewes had neuer endured a worse, since their returne from Babylon) was the cause that those of *Iudas* faction, who were yet aliue, fearing the totall and cruell ruine of their nation, addressed themselues to *Ionathan* his brother, exhorting him to imitate his brother *Iudas* vertues, and to haue no lesse care of his countrymen, then the other had; who fought for their libertie vntill his latest breath, requiring him not to abandon the gouernment of his nation, especially in that so miserable estate wherein they were plunged. *Ionathan* answered them, that he was readie to die for them; and being in all things esteemed no lesse valiant and politique then his brother *Iudas*, hee was proclaimed Generall and chiefetaine of the Iewes.

The Iewes compelled by the Apostates and by famine submit themselues to the Macedonians.

Bacchides murthereth those of Iudas faction.

Bacchides hauing notice hereof, feared least *Ionathan* should be no lesse infestuous to the King and Macedonians, then his brother *Iudas* before him had beene; for which cause he sought the meanes to make him away by treason. But both *Ionathan* and his brother *Simon* gat intelligence hereof; and hauing discouered his practise, they tooke all their families with them, and fled into the desart that confined the Citie Ierusalem: and retiring themselues neere vnto a water called the lake of Asphar, they remained in that place. When *Bacchides* perceiued that they mistrusted him, and were drawne thither; he went out against them with all his forces, and being encamped on the other side of Iordan, he gathered his army together. *Ionathan* knowing well that *Bacchides* came out to seeke him, sent his brother *Iohn* (surnamed *Gaddis*) vnto the Arabians Nabatheans, to commit the trust of their goods vnto their hand, vntil the end of the warre betwixt him and *Bacchides*: for the Arabians were his friends. Whilest therefore *Iohn* marched towards the Nabatheans the sons of *Amraeus* laid an ambuscado for him (who were of the citie of Medaba and after they had furiously set vpon him on the way, and laid hold on whatsoeuer hee brought with him, they at length slew him and all his company: for which fact of theirs, they were shortly after punished by his brethren, as we will make manifest in that which afterward followeth.

Ionathan by the publike inttigation of the Iewes vndertaketh the gouernment.

Bacchides complotteth to betray Ionathan and his brother.

Bacchides draweth out his forces against Ionathan.

Iohn the brother of Iudas is slaine by Amars sons.

When *Bacchides* knew that *Ionathan* was incamped in the marshes of Iordan, he made choise of the Sabboth day to set vpon him, hoping that hee would not defend himselfe on that day, because of the prohibition of the law. But he contrary to his expectation incouraged his companions, and declared vnto them how it concerned their liues to be valiant, for that it was impossible for them to escape, because they were shut vp in the midst betwixt the floud and the enemy: for they had the enemy before them, and the floud on their backes. As soone therefore as hee had made his prayer vnto God, that it might please him to grant him the victory, he set vpon the enemy with a stout courage, and slew a great number of them: and perceiuing *Bacchides* how with great fiercenesse he set forward against him, he stretched out his right hand to strike him; but he preuenting the stroke by stepping aside, *Ionathan* and his companions lept into the riuer, and so saued themselues by swimming ouer to the other side of Iordan, because the enemies durst not passe the water to pursue them. Whereupon *Bacchides* returned incontinently to the Castle of Ierusalem (after he had lost about some two thousand of his men.) After this, he fortified diuers Cities (which were before time ruinated) namely Iericho, Emaus, Betheron, Bethella, Thamnata, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara, and builded in euery one of them certaine towers, and great and strong walles, and afterwards hee planted garrisons therein to sally out vpon the Iewes, and vexe them; but in especiall he fortified the Cittadel of Ierusalem, in which he kept for hostages the children of the principallest men of Iudæa.

Bacchides assaileth Ionathan on the Sabbath day, and loseth two thousand of his men.

About that time there came a certaine man to *Ionathan* and his brother *Simon*, bringing them newes that the sonnes of *Amraeus* would solemnize their nuptials, and were to leade the bride from the Citie of Gabatha, which was daughter to one of the noblest amongst the Arabians: for which cause she should be conducted with great magnificence and sumptuous pompe. *Ionthan* and his brother, supposing that a fit opportunity was offered them to reuenge their brothers death, and to punish the Medabanes for the wrongs they had done vnto their brother, they tooke with them the greatest forces that they could, and marched towards Medaba; where they lay in ambush vnder the couert of a mountaine. But when they saw them that led the bride and accompanied the bridegroome, and a great troupe of their friends likewise, according to the accustomed

The castle of Ierusalem fortified.

Simon reuengeth his brother Iohns blood on the sonnes of Amraeus.

A cuſtomed manner of marriages, they brake out of their couert, and put them all to the ſword; and after they had ſeized their Iewels, and all other bootie of that company that followed them, they retired backe againe ioyfully hauing obtained their purpoſe: and thus reuenged they the death of their brother *Iohn* vpon the ſonnes of *Amaræus*. For not onely theſe alone, but their friends that accompanied them, with their wiues and children, were all of them ſlaine, to the number of foure hundreth. And in this manner *Simon* and *Ionathan* returned into the marſhes aforeſaide, and aboade there. But *Bacchides* hauing fortified all the garriſons of Iudæa, returned backe vnto the king. And at that time the eſtate of the Iewes was in peace for the ſpace of welny two yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 3808. before Chriſts Nativitie, 156.

But the wicked, and ſuch as were reuolted from the religion of the Iewes, ſeeing that *Io-*
B *nathan* and his followers conuerſed in the countrey in great aſſurance, by reaſon of the peace; they ſent certaine Embaſſadors vnto king *Demetrius*, requiring him to ſend them *Bacchides*, who might apprehend *Ionathan*, declaring that it might eaſily bee done, and that in one night breaking in vpon them, he might murther them all before they were aware. When *Bacchides* by the kings commandement came into Iury, he wrote vnto all his friends both Iewes and alſo his other allies, requiring them to lay hold on *Ionathan*: but when by no policie nor prowes of theirs, they were able to apprehend him (for that *Ionathan* hauing notice of their ambuſhes, ſtood vpon his gard) *Bacchides* the Macedonian was diſpleaſed with the Apoſtataes or fugitiues, obiecting againſt them that they had deceiued both the king and him, and laying hold on fiftie of the principalleſt of them, he put them to death. But *Ionathan* and his brother, with thoſe of their company, reti-
C red themſelues vnto Bethalaga (a certaine village in the deſart) for feare of *Bacchides*, in which place he builded towers, and walles to keepe his garriſon in more ſecurity. *Bacchides* vnderſtanding hereof, tooke the army that he had with him, and thoſe Iewes that were his confederates, and marched forward againſt *Ionathan*; where battering thoſe fortifications that were made by him, he beſieged him for many daies. But *Ionathan* for all his buſie ſiege and violence, was not a whit terrified, but reſiſted him valiantly; and leauing his brother *Simon* in the city to make head againſt *Bacchides*, he ſecretly ſtole out, and gathered a great number of ſoldiers that fauoured his proceedings, and in the night time with valiant courage brake into *Bacchides* campe; and after he had there ſlaine a number of them, he gaue his brother *Simon* notice of his comming: who, aſſoone as he heard the noiſe in the enemies campe, haſtily iſſued forth with his ſoldiers, and burnt
D al the Macedonians engines, and for his part alſo made a great ſlaughter of them. *Bacchides* ſeeing that he was circumuented by his enemies, and that both before and behinde hee was preſſed by them, being aſtoniſhed at this ſo hard, ſodaine and vnexpected encounter, was almoſt out of his wits; ſo ſore was he confuſed at the iſſue of his ſiege, that fell out altogether contrary to his expectation: for which cauſe he diſcharged all his choler vpon thoſe Apoſtataes, ſuppoſing he was abuſed by them, who had ſent vnto the king and had cauſed him to bee ſent thither:) and full gladly would he haue returned home, could he but make an end of the ſiege without his diſhonour.

Demetrius by the ſolicitation of the fugitiues ſendeth Bacchides againſt Ionathan with an army. Bacchides diſpleaſed with the Apoſtates for that they could not ſurpriſe Ionathan killeth fiftie of them. Ionathan and his brother beſieged in Bethalaga.

Ionathan ſtealing out of the city aſſaileth Bacchides by night. Bacchides reuengeth himſelfe on the fugitiues, and is inforced to retreat.

CHAP. II.

E

IONATHAN *conſtraineth* BACCHIDES *to make peace with the Iewes, and to depart out of the countrey.*

BVT *Ionathan* knowing his deliberation: ſent an Embaſſadour vnto him to conclude a peace and amitie betwixt them, with this condition; that they ſhould each of them deliuer vp thoſe priſoners that were taken on either ſide. *Bacchides* ſuppoſing that his requeſt would be to his great honour, and that a fit occaſion was now offered him, whereupon he might raiſe his ſiege without any diſgrace, promiſed *Ionathan* his friendſhip; ſo that both of them ſwore from that time forward neuer to make warre the one againſt the other; and each of them both receiued, and reſtored their priſoners. Thus returned *Bacchides* into Antioch vnto his King, and
F after that retreat hee neuer made warre againe vpon Iudæa. But *Ionathan* hauing obtained this ſecuritie, went and dwelt in the towne of Machmas: where adminiſtring and gouerning the commonweale, he executed ſuch ſeuere iuſtice on thoſe that were reuolted from the religion of their countrey, that he cleanſed the nation of all ſuch kind of men.

1. Mac. 9. Bacchides maketh peace with Ionathan. Ionathan liueth at Machmas puniſhing the wicked.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3813. before Christs Nativity, 151.

G

CHAP. III.

ALEXANDER *the sonne of* ANTIOCHVS EPIPHANES, *maketh warre against* DEMETRIVS.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11. Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes commeth into Syria, & seizeth Ptolomais.

IN the hundreth and sixtie yeare, *Alexander* the sonne of *Antiochus* the Famous came into Syria, and seized the City of Ptolemais, by treason of those soldiers that were therin; who were ill affected towards *Demetrius*, by reason of his arrogancy, which was such, that he granted no man accesse vnto him: for being locked vp in a royall fort defenced with foure towers (which himselfe had builded neere vnto Antioch) he suffered no man to approch his presence, but was carlesse and wholly negligent in his affaires; liuing in pleasure and idlenes: whereby he grew into great hatred amongst his subiects, as we haue already declared in an other place. Now when *Demetrius* knew that *Alexander* had seized Ptolemais, he gathered all his forces and marched forth against him. H

CHAP. IIII.

DEMETRIVS *couenanteth a peace with* IONATHAN.

Demetrius warre against Alexander. 1 *Machab.* 10.

MOREOVER, he sent Embassadors vnto *Ionathan*, that might confirme an alliance and ratifie a friendship betwixt them: for he determined with himselfe to preuent *Alexander*, for feare least he capitulating with him first of all, should obtaine his assistants. And I this did he especially for the feare he had of *Ionathan*, least remembring those iniuries he had before time receiued at his hands, he should oppose himselfe against him. He therfore sent vnto him requiring him to assemble his forces and to make preparation for the warre: commanding likewise, that those Iewes should be deliuered into his possession, whom *Bacchides* had shut vp for hostages in the fortresse of Ierusalem. After that *Demetrius* had demeaned himselfe in this sort, *Ionathan* resorted to Ierusalem, and in the presence of all the people, and of the garrison that was in the fortresse, he read the Kings letters; and after the reading thereof, the cursed and reuolted Iewes that were in the fortresse were sore afraid, seeing that the king permitted *Ionathan* to leuy an army, and to receiue the hostages. But he receiuing them into his hands, restored each of them to their fathers and mothers: and by this meanes remained *Ionathan* in Ierusalem, where he made K

The Macedonians forsaking their garrisons resort to Antioch.

diuers reparations and buildings, according as him pleased. For he builded the City walles of hewen stone, to make them more forcible against the assaults of war. Which when they perceiued who were in the garrisons thorowout all Iudæa, they forsooke them all, and retired back into Antioch, except they that were in the City of Bethsura, and those in the fortresse of Ierusalem: for they consisted for the most part of those Iewes that had abandoned their religion, who for that occasion feared to forsake their garrisons.

CHAP. V.

ALEXANDER *draweth* IONATHAN *to his partie.* L

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8.

BVT *Alexander* knowing what promises *Demetrius* had made vnto *Ionathan*, and beeing well assured how valiant he was, and how he behaued himselfe against the Macedonians; moreouer how he was vexed by *Demetrius* and his Lieutenant *Bacchides*: He tolde his friends and familiars that it was impossible for him to meete with a better allie at that time then *Ionathan*, who had approoued himselfe a valiant man against his enemies, and for particular causes bare hatred against *Demetrius*, from whom he had receiued many iniuries, and on whom hee had wrought sundry reuenges: for which cause if they thought it good to draw him vnto their side against *Demetrius*; the time was very fit to entertaine and confirme a mutuall peace betweene them: which aduice of his being approoued by his fauorites; he sent a letter vnto *Ionathan* to this effect. King *Alexander* to *Ionathan* his brother, Health: We haue long sithence vn- M

Alexander endeuoureth to draw Ionathan to his faction by presenting him with the high priesthood.

derstood of your valour and fidelitie, which hath caused vs to send our Embassadours vnto you, to intreat with you of alliance and amity betwixt vs; and from this day forward, wee elect and ordaine you high priest of the Iews, & receiue you into the number of our chiefest friends. More ouer in way of present, I send you a purple robe, and a crowne of gold, exhorting you, that since you are thus honoured by vs, you will in like sort yeeld vs an answerable respect and friendship. *Ionathan* hauing receiued this letter inuested himselfe in the habit of the high Priest, and the day

of

A of the feaſt of the Tabernacles, which was the fourth yeere after the death of his brother *Iudas*. (For during all that time there had not been any high Prieſt.) He aſſembled alſo a great number of ſouldiers, and cauſed a great quantity of armors and weapons to be forged. *The yeare of the world, 3813. before Chriſts Nativitie. 151.*

When *Demetrius* heard theſe newes, hee was much troubled, and accuſed himſelfe of ſloth and too much negligence in looking to his affaires, for that hee had not preuented *Alexander* in the courteous entertainment of *Ionathan*, but had ſuffered him to take the benefit of this occaſion. He ſent letters likewiſe to *Ionathan* and the people, containing that which followeth: King *Demetrius* to *Ionathan*, and to all the nation of the Iewes: Health. Since you haue obſerued the friendſhip that you beare vnto vs, & haue not entangled your ſelues with our enemies, notwithſtanding their diuers ſollicitations, we praiſe your fidelity, and pray you to perſeuere in the ſame B eſtate, aſſuring you that you ſhall receiue the like fauours from vs, in all integritie. For I will forgiue you the greater part of the tributes and taxes that you haue vſually paid, either to the kings my predeceſſors, or to me; and from this time forward, I acquite you from thoſe tributes you are to pay hereafter. And moreouer, I releaſe you of the price of ſalt, and of the gold which you were woont to giue vnto vs for our crowne. We likewiſe acquite you of the thirds of the fruit of your lands, and the halfe of the fruit of your trees, which heretofore you haue beene accuſtomed to pay me, to keepe and hold them peaceably from this time forward. I acquite you alſo at this preſent for euer, of al that which the inhabitants of Iudæa, and the three prouinces annexed thereunto, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa, are bound to pay me; willing and commanding that the City of Ieruſalem be held ſacred, and to haue the right of the freedome, exempt from all tributes C and tenths, both in it ſelfe, and alſo all the countrey belonging thereunto. And I commit the fortreſſe in the ſame to the hands of *Ionathan* the high Prieſt, permitting him to plant ſuch a garriſon therein, as in his opinion ſhall bee held both honeſt and lawfull; and ſuch as will faithfully maintaine it to his vſe. I will alſo that all the Iewes, who are impriſoned in my countrey, be ſet at libertie. Moreouer, it is my pleaſure, that no horſes of the Iewes bee taken vp to runne poſt for vs: I grant alſo on the Sabboths, and other feſtiuall daies; yea, three daies alſo before euery one of thoſe feaſts, liberty and freedome be vſed. And my will is, that the Iewes, who inhabite within my dominions, be likewiſe freed of all moleſtations. The like priuiledge grant I them that will beare armes with me, to the number of thirty thouſand: who in what place ſoeuer they ſhall be, ſhall haue no worſer entertainment then mine owne army: and part of them will I place in my D garriſons; the reſt ſhall be of my guard; and I will make them captaines in my court, and will permit them to liue according to the ordinances of their countrey, which they ſhall obſerue: & I will alſo that the three gouernments annexed to Iudæa be made ſubiect vnto the ſame lawes. My pleaſure is in like manner, that the high Prieſt ſhall take order, that no Iew adore in any other temple then in Ieruſalem, and of my owne charge I giue euery yeere a hundreth and fiftie thouſand ſicles of ſiluer to be employed in making ſacrifices: and that which ſhall be ouer and aboue thoſe ſacrifices, my pleaſure is that it ſhall be yours. Moreouer, I acquite the Prieſts and miniſters of the temple, of the tenne thouſand drachmes of ſiluer (which the Kings leuied on the temple) becauſe they appertaine vnto the Prieſts who ſerue in the temple; as I haue beene rightly enformed. I grant alſo to all thoſe who ſhall repaire vnto the temple of Ieruſalem, for refuge, and E within the precincts thereof (whether it be for money due vnto the king, or for any other cauſe) that they be acquit thereof, and receiue not any domage in their goods. I permit alſo, that the temple be repaired and builded at my charge. My will is alſo, that the walles of the City be reedified, and that certaine towers be builded about the ſame, at my coſts. Furthermore, if there be any places fit to build fortreſſes and ſtrong holdes in, through all the countrey of Iudæa, and to place garriſons in them, my will is that all this bee done and fortified, at the charges leuied out of mine owne coffers. Theſe are the promiſes and offers that *Demetrius* made vnto the Iewes.

Demetrius ſtudieth by promiſes to aſſure himſelf of Ionathans friendſhip.

The battell betweene Alexander and Demetrius, and of Demetrius death

But king *Alexander* hauing gathered great forces, as well of ſtrange & hired ſoldiers, as of thoſe who in Syria had reuolted from *Demetrius*, led foorth his whole army againſt the enemy; and after the enſignes were diſplaied and the onſet giuen, the left wing of *Demetrius* compelled *Alexanders* ſouldiers that fought againſt it to flie; and his men purſuing them hard at heeles ſpoiF led their campe. But the right wing in which the King himſelfe was, being forced to retire, was diſcomfited: and as for the reſt they betooke them all to flight; but *Demetrius* fighting valiantly ſlew ſome of his enemies; and in purſuing other ſome, who could not endure his fierce aſſault, was in the end, by ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, mainely carried into a deepe and muddie bogge, whereinto by miſaduenture his horſe fell, and being vnable to get out he was ſlaine in that place. For being diſcouered by his enemies, they turned backe vpon him; and hauing incloſed him, they

The yeere of the world, 3813. before Christs Natiuitie, 151.

they altogether shot their arrowes against him: who being on foote and fighting valiantly, was at length slaine, after he had receiued diuers wounds, and was no more able to sustaine himselfe. Thus died *Demetrius*, who departed this life the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, as we haue discoursed in an other place. G

CHAP. VI.

ONIAS *winneth the fauour of* PTOLOMEY PHILOMETOR, *and obtaineth leaue of him to build a temple in Egypt, which was called the temple of* ONIAS.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4. Onias the son of Onias the high priest seeketh to build a temple in Egypt.

BVT *Onias* the sonne of the high Priest called also *Onias* (who flying out of his countrey liued in Alexandria, with *Ptolemey Philometor*, as wee haue heeretofore declared) seeing all Iudæa destroyed by the Macedonians, and their kings; and intending in his heart to purchase an immortall memory, he determined to beseech the king *Ptolomey* and the queene *Cleopatra* by letters, that it might bee lawfull for him to build a temple in Ægypt, resembling in all points that which was at Ierusalem, and that hee might haue liberty to plant Leuites and Priests in the same, of his owne kinred: And hereunto was hee especially mooued; by a certaine prophecy of *Esay*, who more then sixe hundreth yeeres before, had foretold that a temple should be assuredly builded in Ægypt, in honour of the almightie God by a Iew. Being therefore incited by this Oracle, he wrote a letter to *Ptolomey* and *Cleopatra*, to this effect: During the time that I was employed in your warres, and by Gods fauourable assistance haue done you many seruices, I haue visited Cælosyria and Phœnicia, and haue beene in the City of Leontopolis (which is in the territories of Heliopolis.) I haue also visited diuers other places, wherein the Iewes haue temples, against all right and honestie: which is the cause that they agree not among themselues: as also the like hath hapned among the Ægyptians, thorow the multitude of temples, and the great diuersitie of religions. And hauing found out a very conuenient place neere a Castle called Bubastis in the Plaine, where there is store of all sorts of stuffe for building and cattell fit for sacrifice: I beseech you that it may be lawfull for me to purifie the temple that is leuelled in that place with the ground, and dedicated to no sacred power; and that in the place thereof it may be lawfull for me to erect and build a temple in honor of the highest God, according to the pattern and the same dimensions of that temple, which is in Ierusalem, for the preseruation and prosperity both of you, your Queene, and children; and to the intent that those Iewes that dwell in Ægypt may assemble and serue God therin; for that by how much the more there is vnity and concord among themselues, by so much the more may they be disposed to your seruice. For to this effect is the prophecy of *Esay*, which saith thus: *There shall be* (saith he) *a temple for our Lord God in Egypt*: many other things also hath he foretold as touching this place. H I K

The yeere of the world, 3814 before Christs Nativity. 150.

This is the effect of that which *Onias* wrot vnto K. *Ptolomey*. And by his answer which he made hereunto, a man may easily coniecture what piety was both in him, and *Cleopatra* his sister, and wife. For they haue returned the sin and transgression of the law, which through this means fell vpon *Onias* head, by this answer that ensueth. King *Ptolomey* and Queene *Cleopatra* to *Onias* the high Priest, Health. Wee haue perused your letters, by which you require vs to giue you licence to clense the temple, that is defaced at Leontopolis, in the seigniory of Heliopolis, in the place called Bubastis in the Plaine. We maruel very much that a temple builded in a place so vncleane and full of execrable beasts should be agreeable vnto God: but since that you informe vs, that the Prophet *Esay* did long time sithence prophecy the same, we giue you licence, if it may be done according to the law, and with this condition, that we commit not any sinne against God. L

A temple builded in Egypt by Ptolomies consent.

Vpon this answer, *Onias* (taking possession of the place) builded therein a temple, and erected an altar vnto God according to the module of the temple of Ierusalem; but farre lesse, and lesse rich. Yet thinke I it no wayes requisite to declare the dimensions thereof, neither the vessels in the same, because I describe them particularly in my seauenth booke of the warres, and captiuitie of the Iewes: neither wanted there some Leuites and Priests, who being answerable to *Onias* in deuotion and zeale, frequented the diuine seruice in that place, and renued the ceremonies. But let this suffice for the present as touching the temple. M

The wars of the Iewes. li. 7. chap. 27.

Sedition betwixt the Iewes and Samaritans as touching their temple.

But it came to passe, that the Iewes of Alexandria, and the Samaritanes that brought in the seruice and worship of the temple vpon the mount Garizim, vnder Alexander the great, fell at oddes, and debated their differents before *Ptolomey*. For the Iewes said that the temple in Ierusalem

A ſalem builded, according to *Moſes* lawes and ordinances, was the lawfull Temple; but the Samaritanes maintained that that which was builded on mount Garizim, was the true Temple. They therefore beſought the King that it would pleaſe him to ſit in iudgement, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to heare their allegations in this behalfe, and to condemne the partie vnto death, who ſhould be found faultie in his proceſſe. Now the aduocates which pleaded for the Samaritanes, were *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius:* and *Andronicus* the ſonne of *Meſſalam* defended the cauſe of thoſe of Ieruſalem, and the other Iewes. And both of them ſwore both by God and the King, that they would bring their prooues according to the law, beſeeching *Ptolomey* to adiudge him to death, whom he ſhould finde to haue falſified his oath. The King therefore ſate downe with his friends, both to heare the cauſe, and determine vpon their differents. But the Iewes of Alexan-
B dria were ſore mooued and diſpleaſed againſt them, that had drawne the preheminence of the Temple in Ieruſalem into queſtion, and were highly diſcontent that a Temple ſo ancient and famous, and ſo eſteemed and honoured thorow the whole world, ſhould in ſuch ſort bee diſgraced. When as therefore the day of audience was come, *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* ſuffered *Andronicus* to declaime firſt: who began to approoue the lawfulneſſe, holineſſe, and religion of the Temple in Ieruſalem out of the law; and by the ſucceſſiue gouernment of the high Prieſts, who from father to ſonne, and from hand to hand, had receiued this honour; therein alleadging that all the Kings of Aſia had honoured the Maieſtie of that place with preſents and rich oblations: whereas neither in record of men, nor courſe of antiquity, the Temple of Garizim hath beene in any eſtimation. By theſe and ſuch like words, *Andronicus* perſwaded the King, that the Temple
C of Ieruſalem was builded according to the ordinance of *Moſes*, inuiting him to adiudge *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* to death. This may ſuffice as touching the differents of the Iewes of Alexandria, and ſuch things as befell them during *Ptolomey Philometors* time.

The yeere of the world, 3814. before Chriſts Nativitie, 150.

CHAP. VII.

ALEXANDER *after* DEMETRIVS *death honoured* IONATHAN *greatly.*

D AFTER that *Demetrius* was ſlaine in fight (according as wee haue heretofore declared) *Alexander* was King of Syria, who wrote to *Ptolomey Philometor*, requiring his daughter in marriage, telling him that it was a matter anſwerable to his dignitie, to contract affinitie with him; firſt ſince he had obtained his fathers Empire by the fauour of God: and next for that hee had ouercome *Demetrius*. *Ptolomey* yeelding a willing eare to theſe his demands, and entertaining them with great pleaſure, wrote backe that he was very glad that hee had recouered his fathers kingdome; promiſing him to giue him his daughter in marriage; giuing him to vnderſtand, that hee would meete him at Ptolemais, and bring his daughter vnto him to that place, and there celebrate the nuptials. After hee had written theſe letters, *Ptolomey* made his ſpeedie repaire to Ptolemais, and led with him his daughter *Cleopatra*; where meeting with *Alexander* (according to their appointment) he deliuered him his daughter, with ſuch a dowrie of gold and ſiluer, as well beſeemed his kingly magnificence. Vnto the ſolemnizing of this marriage, *Alex-*
E *ander* by letters inuited the high Prieſt *Ionathan*, commanding him to repaire vnto him to Ptolemais. Where, after hee was arriued, and had both preſented his ſeruice with other magnificent preſents to both the Kings; hee was highly honoured by both, inſomuch as *Alexander* conſtrained him to put off his ordinarie garments, and to put on a purple robe, and after that to ſit vpon a royall throne; commanding his Captaines to march before him thorowe the Citie; and to command by publike edict, that no man ſhould dare to ſpeake any thing againſt him; neither offer him any cauſe of diſcontent in what ſort ſoeuer. All which the captaines performed; ſo that they, who purpoſely and maliciouſly repaired thither to accuſe him, ſeeing the honour that was done vnto him by this publication, fled away haſtily, for feare leaſt ſome miſhap ſhould befall them. This king *Alexander* loued *Ionathan* ſo intirely, that he afforded him the chiefeſt place a-
F mongſt the number of his deereſt friends.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5. 1. Mac. 11. Alexander King of Syria marrieth Cleopatra Ptolomeis daughter

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

DEMETRIVS *the sonne of* DEMETRIVS *ouercommeth* ALEXANDER, *obtaineth the Kingdome, and contracteth friendship with* IONATHAN.

The yeere of the world, 3818. before Christs Natiuitie, 146.

IN the hundreth, sixtie and fift yeere (of the raigne of the Greekes) *Demetrius* the sonne of *Demetrius* (accompanied with diuees hired souldiers, whom *Lasthenes Candidot* furnished him with) departed out of Candia, and came into Cilicia. Which newes as soone as *Alexander* heard, he was grieuously vexed and troubled: for which cause he instantly posted from Phœnicia to Antioch, with intent to assure the affaires of his kingdome in that place before the arriuall of *Demetrius*. He left behind him for his gouernour in Cœlosyria *Apollonius Danus*: who comming vnto Iamnia with a great army, sent a messenger vnto the high Priest *Ionathan*, signifying vnto him that it was not conuenient that hee onely should liue in assurance at his owne ease and in authority, without submitting himselfe vnto a King; and that it was a great indignitie for him in all mens eies, for that he had not inforced himselfe to stoupe vnder the obedience of a King. For which cause (said he) deceiue not thy selfe, neither hope thou by sculking in the mountaines, or depending on thy forces to continue thy greatnes; but if thou trustest to thy power, come downe into the field, and encounter with me and my army in the Plaine, to the end that the issue of the victorie may shew which of vs is most valiant. Be not thou so ignorant that the noblest of euery Citie beare armes vnder one, who haue alwaies ouercome thy predecessors. For which cause I challenge thee to meete me in that place where we may vse our swords and no stones; and where the vanquished shall haue no aduantage by his flight. *Ionathan* whetted by this bitter message, chose out ten thousand of his best souldiers, and departed from Ierusalem accompanied with his brother *Simon*, and came vnto Ioppe, and encamped without the Citie (because the Citizens had shut the gates against him) for they had a garrison planted in that place by *Apollonius*. But as soone as he addressed himselfe to batter the Citie, the inhabitants were afraide, for feare least he should surprise the same by force, and for that cause they opened him the gates. *Apollonius* vnderstanding that Ioppe was taken by *Ionathan*, he tooke three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footemen with him, and came into Azot; whence he departed, leading out his army with a sober march, foote by foote; and arriuing at Ioppe, hee retired backe to draw *Ionathan* into the field, assuring himselfe vpon his horsemen, and grounding his hope of victorie vpon them. But *Ionathan* issuing out boldly, pursued *Apollonius* as farre as Azot: who finding himselfe in the champaine field, turned backe vpon him and charged him. *Ionathan* was in no sort abashed to see the thousand horsemen, that *Apollonius* had laid in ambush neere vnto a certaine streame, to the ende they might charge the Iewes behind, but disposed his army in such sort, that his souldiers on euery side turned their faces vpon the enemy; commanding his men to defend themselues on both sides, fighting with those that assailed them either in the vantguard or the rerewarde. This battell continued vntill euening, and *Ionathan* had giuen his brother *Simon* a part of his forces, charging him to set vpon the enemies battell: as for himselfe, he drew himselfe and his souldiers into a forme of a battalion resembling a Tortuse, to the end that being couered with their bucklers, ioyned the one with the other, they might beare off the horsemens arrowes: to which all of them shewed themselues obedient. The enemies horsemen shooting all their arrowes against them, did them no harme; for they pierced not as farre as the flesh, but lighting vpon the bucklers (enclosed and fastned the one within the other) they were easily beaten backe and borne off, and fell downe beeing shot all in vaine. But when as the enemies were wearied with shooting from betimes in the morning vntill euening, and that *Simon* perceiued they could charge no further, hee set vpon them with his souldiers so couragiously, that he put them all to flight. The horsemen of *Apollonius* perceiuing that the footemen were disarraid, grew heartlesse likewise, and wearied also for that they had fought vntill the euening: and hauing lost the hope that they had in they footemen, they tooke their flight in great disorder, and confusion: so that they brake their rankes of themselues, and were scattered thorow all the Plaine. *Ionathan* also pursued them as farre as Azot, and taking the Citie by assault, hee slew diuers of them, constraining the rest that were in despaire to flie into the Temple of Dagon, which is in Azot; and taking the Citie by assault, he burned it with the villages round about, and spared not the Temple of Dagon, but burned it and all those that were therin. The number as well of those that were slain in the battell, as of those that were consumed by fire in the Temple, was eight thousand men. Hauing therefore in this sort discomfited this army, he departed from Azot, and marched towards Ascalon: and as hee was encamped without the Citie, the Ascalonites came out vnto him, and both presented and honoured

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. Demetrius the sonne of Demetrius passeth out of Greece into Cilicia & seeketh to make himself Lord of Syria.

A man confident in battel.

Apollonius fighteth with Ionathan, and is put to flight

Ionathan pursued the enemy as farre as Azot, and burneth Dagons temple, and killeth 8000. men.

G H I K L M

A red him. He willingly entertaining their good affection, departed from thence, and iournied towards Ieruſalem charged with great ſpoiles, which after his victory againſt his enemy, he draue before him after he had ſpoiled the countrey. *The yeere of the world, 3818. before Chriſts Nativity. 146.*

As ſoone as *Alexander* heard that *Apollonius* the Generall of his armie was diſcomfited, and forced to flie, he made a ſhew that he was glad thereof, pretending that it was againſt his will that *Ionathan* had beene moleſted by warre, who was both his friend and ally. Whereupon hee ſent an Embaſſadour vnto him, to ſignifie vnto him how much he reioyced at his victory, offering him preſents and honours, with a chaine of gold, ſuch as the Kings were accuſtomed to giue to thoſe of their kinred: he likewiſe gaue him *Accaron* and the countrey thereunto belonging, to him and his heires for euer. Alexander ſendeth preſents to Ionathan.

B About the ſame time King *Ptolomey Philometor* ſet out an army by ſea, and another by land, to repaire into Syria, and to ſuccour his ſonne in law *Alexander*: and in his way all the Cities entertained him very affectionately, according as *Alexander* had commanded them, and conducted him as farre as the Citie of Azot: in which place all of them exclaimed before him, and challenged Iuſtice at his hand, for that the temple of Dagon was burned and deſtroyed; accuſing *Ionathan* for the firing thereof, and the ſlaughter of many people therein. But *Ptolomey* hearing theſe accuſations, anſwered them not a word: But when *Ionathan* came for to meete him at Ioppe, he courted him with royall preſents, and all the honour that was poſſible, and after he had kept him company as farre as the flood called Eleutherus he diſmiſſed him, and ſent him backe to Ieruſalem. When *Ptolomey* was come to Ptolemais, he hardly eſcaped death, and that contrary to all expectation by *Alexanders* owne complotting, and *Ammonius* his friends mediation: Which C treacherie being diſcouered, *Ptolomey* wrote vnto *Alexander*, requiring him that *Ammonius* might be puniſhed for his treaſons and conſpiracies practiſed againſt him, which in their natures required a ſeuere and cruell puniſhment. But ſeeing that *Alexander* deliuered him not vp into his hands, he coniectured and concluded, that he himſelfe was the author thereof, and conceiued a hainous diſpleaſure againſt him. In like manner before that time *Alexander* had offended the Antiochians, by the meanes of the ſaid *Ammonius*, who had loaden them with many wrongs and incommodities: but in the end *Ammonius* was puniſhed for theſe his outragious miſdemeanors, and diſgracefully ſlaine like a woman, whileſt in a womans attire, hee ſought to hide himſelfe, as we haue expreſſed it in another place. Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 7. Ptolomey Philometor repaireth into Syria with an army to aſſiſt his ſon in law Alexander. Ionathan meeteth with Ptolomey, and is honourably entertained by him. Treaſon intended againſt Ptolomey, and diſcouered: for which cauſe he taketh away his daughter from Alexander, and giueth her to Demetrius for his wife.

D At that time *Ptolomey* began to accuſe himſelfe for beſtowing his daughter in marriage on *Alexander*, and for refuſing *Demetrius* to be his friend and confederate: ſo that he brake off the affinity that he had with him; and after he had withdrawen his daughter from him, hee preſently ſent Embaſſadours vnto *Demetrius* to confirme a league of peace and affinity with him; promiſing him to beſtow his daughter vpon him in marriage, and to eſtabliſh him in his fathers kingdome. *Demetrius* very ioyfull to heare of this Embaſſage, accepted both of the confederation and marriage. There onely remained one difficulty for *Ptolomey* to ſurmount, which was how he might perſwade the Antiochians to admit *Demetrius*, againſt whom they were ſo grieuouſly incenſed, for the indignities which his father *Demetrius* had offered them; but this difficulty ouercame he by this meanes that enſueth. The Antiochians hated *Alexander*, becauſe of *Ammonius* E (as we haue expreſſed heretofore) and by that means were the more eaſily drawne to driue him out of the City. Hee perceiuing himſelfe to bee thruſt out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Whereupon *Ptolomey* came vnto Antioch, and was both by the Citizens and ſouldiers therein, proclaimed king, and was conſtrained to take two Diademes, the one as King of Aſia, the other as King of Ægypt. He was a man of a gentle and iuſt nature, no waies ambitious; but ſuch a one as prudently did forecaſt what was to enſue: ſtriuing by all meanes poſſible to auoide the hatred and iealouſie of the Romans. For which cauſe (aſſembling the Antiochians together, hee wrought ſo much with them, that at laſt hee perſwaded them to accept of *Demetrius*, aſſuring them that if he ſhould receiue that benefite at their hands, he would no more keepe in memory thoſe things that had fallen out betwixt them and his father: proteſting for his own part that he F would inſtruct him both how to order the courſe of his life honeſtly, & to manage his publike affairs rightly; and promiſing them that if he attẽpted to work them any inconuenient, he himſelfe would be the formoſt to chaſtice him; alledging for his own part, that he would content himſelfe to be king of Ægypt. And by this means the Antiochians were induced to receiue *Demetrius*. Ptolomey perſwadeth the Antiochians to accept Demetrius for their King, and refuſeth the Diademe of Aſia.

But when as *Alexander* was departed out of Cilicia, with a great army, and was come into Syria, and had burned and ſpoyled the countrey of the Antiochians, *Ptolomey* accompanied with his ſonne *Demetrius* (for hee had already married his daughter vnto him) iſſued out with

The yeare of the world, 3818. before Christs Nativitie. 146.

their armies, and obtained a ioynt and mutuall victory, by ouercomming *Alexander*, who was constrained to flie into Arabia. It came to passe in that conflict, that *Ptolomeies* horse hearing the noise of an Elephant, was troubled and stumbled in such sort, as hee threw his master on the ground: which when his enemies perceiued, they ran altogether vpon him, and gaue him diuers wounds in the head, whereby he was in danger to haue been slaine, vnlesse his guard had rescued him: notwithstanding hee was so sicke for foure daies space, that hee could neither heare nor speake. But *Zabel* the potentate of Arabia beheaded *Alexander*, and sent his head vnto *Ptolomey*; who being somewhat come vnto himselfe after his wounds on the fift day, and hauing some knowledge, heard and saw together a thing both delightfull in his eare, and pleasant in his eye, which was the death and the head of his enemy. But some few daies after, he dyed himselfe, being full of ioy in that he saw his enemies fall. This *Alexander* surnamed *Balles*, raigned for the space of fiue yeeres, as we haue elsewhere declared.

Alexander being ouercome flieth into Arabia, and is slaine in that place. Ptolemeis death.

G

H

Demetrius surnamed *Nicanor*, hauing obtained the kingdome, began thorow his malice to dismember *Ptolomeies* army; forgetting both the confederacy and affinity that he had with him, by reason of *Cleopatra* his wife, who was *Ptolomeies* daughter. But the men of warre hating his ingratitude, fled into Alexandria to warrantize themselues from his wickednesse; notwithstanding they left the Elephants in his power and possession.

But the high Priest *Ionathan* hauing assembled an army of all the countrey of Iudæa, began to besiege the castle of Ierusalem, where there was a garrison of the Macedonians, and a great number of wicked Apostates that were fallen from the Iewish religion, who in the beginning set light by the engines that *Ionathan* had raised to surprise the place, in the strength whereof they reposed too much confidence: But in the end, some of these miscreants breaking out by night, came vnto *Demetrius* and certified him of the siege; who was sore displeased therat, and taking a strong army with him, departed from Antioch to make warre vpon *Ionathan*. At such time as he came to Ptolemais, he wrote to *Ionathan* and commanded him to come vnto him: notwithstanding *Ionathan* gaue not ouer the siege, but tooke the Elders and the Priests with him, with golde and siluer, robes, and a great quantity of presents to beare vnto *Demetrius*, and when he had deliuered them into his hands he appeased his wrath; and after he had receiued many honors at his hands, he obtained the confirmation of his priesthood, in as ample manner, as hee enioyed it during the time of his predecessours: And although the miscreant Iewes accused him, yet did not *Demetrius* giue them any credit. Moreouer, *Ionathan* requiring, that for the whole countrey of Iewry, and for the three gouernments of Samaria, Ioppe, and Galilee, hee might pay no more then three hundreth talents for tribute, he granted him a full exemption, and wrote his letters patents in these tearms: King *Demetrius* to *Ionathan* his brother, and to all the nation of the Iewes: Peace and Ioy. We haue sent you the copy of the letter, that we haue written to *Lasthenes* our father, to the end you may know the contents thereof, which is this. King *Demetrius* to *Lasthenes* his father: Ioy and Peace. Because the people of the Iewes are our confederates, and obserue our ordinances, my intent is to requite their good affection, and to assigne them the three gouernments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, with their appurtenances, which haue beene taken from Samaria and annexed to Iudæa. Secondly, we remit all that which our predecessors Kings receiued of them that sacrificed in Ierusalem: and other tributes likewise, which were gathered » for the fruits of the earth and the trees; the tribute of the salt likewise, and the gold that was le- » uied for the crowne: so that henceforward nothing hereof be exacted at their hands, either for » the time present or to come. See you therefore giue order that the Copie of these our present » letters be sent and deliuered to *Ionathan*, to be affixed in some open and conspicuous place in the » sacred temple. See here what hee wrote at that time. *Demetrius* perceiuing that his countrey was in peace, and that he liued without feare of any warre, he dismissed his army, and cashierd his souldiers; hiring only certaine strangers (who were mustred out of Candy and other Isles) whereby it came to passe that his owne souldiers conceiued an enuie and hatred against him, in that he gaue them no wages; whereas his predecessors maintained them as well in peace as in warre, to the end that they might be the more affectionate towards them; and that if need required to employ them, they might shew themselues more ready and couragious to fight for them.

Ionathan appeaseth Demetrius by presents.

I

Demetrius letters, to Lasthenes in which he bestoweth many priuiledges on the Iewes.

K

L

Demetrius incurreth the hatred of his souldiers by abridging their pay in time of peace.

M

CHAP.

A

CHAP. IX.

The yeere of the world 3820. before Christs Nativity, 144.

TRYPHON APAMENVS *ouercommeth* DEMETRIVS, *and giueth the kingdome to* ANTIOCHVS *the sonne of* ALEXANDER, *and plighteth friendship with* IONATHAN.

A Certaine man called *Diodotus*, and by surname *Tryphon* (an Apamean by nation and Generall of *Alexanders* army) hearing what mutiny there was amongst *Demetrius* souldiers, came to *Malchus* the Arabian, who had the bringing vp of *Antiochus Alexanders* sonne, and wrought as much as in him lay that he would commit *Antiochus* to his trust, to the intent he might make him King, and establish him in the soueraigne gouernment which appertained to his B father. And although vpon this first motion of his, he could hardly be drawne to beleeue it; yet not long after by the continuall instance of *Tryphon* he was perswaded to condescend, and suffered himselfe to bee drawne by his perswasions. See here what this man pretended at that time. But *Ionathan* the high Priest, desiring that they within the cittadel of Ierusalem and those wicked and Apostate Iewes, and in generall all those that were in the garrisons thorowout all the countrey, might bee displaced and dismissed; he sent Embassadors with rich presents vnto *Demetrius*, beseeching him to cashire those that were in garrison in the fortresses of Iudæa: who not onely promised him that demand, but also matters of farre greater moment, after that warre which hee had then in hand, were determined. For the present troubles at that time, gaue him no leisure to performe the same: he therefore praid him for the right of their friendship to send him some of C his forces, giuing him to vnderstand, that his army was reuolted. Whereupon *Ionathan* chose out three thousand fighting men, and sent them vnto him. But the Antiochians hated *Demetrius*, both because of the iniuries they had endured vnder him, as also for the hatred they had conceiued against his father, who had in like manner done them much wrong; so that they onely expected and watched their opportunity, to expulse him. Vnderstanding therefore that the succours that *Ionathan* sent vnto *Demetrius* were at hand; and foreseeing that in short time he would gather a great army, if they hasted not themselues to preuent him betime; they betooke them to their weapons, and beset the Kings Palace after the manner of a siege, and guarded all the gates with an intent to lay hold on the King. Who seeing himselfe roundly beset by the armed multi- tude of the Antiochians, tooke those hired souldiers (with those whom *Ionathan* had sent him) D and charged them: but hee was forced to retire, and ouercomn by them, who were assembled in that place to the number of many thousands. For which cause the Iewes perceiuing that the Antiochians had the better hand, they mounted vpon the battlements of the Palace, and from thence darted and shot against them, without any endomagement to themselues (by reason of the distance and height of the place where they were) notwithstanding they gauled the people grieuously, in so much as they droue them from the houses neere adioining, which they incontinently set on fire, whereby the flame thereof was spred thorow the whole City; so that the houses that were close builded the one by the other, and for the most part framed of wood, were burnt downe to the ground. The Antiochians perceiuing that they could not remedy the fire, E nor extinguish the same, betook them to flight, and the Iews chasing them from house to house, pursued them after an incredible manner. When the king perceiued that the Citizens of Antioch ranne here and there to saue their wiues, and children, and for that occasion had giuen ouer the battell, he set vpon them in a certen narrow streight, whereas diuers of them were slaine, and all at last enforced to cast downe their weapons, and to yeeld themselues to *Demetrius* mercy, who pardoning them their rebellion, pacified that sedition. After this he rewards the Iewes with part of the pillage, thanking them as the onely authours of his victory. Whereupon hee sent them backe to *Ionathan*; with no small acknowledgement and testimony of their prowesse & virtue. But afterwards he discouered his euill nature towards him, and falsified his promises, menacing him to make warre vpon him except hee pa de him those tributes, which the people of the F Iewes ought, and were woont to pay vnto the Kings his ancestors before time. And these deseigns of his had he executed, had not *Tryphon* hindered him: for he was enforced to turne those forces that he had prepared against *Ionathan*, to make warre vpon *Tryphon*: who returning from Arabia into Syria, with the yonger *Antiochus* (who at that time was vnder yeers) hee set the diademe vpon his head. All the army likewise that had abandoned *Demetrius*, for shorting them of their wages, came and followed him, and made open warre against their master, and vnder *Antiochus* and *Tryphon* fought with him and ouercame him, seizing both his Elephants, and the

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8. 1. *Machab.* 11. Diodotus called Tryphon Apamenus requireth Malchus to cõmit Antiochus Alexanders son to his charge.

Ionathan sendeth Embassadours with presents to Demetrius to request him to cashiere the forces in the castle of Ierusalem and the fortresses thereabout.

The rebellion of the Citizens of Antioch, and the reuenge taken on them by Demetrius.

Demetrius thrust out of Antioch.

Citie of Antioch. Whereupon *Demetrius* beeing wholly discomfited, fled into Cilicia. But the yonger *Antiochus* sent Embassadors and letters to *Ionathan*, calling him his ally and friend, confirming the Priesthood vnto him, and allotted him the foure gouernments annexed to Iudæa; and besides these, hee gaue him vessels of gold, a robe of purple, with permission to weare the same: he gaue him also a pendent of gold, and enrolled him amongst his chiefest friends, and created his brother *Simon* Generall of his army, from the marches of Tyre as farre as Ægypt. *Ionathan* highly reioyced at these fauours of *Antiochus*, and sent Embassadours both vnto him and *Tryphon*, protesting that hee was their friend and ally, and that hee would fight on his side against *Demetrius*, who neglecting those benefits which he had receiued (notwithstanding that in his necessity hee had beene succoured by him) returned him euill for good, which he had so kindly extended towards him.

The yeere of the world, 3820. before Christs Nativitie, 144.

Ionathan for the fauours and benefits he receiued at Tryphons and Antiochus hands, offereth and performeth his best indeauours against Demetrius.

But after that *Antiochus* had granted him leaue to leuy a great army out of Syria and Phœnicia, to fight against *Demetrius* followers, he addressed himselfe incontinently into the Cities, who receiued him very magnificently; yet did they not affoord him any men of war. Comming from thence vnto Ascalon, the Citizens in honourable array came out to meete him with presents; whom togither with the cities of Cœlosyria, he exhorted to forsake *Demetrius* part, and to follow *Antiochus*; to the end, that ioyning themselues with him, they might all of them combine their forces against *Demetrius*, and take vengeance of those mischiefes which they had oftentimes endured by his meanes: and which if they prudently examined, they had many reasons to prosecute their reuenge. After he had perswaded these Cities to enter into confederation against *Demetrius*, he came to Gaza, to induce them likewise, and reconcile them to *Antiochus*. But he found the Gazeans to be of a farre contrary disposition, then that which he expected; for they flatly resisted him: and although they were intended to forsake *Demetrius*; yet would they not ioyne their forces, or submit their Citie to his gouernment. For which cause *Ionathan* besieged their Citie, and spoiled their countrey: for with the one halfe of his army hee begirt Gaza; and with the other halfe he ouer-ranne the countrey, spoiling and burning the same. The Gazeans seeing these miseries which they were constrained to endure, and perceiuing that no succours came vnto them from *Demetrius*; but that their owne ouerthrow was at hand, and their assistance far off; and that which was worse, most vncertaine: they thought it to be the wisest part for them to forsake the one, and follow the other. Whereupon they sent messengers vnto *Ionathan*, protesting that they would bee both his friends and confederates. For, men doe vnwillingly take knowledge of their profite, before they haue bought it to their sorrow; and that which they neglected at first, and was most expedient for them to performe before they were afflicted, that do they earnestly hunt after, at such time as they haue beene chasticed. Vpon this submission of theirs, *Ionathan* receiued them into fauour, and tooke pledges of them, and sent them to Ierusalem; and from thence marched hee along the countrey as farre as Damasco. And whereas a huge host sent by *Demetrius*, came out against him, as farre as the Citie Cedasa neere vnto Tyre and Galilee, making their reckoning to diuert *Ionathan* from Syria, by succouring and relieuing those of Galilee, who were their confederates: *Ionathan* went out speedily to meete with them, recommending the estate of Iudæa to the charge of his brother *Simon*. Who assembling all the power that was possible to bee gathered thorowout all the countrey, encamped before Bethsura, a strong fort in Iudæa; and besieged it (for *Demetrius* beeing before time seized thereof, kept garrison therein, as before this we haue declared.) When as therefore *Simon* raised his bulwarkes and fitted his engines to assault the Citie, and employed all his study to surprise the same, they that were besieged waxed affraid, least if hee should take the towne by force, they should lose their liues. For which cause, they sent an herauld vnto *Simon*, requesting him that he would permit them to depart out of Bethsura with the safety of their liues and goods, and go vnto *Demetrius*: who satisfying their demands, they presently departed out of the Citie, and hee planted a garrison therein of his owne men, in place of the Macedonians. In the meane while *Ionathan*, who was in Galilee, caused his army to dislodge from a place called the waters of Genezareth, where hee was encamped, and marched towards the plaine of Azot, without any suspicion that his enemies had bin planted thereabouts: When as therefore *Demetrius* souldiers had intelligence the day before that *Ionathan* should march forward against them, they laid an ambush for him, which they placed neere the mountaine, preparing the rest of their forces to bid him battell in the Plaine. As soone as *Ionathan* perceiued their preparation to the battell, hee arraunged his army as conueniently as was possible; but when they that lay in ambush arose, and charged the Iewes vpon their backes, they fearing to be inclosed, and consequently easily slaine, began to flie; so that all of them abando-

Simon Ionathans brother taketh in Bethsura.

ned

A ned *Ionathan*, except ſome few to the number of fiftie at the vttermoſt, and *Matthias* the ſon of *Abſalom* and *Iudas* the ſonne of *Chapſæus*, the chieftains of the army; who boldly entred, and like deſperate men charged the enemy in the vantgard with ſuch fury, that they made them amazed at their valour and force of handy blowes compelled them to truſt to their heeles. Which when they that fled from *Ionathan* perceiued, they rallied themſelues and began to purſue them as far as Cedaſa, where the enemies were encamped. *The yeere of the world, 3820. before Chriſts Nativity, 144.* Ionathan putteth Demetrius ſouldiers to flight.

Now when *Ionathan* had obtained this famous victory, wherein there dyed about ſome two thouſand of the enemy, hee returned to Ieruſalem, and ſeeing that by Gods prouidence all things fell out according as he himſelfe deſired) hee ſent Embaſſadours vnto Rome, purpoſely to renew the ancient league that was made betwixt them, and the people of the Iewes: com-

B manding his Embaſſadours vpon their returne from Rome, to tranſport themſelues to Sparta, and renue their common friendſhip and acquaintance alſo in that place. As ſoone as they were come to Rome, and had preſented themſelues before the Senate, they declared how they were ſent from the high Prieſt *Ionathan*, who required the renouation of their alliance. Whereupon the Senate granted all that which they had demanded as touching the amity of the Iewes, and gaue them their letters of recommendation to beare vnto all the Kings of Aſia and Europe, and to the gouernours of all the Cities, commanding them to grant them free paſſage to returne into their countrey. And in their returne they paſſed by the Lacedemonians, and preſented thoſe letters which *Ionathan* had written vnto them, the copy wherof contained matters to this effect. Ionathan Ionathan renewed his friendſhip and confederacie with the Romans and Lacedemonians.

C *the high Prieſt of the Nation of the Iewes, and all the communalty of the Iewes; To the Ephores, Senate and people of Sparta: Health.* If you be in health, and both your particular and publicke affaires haue their deſired ſucceſſe, we haue that which we deſire: For our ſelues we are in good diſpoſition. For as much as heretofore we haue receiued a letter by the hands of *Demoteles*, written from *Arius* your king to *Onias* our high Prieſt, making mention of that acquaintance and alliance, which is betweene you and vs (the copy wherof we haue hereunder inſerted) and haue receiued your letters with great content, and haue with all kindly acceptance required both *Demoteles* and *Arius* (notwithſtanding we were not ignorant of this conſanguinity long before, for that we were inſtructed therein by our ſacred ſcriptures:) And whereas we haue not firſt of all acknowledged you for our kinſmen, it was to no other end but for feare we ſhould ra-

D uiſh the honour of ratifying the friendſhip betweene vs, which wee intended alwaies ſhould bee yours. Since which time wherein we haue contracted friendſhip with you, we haue on our holy and ſolemne daies ſacrificed vnto our God, beſeeching him to continue and keep you in proſperity: and on the other ſide, in as much as we haue bin inuironed with many warres, cauſed by the diſordered deſires of our neighbours, we haue neither thought it meete to be troubleſome vnto you, or to any other whatſoeuer. But now at this time, ſince we haue obtained a happy iſſue of all theſe troubles, we haue ſent *Numenius* the ſonne of *Antimachus*, and *Antipater* the ſonne of *Iaſon*, men honorable amongſt our counſellers, both to the Romans and to you alſo; to whom we haue giuen our letters to be preſented vnto you, in our behalfe, to the end they might renue the amity which is betweene you and vs: you ſhall therefore doe well if you write backe vnto vs, and certifie vs wherin we may ſteed you, in that we haue euer had an earneſt deſire, and will to continue

E our loue towards you, or ought elſe what concerneth your welfare. Theſe Embaſſadours of his were kindly entertained by the Lacedemonians, who made a publike ordinance as touching their aſſociation, and amity with the Iewes; which they deliuered vnto them. *The yeere of the world, 3821. before Chriſts Nativitie, 143.*

In this time were there three ſects among the Iewes, who had different and contrary opinions as touching humane affaires: the firſt was that of the Phariſees; the ſecond of the Sadducees; and the third of the Eſſenians. The Phariſees affirme that ſome things and not all things, are directed by deſtiny; and that ſome other things were tyed to mens election, whether they would performe them or not. The Eſſenians ſaid, that deſtiny gouerned all things; and that nothing hapned amongſt men that was not diſpoſed thereby. The Sadducees auow that there is no deſtiny; and that humane affaires, in that deſtiny is not, cannot be gouerned and diſpoſed thereby: their onely opinion is, that all things depend vpon our owne diſpoſition; ſo as in reſpect of our

F good deedes, we are the authors thereof; and in reſpect of our euill, they are the fruites of our irregard. But hereof haue I intreated more exactly in my ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes. Three ſects of the Iewes. The Phariſees. The Eſſenians. The Sadducees The warres of the Iewes. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Demetrius Captaines deſirous to aboliſh the diſhonour of that diſcomfiture, and recouer the loſſe that had lately befallen them, gathered together a greater power then the former, and went out againſt *Ionathan*; who hauing intelligence of their comming, marched ſpeedily to encounter

The yeare of the world, 3821 before Christs Nativitie. 143.

them neere vnto the Plaine of Amath: for he resolued to preuent their intended roade into Iudæa. Encamping therefore some fifty furlongs off of the enemy, hee sent out spies to discouer of what force they were, and how they were encamped. Who, when they had by a most diligent view knowne all that possibly they could, returning tooke certaine prisoners, and brought them away by night with them: by whose confession the intent of the enemies was discouered vnto *Ionathan*; which was, that they would set vpon them on the suddaine. But *Ionathan* with a prouident care speedily fortified his campe, and prepared all things necessary for defence, and placed a watch or Sentinell without his host, keeping his souldiers vp in armes all the night, and exhorting them to be both valiant and ready, forasmuch as they must needes fight by night, to the end that they might not be surprised by the subtilties and policies of their enemies. But when the Captaines of *Demetrius* vnderstood that their intended purpose was discouered vnto *Ionathan*, they were in suspence, and knew not what counsaile to take: for this troubled them, because they saw that nothing would fall out to their good, without the practise of subtill meanes to entrap their enemies: and supposing themselues not to be of sufficient strength to bid *Ionathan* battell in the plaine field; they therefore resolued to flie, and leaue great fires through all their campe, to the end their enemies might thinke they were asleepe: and so they discamped by night. On the morrow, when *Ionathan* drew neere their campe to bid them battell, and saw it abandoned, and coniectured thereby that they were fled, he followed after them; but hee could not ouertake them, because they had already past the floud Eleutherus, and were retired into their strong holds and places of security. Returning therefore from thence into Arabia, and making warre on the Nabatheans, he spoiled their countrey, tooke great booties, and led away many prisoners: and from thence came to Damasco, and sold all in that place. About this very time, *Simon* his brother) marching thorow out all Iudæa and Palestine as farre as Ascalon; planted his garrisons in all those places, and fortified them both with men and munition: and finally came to Ioppe, which he tooke by force, and planted a great garrison therein, because hee was aduertised that they of Ioppe intended to surrender the Citie to *Demetrius* forces. When *Simon* and *Ionathan* had in this sort disposed all things, they came to Ierusalem, and assembled the people togither in the temple, and perswaded them to fortifie the walles of the Citie, and to strengthen the inclosure of the temple that was ruinated, aduising them to fortifie the same with strong towers: and besides this, he caused another wall to be builded in the middest of the Citie, to warrantize the same against the garrisons of the Cittadel, to the intent that by that meanes they might cut off and stop vp the passages to victuall the fort. He aduised them likewise, to build farre stronger fortresses thorow out the countrey, then those that were already finished. Now when as the people had allowed of this his good aduice, *Ionathan* gaue order as touching all those things that concerned the building within the Citie, and set his brother *Simon* about the fortresses in the countrey. But *Demetrius* passing the riuer, came into Mesopotamia, intending at one time to take possession both of it and the Citie of Babylon; that being seized thereof, he might the better prouide for all the occurrences of his kingdome. For the Greekes and Macedonians, who inhabited that countrey, had sollicited him by often Embassadours to come vnto them, promising him to subscribe to his authoritie, and to warre with him against *Arsaces* King of the Parthians. He puffed vp with those hopes, marched towards them with great speed, resoluing with himselfe, that after he had ouercome the Parthians (if he had any forces left him) he would wage warre with *Tryphon*, and easily driue him out of the kingdome of Syria. Being therefore entertained by those of the countrey with great affection, he leuied a great armie, and assailed *Arsaces*; but hee lost the day, and himselfe was taken prisoner, as we haue elsewhere declared.

Demetrius captaines once more make war vpon Ionathan, and seeing their purposes discouered flie by night.

Ionathan marcheth to Arabia, and spoileth the Nabatheans. Simon his brother taketh Ioppe. Ionathan and Simon repaire the City of Ierusalem and the fortresses of Iury.

Demetrius maketh warre vpon Arsaces king of the Parthians, and is taken prisoner.

CHAP. X.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 9. 2. Mac. 11. 13. Tryphon labouring to transfer Antiochus kingdome into his own hands, & fearing Ionathans opposition, traiterously compl otteth his death.

DEMETRIVS *is taken prisoner.* TRYPHON *breaketh the couenant of peace betwixt him and* IONATHAN, *and surpriseth and killeth him trecherously, and afterwards maketh warre against his brother* SIMON.

WHEN *Tryphon* vnderstood that *Demetrius* affaires had so vnfortunate an issue, he forsooke *Antiochus* & his seruice; and complotted with himselfe how he might kill him & make himselfe king. But the feare that he had of *Ionathan Antiochus* friend, hindred this intent of his: For which cause he resolued first of all to deliuer himselfe of *Ionathan*, and that done, afterwards to make *Antiochus* the young king away. Hauing therefore concluded with him

himſelfe to kill *Ionathan* by ſome ſtratagem of treaſon, he came from Antioch to Bethſan (which the Greekes call Scythopolis) whither *Ionathan* came to meete him with forty thouſand choſen men, ſuppoſing that *Tryphon* reſorted thither to make warre vpon him. But he knowing that *Ionathan* came thither with ſo much ſtrength, wrought him by preſents and counterfeit curteſies; commanding his Captaines to obey *Ionathan*, thinking by that meanes to perſwade him that he intirely and truely loued him, and to extinguiſh his ſuſpicion, to the intent he might lay hold and intrap him, at ſuch time as he had leaſt ſuſpicion of him. He counſelled him to diſmiſſe his army likewiſe, becauſe hauing cut off all occaſion of warre, hee had no reaſon to retaine them, for that there was no ſuſpicion of alteration. After this he inuited *Ionathan* to come to Ptolemais, and to bring with him ſome few of his ſouldiers, ſignifying vnto him that hee would deliuer the Citie into his hands, and reſigne all the fortreſſes that were in the countrey to his poſſeſſion; vrging further, that he came into that countrey to no other end, but to performe it. *Ionathan* ſuſpecting no ſiniſter dealing, and beleeuing that *Tryphon* ſpake of good and entire affection, diſcharged his forces, and tooke onely three thouſand men with him, whereof two hee left in Galilee, and with one thouſand repaired to Ptolemais vnto *Tryphon*. But the Ptolemaidans ſhutting the gates as ſoone as hee was entred (according as *Tryphon* had commanded them) tooke *Ionathan* priſoner, and ſlue all thoſe that attended vpon him. Hee preſently ſent alſo part of his army vnto the two thouſand that were left in Galilee, to the intent to put them all to the ſword: but they hauing notice of that which had befallen their Chieftaine, taking vp their arms, ſpeedily departed out of Galilee. And although the ſouldiers of *Tryphon* exceeded them farre in number, yet were they not ſo hardy as to trie whether part were the ſtronger; becauſe they knew that the Iewes were ready to expoſe themſelues to all dangers, to defend their liues: and ſo they returned backe to him that ſent them, without doing any thing.

The yeere of the world, 3821. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 143.

The yeere of the world, 3822. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 142.

CHAP. XI.

The people maketh SIMON *Generall of their army, and declareth him the high Prieſt.*

THEY of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding of the ſurpriſall of *Ionathan*, and the loſſe of his ſouldiers, grieuouſly lamented for this accident, that ſo great a man as hee was, was taken from them, in that they feared (and that not without cauſe) that being deſtitute after his deceaſe both of his valour and prudence, the nations that were round about them would ſeeke their trouble and moleſtation: who hauing held themſelues quiet in admiration of him, would at that time lift themſelues vp againſt them; and not onely perſecute them with warre, but bring them into extreame danger of their liues. Neither did their expectation deceiue them. For the neighbouring nations, vnderſtanding of *Ionathans* death, began preſently to make warre vpon the Iewes on all ſides, as againſt thoſe who had no longer any chieftaine vnder whoſe conduct they might wage warre and ſhew themſelues valiant. And *Tryphon* likewiſe hauing gathered forces, was determined to aſcend into Iudæa, to warre againſt the inhabitants thereof. *Simon* perceiuing that the Citizens of Ieruſalem were diſmaied with the feare, which they apprehended of thoſe rumours and new tumults of warre, and being deſirous to animate them againſt all incurſions and attempts intended by *Tryphon*; aſſembled the people in the temple, and began to exhort them after this manner. You are not ignorant (men and brethren) how both I, my father, and brethren, haue voluntarily offered our ſelues vnto death for your libertie. Since therefore, I haue abundance of ſuch like examples, and that it is the ordinary courſe of our family to die for our law and religion, there is no feare ſo great as can plucke out this reſolution out of my heart, as it may plant ſuch a deſire of life in me, as to be drawne to forget all honour. Wherefore ſince you haue ſuch a chiefetaine and commander, as ſetteth light by all danger, whereby he may endure or act any thing for your ſafetie; it behooueth you to follow me couragiouſly to what place ſoeuer I ſhall conduct you. For I am of no better account then were my brethren, whereby I ſhould ſpare my life; neither am I leſſe then they, whereby I ſhould through negligence and cowardiſe ſhun and forſake that which they haue eſteemed to be honorable, as is to die for the law and the ſeruice of our God. I will make manifeſt therefore by all the teſtimonies that I can, that I am their true and lawfull brother; for I truſt in God, that he will giue me power to take vengeance of our enemies; and deliuer not onely all of you, but your wiues and your children from the iniurie which they intended againſt you; and by the grace of God I will preſerue the holy temple, that it may not be ruinated by their prophane hands. For, I already perceiue, that the prophane nations ſet vs at nought,

2. Mac. 14. Ionathans want lamented by all men.

The neighboring nations and Tryphon inuade Iudæa. Simon Ionathans brother aſſembleth the people, and animateth thē.

The yeere of the world. 3823. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 141.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Christs Nativity, 141.

nought, and contemne you as if you had no Chiefetaine: and I know already that they are marching forward to fight with you. By these words *Simon* heartned the people, who were distracted with feare, so that they reuiued their spirits and conceiued better hope. Whereupon all of them cryed out with a loude voice, that *Simon* was their Generall, and that he was to succeed his two valiant brethren *Iudas* and *Ionathan* in the gouernment; and that as touching themselues, they would be obedient in all things that he should command them. Hee therefore assembled in one instant all the men at armes in that countrey, and hasted himselfe to repaire the Citie walles, defencing them with high and strong towers, and sent a certaine friend of his called *Ionathan* the sonne of *Absalon*, with an armie to Ioppe; commanding him to expulse the inhabitants of that Citie from thence, for that hee feared least they should submit themselues to *Tryphon*: As for himselfe he remained in Ierusalem to secure the same.

Simon succeedeth his brothers Iudas and Ionathan

Simon sendeth Ionathan Absalons sonne to Ioppe to expulse the inhabitants thereof.

Tryphon departing from Ptolemais with a great armie, came into Iudæa; leading his prisoner *Ionathan* with him. Whereupon *Simon* with his armie went out against him as farre as Addida (a Citie situate vpon a mountaine, at the foote whereof beginneth the champaine countrey of Iudæa.) *Tryphon* knowing that *Simon* was made gouernour of the Iewes, sent messengers vnto him, intending to circumuent him by treason and policie; giuing him to vnderstand that if hee were desirous of his brothers enlargement, he should send him one hundreth talents of siluer, and two of *Ionathans* children for hostages, to assure him, that being set at liberty, he should not withdraw Iudæa from the obedience of the King.) For, till that present he was held and kept prisoner, by reason of the money which he ought the King.) *Simon* was no waies ignorant of this cunning intent of *Tryphons*, but knew well enough that he should both lose his money, if hee should deliuer the same; and that his brother should not be enlarged, no though his children were deliuered for hostages: on the other side he feared, least the people should conceiue sinisterly of him, as if he had been the cause of his brothers death, both by not deliuering the money, neither yet the children: Hauing therfore assembled the army, he declared vnto them what *Tryphon* demanded, telling them that the whole scope of his actions were nought else but traiterous stratagemes and subtilties: yet notwithstanding he told them, that he had rather send both the mony and the children to *Tryphon*, then by refusing his conditions and demands, to be accused to haue neglected the life of his brother. *Simon* therefore sent both the money and children of *Ionathan*: but *Tryphon* hauing receiued both, kept not his promise; but detained *Ionathan*: and leading his armie thorow the country, intended to passe by Idumæa to repaire to Ierusalem. He came therefore to Dora a Citie in Idumæa; and thitherward marched *Simon* to encounter with him, encamping alwaies right ouer against him. They that were in the Castle of Ierusalem, hearing newes hereof, sent *Tryphon* word that hee should hasten and come vnto them, and send them munition: whereupon he addressed his horsemen, pretending that very night to ride vnto Ierusalem; but the snow about that time fell in such abundance, that it couered the way in such sort and was so thicke, as the horses could not trauell; which hindred his repaire to Ierusalem. For which cause he departed from thence, and came into Cœlosyria; and speedily inuading the country of Galaad, he put *Ionathan* to death in that place, and after he had buried him there, he returned to Antioch. But *Simon* sent vnto Basca and transported his brothers bones, and interred them in his countrey Modin in his fathers sepulcher, and all the people mourned and lamented for him many daies. *Simon* also builded a great monument of white and polished marble for his father and his brethren, and raised it to a great height, and garnished it round about with galleries and pillers all of one piece, which was an admirable worke to behold. Besides that, he erected seuen Pyramides for his father, mother and brethren, for each of them one, so great and so faire, as they mooued admiration in those that beheld them; and are as yet to be seene at this present day. So great was *Simons* care, that *Ionathan* and the rest of his family should be honoured with so magnificent a sepulcher: which *Ionathan* died, after he had exercised the place of the high Priest, and possessed the gouernment for foures yeeres. Thus much as touching his death.

H I K L

Ionathan is slaine by Tryphon.

Ionathans monument.

The yeere of the world, 3824. before Christs Nativitie. 140.

As soone as *Simon* had taken possession of the high Priesthood, by the election of the people; the very first yeere of his gouernment, he acquitted the people of the tribute which they were wont to pay to the Macedonians. This libertie and exemption from tribute hapned amongst the Iewes, one hundreth and seuenty yeeres since the time that *Seleucus* surnamed *Nicanor* obtained the kingdome of Syria. And in so great honour was *Simon* amongst the people, that in their priuate contracts and publike letters, the date began from the first yeere of *Simon* the benefactor and gouernour of the Iewish nation. For they prospered greatly vnder his gouernment, and had the victory of all their neighbouring enemies round about them. For hee destroyed the

M

The Iewes discharged of tributes.

Simons authoritie.

Cities

A Cities of Gaza, Ioppe, and Iamnia: he raſed alſo the cittadel of Ieruſalem, and leuelled it with the ground, to the intent the enemies might be neuer ſeized thereof any more, nor retreat themſelues thither to endomage the Citie, as before time they had done. Which when hee had brought to paſſe, he thought it not amiſſe, but very profitable, to leuell the hill where on the Caſtle ſtood, to the intent the temple might be the eminenteſt place. All this perſwaded he the people to doe in a common aſſembly, laying before their eyes how many euils they had ſuffered, by the meanes of the garriſons, and how much they were like to ſuffer hereafter, if a ſtranger ſhould once more be maſter of the kingdome, and build a cittadell in that place. By theſe exhortations he perſwaded the people to finiſh theſe workes, and all of them began to trauell without intermiſſion both day and night, ſo that in the ſpace of three yeeres they planted the mountaine, and B wrought it downe; and from that time forward there was nothing but the temple that commanded the Citie. See here what *Simon* performed hitherto.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Chriſts Nativity, 141.

Simon raſeth the Caſtle of Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3824. before Chriſts Nativity, 140.

CHAP. XII.

SIMON *beſiegeth* TRYPHON *within Dora, and contracteth alliance with* ANTIOCHVS, *ſurnamed the* DEVOVT.

NOT long after the captiuitie of *Demetrius*, *Tryphon* ſlew *Alexander* the ſonne of *Antiochus* ſurnamed *God*, notwithſtanding hee had the care and charge of his education for foure yeeres, during which time he raigned; and ſpreading abroad a certaine noiſe and C rumour, that the yong King in exerciſing himſelfe fortuned to die, he ſent his friends and familiars vnto the men of warre, promiſing them that if they would elect and chooſe him King, hee would giue them a huge ſum of money; giuing them to vnderſtand, that *Demetrius* was a priſoner among the Parthians, and that if *Antiochus* his brother ſhould obtaine the kingdome, he would puniſh them diuers waies, and reuenge their reuolt and rebellion, which they had committed by forſaking him. The army hoping, that if they beſtowed the kingdome on *Tryphon*, it would redound highly to their profit, they proclaimed him King. But after he had attained the fulneſſe of his deſires, hee ſhewed how malicious and wicked his nature was. For at ſuch time as hee was a priuate man, he flattered the people and made ſhew of moderation; and by ſuch allurements he drew them to do what him liſted: but after he had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome, he diſcouD red his hypocriſie, and ſhewed plainly that he was not vnaptly called *Tryphon*, that is to ſay, a trifler or mocker. By which means he drew the hearts of the better ſort from him: and as for his army, they grew ſo much in hatred of him, that they ſubmitted themſelues to *Cleopatra Demetrius* wife, who had at that time ſhut vp both her ſelfe and her children in Seleucia. And whereas *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Deuout*, and brother to *Demetrius*, was driuen from place to place, and had not any Citie that would entertaine him for feare of *Tryphon*; *Cleopatra* ſent vnto him, inuiting him both to be her husband, and to take the poſſeſſion of the kingdome. And hereunto did ſhee the rather draw him, partly for that ſhee was thereunto perſwaded by her friends, and partly for the feare ſhe had, leaſt ſome one of Seleucia ſhould betray the City to *Tryphon*. As ſoone as *Antiochus* was arriued in Seleucia, and that from day to day his forces increaſed, he marched forth E into the field, and fought with *Tryphon*, and ouercame him in battell, and droue him out of the higher Syria, and purſued him as farre as Phœnicia: where after hee had retired himſelfe into Dora, a ſtrong and impregnable Caſtle, he beſieged him therein, and ſent preſent Embaſſadors to *Simon*, the high Prieſt of the Iewes, to confirme a friendſhip and confederacie with him. *Simon* very curteouſly accepted his demands, and preſently ſent *Antiochus* both mony and victuals, ſufficient to furniſh his army at the ſiege of Dora, ſo that in ſhort ſpace hee was accepted amongſt the number of his entire friends. *Tryphon* flying from Dora to Apamea, was in that place beſieged, taken and ſlaine, after he had raigned three yeeres.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. 1. Mac. 15. Tryphon murthering Alexander, obtaineth the kingdome.

Tryphon hauing obtained dominion diſcouereth his corrupt nature.

Tryphons armie ſubmit to Cleopatra Demetrius wife, who married with Antiochus Soter and committed the authoritie to his hands.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Antiochus hauing driuen Tryphon out of Syria, beſieged him in Dora.

Tryphons death.

The yeere of the world, 3827. before Chriſts Nativity, 137.

CHAP. XIII.

F *After* TRYPHONS *death,* SIMON *made warre againſt* ANTIOCHVS, *and droue* CENDEBÆVS *out of Iudæa.*

BVT the innated auarice that was in *Antiochus*, and the malignitie of his nature made him forgetfull of thoſe offices and ſeruices that *Simon* had done him: ſo that hee ſent *Cendebæus* his great friend with a mightie armie to inuade Iewry, and to ſurpriſe *Simon*. But he hauing ſome priuie intelligence of *Antiochus* treacherie, notwithſtanding that at this time hee

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 12.

was

The yeere of the world, 3827. before Christs Nativity. 137.

Simon and his sonne expelleth Cendebæus out of Iury.

was very old, was in such sort mooued with the iniuries that *Antiochus* had done him, as animated with courage more then became his age, he went himselfe to the warre, as if as yet hee had beene but youthfull: hee therefore caused his sonne to march before with the picked souldiers of his armie; and hauing left a number of his souldiers in ambush, in the hollow retreats of the mountaines, hee executed all his designes without failing in any one of them: so that after he had euery way obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, he euer after enioyed his gouernment in peace, during the remainder of his life, and renewed likewise the confederacie with the Romans. G

CHAP. XIIII.

SIMON *is trayterously slaine by his sonne in law* PTOLOMEY *at a banquet.* H

The yeere of the world, 3830. before Christs Nativity, 134.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap 13 1. *Mac.* 6.

No faith nor trust, no not in sons in law.

HE gouerned Iudæa for the space of eight yeeres, and was at length slaine at a banquet by the treacherie of *Ptolomey* his sonne in law; who being seised of *Simons* wife and his two children, and detaining them in prison, sent out certaine of his traine besides, to kill *Iohn* the third sonne surnamed *Hircanus*. But the yong man hauing some inkling of their drift, retired himselfe speedily into the Citie, and auoided the danger that they complotted against him; assuring himselfe of the good will of the people, in consideration of the benefits they had receiued at his fathers hands, and the hatred that they bare vnto *Ptolomey*; who intending to enter the Citie gates was sharply repulsed by the Citizens, for that they had already entertained *Hircanus*. I

CHAP. XV.

How PTOLOMEY *failing of his hopes*, HIRCANVS *obtained the Soueraigntie.*

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Christs Nativity 133.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14.

Ptolomey besieged by Hircanus

knowing the power of naturall affection keepeth his mother and brethren prisoners, whippeth them on the wals, and threatneth to throw them downe.

WHEREVPON *Ptolomey* retyred vnto a certaine Castle situate beyond Iericho called Dagon: but *Hircanus* was made high Priest in his fathers stead: who after he had recommended himselfe to God by the firstling sacrifices that he offered, marched out against *Ptolomey* his brother in law to make war vpon him. Now when he was fully addressed to besiege the place whither *Ptolomey* was retired, he had the aduantage in all other things; but only by the affection that he bare vnto his mother and his brethren, he was ouercome. For *Ptolomey* hauing taken them, and whipt them vpon the walles in all mens presence, threatned *Hircanus* that vnlesse he leuied his siege, he would cast them downe headlong from the top of the Castle: now wheras one way *Hircanus* had a great desire to enforce and surprise the place; so also on the other side he was wholly weakned, thorow the desire that hee had to redeeme those, whom he loued, from the enemies tyranny. True it is, that his mother stretching out her hands, besought him that for her sake hee should not giue ouer valiantly to assault the place; but that he should be the more encouraged to surprise the fortresse, and to lay hold vpon his enemy, and bee reuenged on the wrong that was offered vnto his deerest friends: alleadging that shee thought it better to die in the middest of a thousand torments, then that the enemy should escape vnpunished, who had beene so manifest an occasion of their misery. When *Hircanus* heard his mother speake thus, hee was more furiously incensed to giue the assault: but as soone as he saw his mother so beaten and so sore wounded, his heart melted within him, and that feruent desire which hee before had to batter and beate downe the City, was presently alayd and cooled; and so the pitifull compassion on his mother, surmounted and ouercame his irefull affection of reuenge. Whilest thus the siege was continued and prolonged, the yeere of repose celebrated among the Iewes was come: For they obserued the seauenth yeere, as the seauenth day is obserued in the weeke; so that by this occasion *Ptolomey* was deliuered of this siege, who afterwards slue both *Hircanus* mother and brethren: which done he fled vnto *Zeno* surnamed *Cotyla*, who at that time tyrannized in the city of the Philadelphians. K L M

The end of the history of the Bible.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVI.

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Christs Nativitie, 133.

ANTIOCHVS *the Deuout maketh warre against* HYRCANVS, *and vpon the receit of three hundreth talents contracteth alliance with him.*

ANTIOCHVS calling to minde the manifold losses he had receiued by *Simons* meanes, inuaded Iury in the fourth yeere of his raigne, and in the first of *Hyrcanus* gouernment, which was in the hundreth sixtie and two Olympiade. And after he had spoiled all the country, he locked vp *Hyrcanus* within the Citie of Ierusalem, which he had besieged with seuen campes; yet with no aduantage at all, both in regard of the strength of the walles, as in respect B of the valour of the Citizens, as also the want of water which he had in his campe; which was notwithstanding remedied by a great fall of raine, which fell about the setting of the Pleiades in the beginning of Aprill. On the North side also where there is a great Plaine, *Antiochus* caused one hundred towers to be erected euery one three stages hie, on which he planted certaine companies of armed souldiers; who daily fought with the besieged, and who by the meanes of a double and deepe trench, tooke from them all their commodities. They on their side made often sallies, and if they chanced at any time to charge the enemie on the sodaine, they made a great slaughter: but if they were discouered, they retired souldier-like. But *Hyrcanus* considering the great number of people that were in the Citie, who rather consumed souldiers victuals then performed any seruice, hee diuided those that were vnfit for warre and sent them out of the Citie, retaining onely those with him, who were valiant and warlike. But *Antiochus* permitted them C not to haue free liberty to depart; so that wandering here and there betweene the walles and the campe, they were consumed with famine, and died miserably. When as therefore the feast of Tabernacles was to be celebrated during these affaires, they that were within had compassion of their countrimen, and drew them within the walles, and entertained them within the Citie. At this time *Hyrcanus* sent a messenger to beseech *Antiochus* to grant him truce for seuen daies, by reason of the solemnity of the feast: whereunto he accorded for the honour which he bare vnto God: Furthermore, he sent a magnificent sacrifice into Ierusalem of Bulls with guilded hornes, and vessels full of diuers odors, with other vessels of gold and siluer. Those that had the charge of the gates receiued the sacrifice at their hands that brought the same, and offered them in the D Temple. *Antiochus* himselfe also gaue the souldiers certaine meates to grace their festiuall, shewing himselfe herein to be of a farre better disposition then *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who after he had taken the Citie, caused swines flesh to bee sacrificed vpon the Altar, and besprinkled the Temple with the broth of hogs, making a confusion of the ordinances of the law of God, which was the cause that this nation rebelled and conceiued a deadly hatred against him: but *Antiochus* of whom we speake at this present, was by all men called Deuout, because of the incredible affection that he had to the seruice of God.

Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 15.

Hircanus is driuen into the Citie by Antiochus.

Pleiades the seuen starres.

The weaker sort are thrust out of the city

Antiochus affoordeth seuen daies truce to celebrate the feast of tabernacles

Hyrcanus acknowledging the bounty and affection he had towards God and his sacrifices, sent Embassadours vnto him, requiring him that hee would permit them to vse the ancient policy of their forefathers. Whereupon the King sequestring all those farre off from his company, who E counsailed him to destroy the Iewish nation, who liued apart and had no acquaintance with others, made no reckning of their words. And vnderstanding that all the conuersation of the Iewes was conformable vnto pietie, he answered the Embassadours, that if the besieged would yeelde vp their armes and pay the tributes of Ioppe, and the other Cities that were out of Iudæa, and would receiue a garrison, such as hee should appoint; hee would discharge them of this warre. They accepted all other his conditions, but they consented not to receiue a garrison, least they should be enforced to entertaine such with whom they could not conuerse; but in steede of the garrison they gaue pledges, and paid fiue hundreth talents of siluer, of which the King receiued three hundreth in hand, with the pledges; amongst which was *Hyrcanus* brother: and after he had beaten downe the cope and panes of the wall, with the other battlements of defence; hee raised F the siege and departed. But *Hyrcanus* opening *Dauids* monument (who surpassed all other kings in riches during his time) drew three thousand talents out of the same: whereby he tooke occasion first of all among the Iewes to entertaine a forraine army. There was also a friendship and confederation betwixt him and *Antiochus*, whom he entertained in the Citie with all his armie, and furnished him largely and magnificently with all that which was necessary for the same: And that which is more, *Antiochus* hauing enterprised an exploit against the Parthians, *Hyrcanus* marched also in his company. *Nicholas Damascene* beareth witnes hereof, writing after this manner

Hircanus maketh peace with Antiochus, and the siege is giuen ouer.

The yeere of the world, 3838. before Christs Nativity. 126.

Hyrcanus taketh a huge sum of money out of King Dauids tombe

Nicholas Damascene.

The yeere of the world, 3838. before Christs Nativity, 126.

ner, in his Historie: *Antiochus* erected a trophee neere the floud Lycus, after he had ouercom *Indates* Generall of the army of the Parthians, and aboad there two daies at *Hircanus* the Iewes request, by reason of a solemne feast at that time, in which it was not lawfull for the Iewes to trauel, wherein he is no waies mistaken. For the feast of Pentecost was at that present the next day after the Sabboth, and it is not lawfull for vs neither in our Sabboths nor feasts to iourney any waies. *Antiochus* fighting against *Arsaces* King of the Parthians lost the greater part of his army, and was himselfe slaine. His brother *Demetrius* succeeded him in the kingdome of Syria, whom *Arsaces* had put in prison at such time as *Antiochus* came into the kingdome of the Parthians, as wee haue declared heretofore in an other place.

Antiochus slaine in the conflict against the Parthians.

CHAP. XVII.

HIRCANVS *leadeth his army into Syria.*

HIRCANVS hearing newes of *Antiochus* death, led forth his army with all expedition against the Cities of Syria, hoping to finde them disfurnished both of garrisons and meanes of defence, as in effect it came to passe. He therefore tooke the Citie of Medaba at the end of sixe moneths, after that his army had suffered many calamities. Afterwards hee seized Samega, and the Cities thereabout: The Cities of Sichem, and Garizim also where the Cutheans dwelt, who had a Temple there made according to the module of the Temple of Ierusalem (which *Alexander* the Great permitted *Sanaballath* to build in fauour of his sonne in law *Manasses*, brother to the high Priest *Iaddus*, as we haue heretofore declared) which Temple was laid desolate two hundreth yeeres after it was builded. *Hircanus* also tooke certaine fortresses and Cities of Idumæa, as Adora, and Marissa; and after he had subdued all the Idumæans he permitted them to inhabit the countrey, vnder this condition, that they should consent to bee circumcised, and to liue according to the lawes and religion of the Iewes. They thorow the desire they had to liue in the place where they were borne, submitted themselues to be circumcised, and to liue according to the customes and ordinances of the Iewes; and from that day forward they were comprehended within the number of the Iewes.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16 Hircanus surpriseth diuers cities of Syria, and layeth desolate the Temple that was builded on the hill Garizim.

The yeere of the world, 3840. before Christs Nativitie, 124.

The Idumæans conquered by Hircanus admit circumcision, and the lawes of the Iewes.

Whilest thus *Hircanus* was high Priest, hee thought good to renewe the amitie betwixt the Iewes and the Romanes; and to this effect he sent an embassage with letters vnto the Senate. As soone as the Senate had receiued his letters, they made alliance with him, to this effect ensuing: *Fanius M. F. Pr.* assembled the Senate in the fielde of Mars the eight day of February, in the presence of *L. Manlius, L. F. Mentina*, and *C. Sempronius, C. F. Falerna*; concerning that which „ *Simon* the sonne of *Dositheus*, *Apollonius* the sonne of *Alexander*, *Diodorus* the sonne of *Iason*, men of good reputation and honour, and sent Embassadours by the people of the Iewes, „ haue proposed; who haue dealt with vs as touching the confederation and amity that this nation had with the Romans, and haue likewise conferred as touching the affaires of estate, namely, „ that Ioppe and the ports thereof, Gazara and the fountaines thereunto belonging, and those other Cities of the countrey, which *Antiochus* tooke from them, contrary to the decree of the „ Senate, should be restored vnto them: and that it may not be lawfull for the Kings souldiers, to „ passe thorow their countrey, neither any of those prouinces, that are vnder their gouernment: and „ that those things which were attempted by *Antiochus* during this warre, contrarie to the arrest „ and decree of the Senate, should be declared void, to the end that the embassadors sent in the Se-

Hircanus maketh a league with the Romans.

The yeere of the world. 3844. before Christs Nativitie. 120.

„ nates behalfe, may prouide for the restitution of those things, which *Antiochus* hath spoiled them „ of, and may rate and set downe the domages, which the countrey hath receiued by this warre. *Item*, that commendatory letters should bee written in the behalfe of the Iewish embassadours, to „ the kings and free people for their secure and safe returne into their countrey. It hath beene held „ conuenient, to make and ratifie this ordinance, to the end to renew friendship and confederation „ with men of so good respect, sent vnto them by a nation so good and faithfull towards them. And „ as touching the letters, the answer was; that they should be written, at such time as the affaires „ of the Senate would permit them any leisure; and that from this time forward, they would haue „ care that no iniury should bee offered them. And the Pretor *Fanius* was commanded also to de- „ liuer the embassadours money out of the common purse to beare their charges home into their „ countrey: and thus did *Fanius* dismisse the Embassadours of the Iewes after he had giuen them „ siluer out of the common treasury, with the decree of the Senate addressed to those that should „ conduct them, and giue them assured conuoy to returne into their countrey. And this was the „ estate of the affaires during *Hircanus* Priesthood.

But

A But King *Demetrius* being ſharpely whetted to make war againſt *Hircanus*, could haue neither time nor occaſion to exploit the ſame, by reaſon that both the Syrians and his men of war were ſcarcely well affected towards him, becauſe of his wickednes of life. For they ſent Embaſſadours to *Ptolomey*, ſurnamed *Phyſcon*, to require him to ſend ſome one of *Seleucus* race vnto them, to take vpon him the kingdome. Whereupon *Ptolomey* ſent them *Alexander* ſurnamed *Zebina*, accompanied with an army; who waging battell with *Demetrius* put him to the worſt, and conſtrained him to flie to his wife *Cleopatra* to Ptolomais: who neither accepting, nor entertaining him, he was conſtrained to retire himſelfe from thence vnto Tyre; where he was taken, and after hee had ſuffered many miſeries by the hands of his enemies, hee finally died. *Alexander* hauing by this meanes obtained the kingdome, made a league of amity with *Hircanus*. And whereas it

The yeere of the world, 3844. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 120.

Demetrius being ouercome by Alexander is ſlaine. Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 17.

B ſo fell out, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Gryphus*, the ſonne of *Demetrius* made warre againſt him, he was ouercome and ſlaine in the battell. When as therefore *Antiochus* had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Syria, hee forbare to make warre againſt the Iewes, for that he had intelligence that his brother by the mothers ſide (who was in like ſort named *Antiochus*) aſſembled an armie againſt him at *Cyzicus*. Remaining therefore in his countrey, he reſolued to make preparation againſt his brothers comming, who was called *Cyzicenus*, becauſe he was brought vp in that citie, and was the ſon of *Antiochus* called the Conſeruer, who died in the country of the Parthians, and who was brother to *Demetrius* the father of *Gryphus*: and it ſo fell out that both theſe brothers were married to one and the ſame *Cleopatra*, as we haue heretofore expreſſed. When *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian was arriued in Syria, hee made warre againſt his brother, which continued many

Alexander ſlaine in the conflict betwixt him and Antiochus Gryphus.

The yeere of the world, 3852. before Chriſts Natiuity, 112.

C yeeres: during all which time *Hircanus* liued in peace (for preſently after *Antiochus* death, he reuolted from the ſubiection of the Macedonians) and from that time forward gaue them no ſuccours, neither as ſubiect, neither as friend; but his fortunes both augmented and flouriſhed greatly during the time of *Alexander Zebina*; and principally during the raigne of theſe two brothers. For the war, wherein they conſumed one another, gaue *Hircanus* an opportunity, to leuy all the reuenewes of Iudæa, without any contradiction: ſo that by the ſame meanes he gathered infinite ſummes of money. For whileſt the Cyzicenian deſtroyed his brothers countrey, *Hircanus* alſo made knowne his inclination and diſpoſition: and ſeeing likewiſe that *Antiochus* was deſtitute of thoſe ſuccours he expected out of Egypt, and that both himſelfe and his brother alſo (thorow their mutuall diſcords) weakened one anothers eſtates, he ſet as light by the one, as by the other.

Hircanus whileſt the brothers weaken themſelues by ciuil wars liueth in peace.

D

CHAP. XVIII.

How ANTIOCHVS *the Cyzicenian came to the reliefe of the Samaritanes: and how being conquered, he fled away.*

The yeere of the world, 3854. before Chriſts Natiuity. 110.

FOR which cauſe he drew forth his army againſt Samaria (which was a ſtrong City) and is at this day called Sebaſte, becauſe it was reedified by *Herod*, as wee will make manifeſt in time and place conuenient. Hee therefore began to beſiege and batter the ſame with all diligence; animated thereunto, becauſe of the extreame hate he bare the Samaritanes, in that

Hircanus beſiegeth Samaria.

E onely to pleaſe the Kings of Syria they had offered many grieuous outrages to the Mariſſens, who were extracted from, and allied with the Iewes. Hee therefore made a trench round about the City, with a double wall of eighty ſtounds, and committed the generall command of this ſiege to his ſonnes *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who ſo diligently and valiantly behaued themſelues, that the Samaritanes being ouerpreſſed with extreame famine, were conſtrained to eate ſuch things as were vnuſuall and vnaccuſtomed amongſt men: and to call *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian to their reſcous. Who readily repaired thither, but was repulſed by *Ariſtobulus* ſouldiers, and being purſued by the two brethren as farre as Scythopolis, he hardly eſcaped; and they returning to their ſiege, freſhly aſſaulted and beſieged the Samaritans within their owne wals: So that once more they were conſtrained to ſend Embaſſadors to *Antiochus* for aide, who was their allie; who ſent vnto *Ptolomey Lathyrus* for about ſome ſixe thouſand men of warre, who furniſh-

Antiochus ſeeking to relieue the Samaritans, is ouercome and put to flight by Ariſtobulus.

F ed him with them contrary to his mothers minde, who therefore had almoſt thruſt him out of his dominion. As ſoone as he had receiued them, he made a roade into *Hircanus* countrey, and ſpoiled and forraged the ſame as farre as Ægypt. For he durſt not bid him battell hand to hand, becauſe he had not competent forces; but thought that in ſpoiling the countrey he might cauſe them to leuy the ſiege, & forſake Samaria: but after he had loſt a great number of his men by diuers ambuſcadoes of his enemies, he went vnto Tripoli, committing the generall charge of that

The yeere of the world. 3854. *before Christs Natiuitie.* 110.

warre to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, two of his his captaines. This *Callimander* more rashly then G wisely attempting to set vpon the enemy was himselfe slaine, and his souldiers discomfited. And *Epicrates* giuen ouer to couetousnes did openly yeeld vp Scythopolis and other Cities into the hands of the Iewes: so that it was impossible for either of them to leuy the siege. Finally, after that *Hircanus* had continued his siege before the City for the space of one whole yeere, hee became master of the same: and not contenting himselfe with the surprisall hereof, he vtterly destroied it, enforcing the riuers thorow the midst thereof; yea he ruined the same in such sort, that the mud and soile both of the water and earth tooke away all the appearance of the Citie; so that it seemed as if it had neuer beene. Of this *Hircanus* there is a certaine incredible matter committed to memory, namely, how during his high priesthood God had conference with him. For it is reported, that the very same day wherein his sons fought against *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian, whilest being himselfe alone, he offered incense in the temple, that he heard a voice, saying, that his H two sons had at that present ouercome *Antiochus*: all which he incontinently signified vnto the people at the gate of the temple; and according as he had said, so it came to passe. See here what occurrences hapned in *Hircanus* time.

Epicrates corrupted with money, selleth Scythopolis and other places to the Iewes.

Hircanus taketh Samaria.

Hircanus is foretold by a voice in the temple, of his sons victory.

About this very instant likewise, the affaires of the Iewes prospered not onely in Ierusalem and Iudæa, but also amongst the inhabitants of Alexandria; and finally in Egypt and Cyprus. For Queene *Cleopatra* rebelling against her sonne *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, appointed *Chelcias* and *Ananias* the sonnes of that *Onias*, who had builded the temple in Heliopolis (according to the patterne of that in Ierusalem) her chieftaines. And hauing committed her army vnto their hands, shee acted nothing without their aduice, according as *Strabo* the Cappadocian witnesseth, speaking I after this manner. Diuers of those who came with vs, and of those who had beene sent into Cyprus from *Cleopatra*, sodainly reuolted to *Ptolomey*: Onely the Iewes that were of *Onias* faction, remained constant in their duty, because the Queene made great account and reckoning of *Chelcias* and *Ananias* their countrimen. Thus farre *Strabo*. This great felicity and prosperity of *Hircanus* mooued the Iewes to conceiue a hatred against him, and especially the Pharisees opposed themselues against him. These Pharisees were one of the sects of the Iewes (whereof we haue heretofore intreated) which sect was so great in credit with the common people, that when they deposed any thing, were it against the king or the high Priest, they were presently beleeued. *Hircanus* had beene one of their disciples, and was in like sort very much beloued of them. Hee therefore inuited them to a feast, and entertained them with all humanitie: and seeing that they K were set vpon a merry pin, he began to tell them that they knew his minde, how that he desired nothing more then to be iust, and to square all his actions according to Gods will and direction, according as they themselues taught. He therefore required them, that if they perceiued that he mistooke himselfe in any thing, or that he wandred from the right way, they would by admonition redresse the same. Whereupon all of them gaue testimony of his perfect vertue. Wherewith he was highly contented. But one of the company called *Eleazar*, a man of a malicious nature, and such a one as delighted in mutiny, said vnto him: Since you desire to heare the truth, if so be you affect the estimation of a good man, giue ouer the place of priesthood, and content your selfe with the gouernment of the people. *Hircanus* demanded of him the cause wherefore he should forsake the Priesthood? Because (saith he) that we haue heard say by our ancestors, that your mo- L ther was a captiue during the raign of *Antiochus* the Famous (which notwithstanding was a false report.) *Hircanus* hearing this, was sore mooued against him; and also all other of the Pharisees, who were assistant in that place. Amongst the rest there was a certaine man called *Ionathan*, of the order of the Sadduces (who maintaine an opposite opinion against the Pharisees) who was an inward and deere friend to *Hircanus*, with whom he communicated the iniurious speeches that *Eleazar* had spoken by him, who told him that (as he thought) *Eleazar* had spoken these words by the publike consent of the Pharisees; and that he might discouer the same most manifestly, if he enquired of them what punishment *Eleazar* had deserued for speaking after this sort. *Hircanus* therefore questioned with the Pharisees as concerning his punishment, telling them that hee should very well perceiue, that this iniury had not beene pronounced by the common consent of M them all, if they condemned the offender to suffer a punishment proportionable to his offence. Whereupon they decreed, that he ought to be punished by imprisonment and scourging, for (said they) an iniurie done in word required no capitoll punishment: and to speake vprightly, they in their thinking censured seuerely enough of this fault, for that the Pharisees are naturally inclined to mercy when there groweth any question of punishment. But *Hircanus* was sore offended with this their answer, and imagined that this *Eleazar* had spoken after this manner by the

Chelcias and Ananias Captaines of Cleopatras army.

Strabo of Cappadocias report of the loyalty of the Iewes.

Hircanus groweth in discontent with the Pharisees.

Eleazar the Pharisee vpbraideth Hircanus that his mother was a slaue.

The Sadduce Ionathan incenseth Hircanus against the Pharisees.

common

A co mmon inſtigation of the reſt. This diſpleaſure and conceiued diſlike of his, did *Ionathan* aggraUate to the vttermoſt; and handled the matter in ſuch ſort, that he drew *Hyrcanus* to forſake the Phariſees, and to ſubſcribe to the opinions of the Sadduces, aboliſhing their ordinances, and cauſing them to be ſharpely puniſhed that obſerued the ſame. Theſe practiſes of *Hircanus* incenſed the people againſt him and his ſons. But hereof we will ſpeake in another place. At this preſent I will declare how the Phariſees haue made many ordinances among the people, according to the tradition of their fathers, whereof there is nothing written in the lawes of *Moſes*: for which cauſe the Sect of the Sadduces reiecteth them, affirming that they ought to keepe the written ordinances, and not to obſerue thoſe that are grounded vpon the tradition of the fathers: And great diſpute and diſſenſions haue beene raiſed among them vpon this occaſion, becauſe the richer ſort onely, and not the baſer ſort of people, cleaued to the Sadduces: but the Phariſees had the com-
B munalty on their ſides. But of theſe two ſorts, and of the Eſſeans, I haue more exactly intreated in my ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes. But *Hircanus* finally appeaſed this mutiny, and liued afterwards in much peace and happineſſe, and after hee had moſt diſcreetly gouerned his Princedome for the ſpace of one and thirty yeeres he died; leauing fiue ſonnes behind him. This man was honoured by God with three great gifts: the gift of gouernment; the gift of Prieſthood; and the gift of prophecy. For God ſpake vnto him diuers times by Oracles, and Reuelations, and gaue him the knowledge of things to come; which he in ſuch ſort foretold, that he declared that his two eldeſt ſonnes ſhould not poſſeſſe the principalitie any long time: whoſe ende it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe in what manner it was, to the intent that the prophecy of their father may be the better knowne.

The yeere of the world, 3854. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 110.

Hircanus forſaketh the Phariſees, and followeth the Sadduces.

The conſtitutions of the Phariſees.

Hircanus death.

The yeere of the world, 3861. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 103.

Hircanus prophecie of his ſonnes.

C

CHAP. XIX.

ARISTOBVLVS *obtaineth the gouernment, and firſt of all placeth the Kingly Diademe on his head.*

AFTER the death of their Father, *Ariſtobulus* the eldeſt of his ſonnes determined to exchange the principality into an abſolute eſtate of a kingdome: and the better to attaine thereunto, hee firſt of all ſet the Diademe vpon his head, foure hundreth eighty and one yeeres and three moneths, ſince the people of the Iewes were deliuered from the ſeruitude of
D Babylon, and led againe into their countrey. And for that *Ariſtobulus* amongſt all his other brethren, loued *Antigonus* beſt of all, who was the neereſt vnto him in age; he accepted him as a companion in the gouernment of the kingdome: but as touching the reſt, he ſhut them vp in priſon. He locked vp his mother likewiſe, who had contended with him as concerning the gouernment (for that *Hircanus* had committed all things to her diſpoſition) and ſo farre extended his cruelty, that he famiſhed her to death in priſon. After he had thus handled his mother, hee ſlue his brother *Antigonus* alſo; whom hee pretended to loue aboue all the reſt, and whom (as hee made ſhew) hee had made partner of his kingdome. From whom he eſtranged himſelfe, by reaſon of ſome ſlanders and falſe accuſations raiſed vp againſt him; which at the firſt he gaue no credit to, both for that the friendſhip which hee bare vnto him, made him ſlightly reſpect the ſame, as alſo
E for that he imagined that he was enuiouſly ſlandered. It came to paſſe, that *Antigonus*, returning vpon a certaine time from the armie with great magnificence, about the time of the feaſt of Tabernacles, chanced to repaire thither at that very time, wherein *Ariſtobulus* hapned to fall ſicke. *Antigonus* intending to celebrate the ſolemnitie aſcended the Temple in great brauery, attended by ſome of his army, to make his ſpeciall prayers for his brothers health. Whereupon certaine malicious wretches, deſirous to breake the concord that was betweene them, made vſe of this occaſion, and of *Antigonus* magnificent pompe and good fortune; and came vnto the King, amplifying vnto him in malicious words, what pompe and maieſtie hee had ſhewed in that ſolemnitie, telling him that in theſe his actions, hee demeaned himſelfe in no ſort like a priuate man; but that all his actions were leuelled at a royaltie: finally, that his intent was to enter the
F kingdome by force, and to kill him, in that hee made his account that ſince hee might bee King alone, it was a great ſimplicitie for him to haue a companion. But *Ariſtobulus* although hee would very hardly bee induced to beleeue theſe reports; yet notwithſtanding beeing deſirous both to extinguiſh the ſuſpicion, and to prouide for his owne ſecuritie, hee diſpoſed certaine of his guard in a darke and priuie place vnder ground, and lodged himſelfe in a certaine tower called Antonia, commanding that no man ſhould offer violence, except to thoſe who entred armed: Giuing a further charge to his guard, that if *Antigonus* entered armed, he ſhould be ſlaine.

The yeere of the world. 3862. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 103.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 18. Ariſtobulus Hircanus ſon was the firſt after the captiuitie of Babylon that ſet the Diademe on his head.

Ariſtobulus admitteth his brother Antigonus to be his copartner in the kingdome, and impriſoneth the reſt of his brethren and famiſheth his mother.

Antigonus death complotted.

Ariſtobulus is incenſed againſt his brother Antigonus.

The yeere of the world, 3862. before Christs Nativity, 102.

Which done, he sent for his brother, willing him to repaire vnto him without weapons. Which G when the Queene and they that complotted the murther of *Antigonus* vnderstood, they perswaded the messenger to certifie him the contrary, namely, that his brother expected (in that hee made warlike preparation and furniture for warre) that in that estate and pompe, and in those royall and warlike accoustrements, he should come and visit him, to the end he might be an eye-witnesse of his braue furniture and preparation. But *Antigonus* suspecting no harme intended him, and relying on the good will of his brother, marched all armed on foote toward *Aristobulus*, to shew himselfe in that brauerie: and when hee came right ouer against the tower, that is called Straton, where the passage was very darke, the Kings guard slue him.

Aristobulus Queene contriueth Antigonus death.

The force of slander.

By this accident a man may easily coniecture, that there is scarcely any power greater then that of enuy and slander, and that there is not any thing that may sooner breake off the good will and amitie amongst brethren, then these two passions. And aboue all, there is an occasion H offered vs of great wonder in respect of one that was called *Iudas*, of the sect of the Essеans; who in all those things that he prophecied, varied in no sort from the truth. He seeing *Antigonus* come vp into the Temple, cried out among his disciples (who frequented with him to be instructed by him in the methode of prophecy) that hee was wearie of his life, because *Antigonus* securitie argued the vanity of his prophecy, by which hee had foretold, that that very day hee should bee slaine at Stratons tower; whereas the place where hee should be murthered was sixe hundreth stounds off, and the better part of the day was already spent: so that it could not be imagined, but that he should be in danger to haue made a false prediction. Whilest he debated his doubts after this manner, and was wholly ouercome with choller, newes was brought that *Antigonus* was slaine in a certaine place vnder ground, which was called the tower of Straton, of the same name I with that other that standeth neere the sea, which was afterward called Cæsarea; which ambiguitie troubled the Diuiner. Incontinently after this accident, *Aristobulus* repented himselfe in that he had put his brother to death; and this repentance of his, was seconded by a most grieuous sickenesse, proceeding from the affliction of his spirit and detestation of that cruell murther: so that with grieuous agony and torment hee vomited bloud, as if all his entrals had beene torne in sunder. This bloud so vomited by him, it fortuned (in mine opinion) by the diuine prouidence of God, that a certaine seruant of his bearing it from his presence, by some trip of his foote hapned to stumble, and shed the same in that very place, which had beene soiled with the bloud of slaughtered *Antigonus*. By which meanes they that beheld the same, raised a great crie, exclaiming that the Page had shed the bloud in a conuenient place. *Aristobulus* hearing this out-cry demanded the cause thereof, and for that no man addressed himselfe to satisfie him, he was the more earnest to know it (according to the nature of men, who are alwaies more suspicious and desirous to know those things, which are most concealed.) Finally, from words he fell to menaces, and neuer a man for feare of him durst tell him the truth. Whereupon hee altogether dismayed and affrighted in his conscience, casting forth abundant teares, and loaden with grieuous sighes, began to cry out in this manner: How then? Mine impious and detestable act is not hidden from God, but the sodaine punishment of my brothers murther pursueth mee: wherefore, O thou shamelesse body of mine, how long wilt thou detaine my soule, which is due, and appertaineth to the ghosts of my mother and brother? Why dost thou not take it all at once such as it is, without expecting that I should sacrifice my bloud, poured out so many times to those, whom I haue so traiterously slaine? While he pronounced these words, he died, after he had raigned one yeere. L He was called *Philelles*, that is to say, a louer of the Greeks. Thus after he had profited his countrey many wayes, and subdued the Itureans, and ioyned the greater part of the countrey, to Iudæa; and had constrained them likewise, who should remaine in that countrey, to be circumcised, and to liue according to the lawes of the Iewes, he died thus miserably. Hee was by nature curteous and very shamefast, as *Strabo* testifieth, speaking after this manner, by the authoritie of *Timagenes*; This was a curteous man, and profitable to his countrimen the Iewes in many things: for he enlarged their countrey, and conquered a part of the nations of the Itureans, whom he tied vnto him by the bond of circumcision.

Iudas the Essean a prophet.

The punishment of Aristobulus for the murther of his brother.

The touch of conscience.

The yeere of the world, 3863. before Christs Nativity, 101.

Aristobulus compelleth the Itureans to be circumcised, and to obserue the lawes of the Iewes.

M

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The exploits of ALEXANDER *King of the Iewes.*

The yeere of the world, 3863. before Christs Nativity, 101.

WHEN *Aristobulus* was dead, *Salome* his wife (whom the Greekes called *Alexandra*) set his brothers at liberty (whom, as we haue heretofore declared, he had shut vp prisoners) and made *Iannæus* (who was called *Alexander*) king; who both in age and modestie surpassed all the other brethren; but such mishap had he, that from his birth day vpward, his father had conceiued so great a hate against him, that he neuer admitted him to his presence so long as he liued. The cause whereof (as it is reported) was this. When as *Hircanus* loued *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, who were his two eldest sonnes, with most intire affection, God appeared vnto him in his sleep, of whom he demanded who should be he that should succeed him? Wherupon God presented vnto his sight the semblance of *Alexander*: wherewith he grew discontent, in that he conceiued that he should be heire of all his goods; and so much preuailed displeasure with him, that as soone as he was borne, he sent him out of his presence into Galilee, to be nourished and brought vp in that place. But God hath apparantly prooued that he lied not to *Hircanus*. For after *Aristobulus* death, he taking possession of the kingdome, caused one of his two brethren to be put to death, who affected and laboured to make himselfe king: and as for the other, who resolued himselfe to liue in idlenes and pleasure, he honoured him greatly.

Hedio & Kuffinus, chap. 19. Salome surnamed Alexandra Aristobulus his wife maketh Iannæus Alexander king.

Alexander executeth the one brother that affected the crowne, and honoreth the other.

After that hee had established his estate, according as he thought it most expedient, hee led foorth his army against Ptolemais: and hauing obtained the vpper hand in the battell, he couped vp the men within their City, and afterward besieged and entrenched about the same. For amongst all the Cities of the sea coast, these two onely, namely Ptolemais and Gaza remained as yet vnconquered, and there was no opposite left but *Zoilus*, who was seized of the tower of Straton and Dora where he gouerned. Whilest *Antiochus Philometor* and *Antiochus Cizicenus* were thus at debate and warre the one against the other, and consumed each others forces, the Ptolemaidans had not any succour from them. But whilest they were trauailed with this siege, *Zoilus* (who held the tower of Straton and Dora) assisted them with that army hee had vnder him, and gaue them some succours, by reason that (since these two kings were whetted with intestine troubles and warres) he cast how to aduance himselfe to the crowne and soueraignty. For these two kings seemed to neglect their owne dangers, resembling herein those wrastlers, who though being wearied with fight; yet are ashamed to submit vnto their aduersary, but giue themselues a breathing time, that they may the better be heartned to encounter. The onely hopes they had were in the kings of Egypt and in *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, who held the Isle of Cyprus at that time (whether he retired himselfe after he had been driuen out of his kingdome by *Cleopatra* his mother.) To him the Ptolemaidans sent Embassadours as vnto their allie, requiring him to come and deliuer them from *Alexanders* hands, into which they were in danger to fall. These Embassadours perswaded him, that if he would passe into Syria, he should haue both *Zoilus* to friend, and those of Gaza to his followers, in the rescue of the Ptolemaidans: and moreouer, they assured him that the Sidonians and diuers others would second him: and by this meanes so encouraged him with promises, that he hasted himselfe to set saile.

Alexander besiegeth Ptolemais.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Christs Nativity. 100.

Zoilus tyrant of Straton and Dora.

But in the meane space *Demenetus* (who was both eloquent and in great authority with the Citizens) made the Ptolemaidans change their resolution, telling them that it was much better for them to hazard themselues in some vncertaine danger, wherewith the Iewes threatned them, then to deliuer themselues into the hands of such a master, from whom they could expect nothing but manifest seruitude. And moreouer, not onely to sustaine a present warre, but that which is more, an imminent warre from Egypt: for that *Cleopatra* would not permit that *Ptolomey* should leuy an army of the neighbouring Nations, but would come against them with a great power, and would enforce her selfe also to thrust her sonne out of Cyprus. And as for *Ptolomey* if he were frustrate of his hope, yet might he notwithstanding once more returne againe to Cyprus; whereas they were to expect no lesse but extreame danger. Now although that *Ptolomey* being at sea, vnderstood how the Ptolemaidans had changed their opinion, yet continued he his course onward, and landing in the port of Sicamine, he caused his army (who were of foot and horse to the number of thirty thousand men) to take land, and with them he approached Ptolemais; and perceiuing that vpon his encamping, they of the City admitted not his embassadors, neither in any sort gaue eare vnto them, he was wondrously perplexed. But after *Zoilus* and they of Gaza were come vnto him, requiring him to yeeld them assistance, for that their country was

Zoilus & the Gazeans require aide against the Iewes at Ptolomies hands.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Christs Nativity, 100

destroied by the Iewes, and by *Alexander*: For which cause *Alexander* raised his siege from before Ptolemais, for feare of *Ptolomey*, and retiring his army into his owne countrey, he began to vse this stratageme. For couertly he incited *Cleopatra* against *Ptolomey*; and openly hee made a shew of amitie and confederation with *Ptolomey*: promising him to giue him foure hundreth talents of siluer, prouided that he wonld deliuer him of the tyrant *Zoilus*, and assigne those possessions held by him vnto the Iewes. *Ptolomey* hauing made a peace and league with *Alexander*, did at that time willingly lay hold on *Zoilus*: but after that he vnderstood that *Alexander* had sent and incensed his mother against him, he brake all accord, and went and besieged Ptolemais, that would not entertaine him. After therefore he had left his lieutenants at the siege with part of his forces, he departed with the rest, to enter vpon and spoile the countrey of Iudæa. *Alexander* perceiuing *Ptolomies* intent, assembled about fiftie thousand fighting men of his owne countrey, (or as some historians haue written, eightie thousand) with whom he went out to fight against *Ptolomey*, who sodainly setting vpon Azoch a citie of Galile on a Sabbath day, tooke it by force, and led away from thence ten thousand prisoners, and a great quantity of other bootie.

Alexander perswadeth Ptolomey to cut off Zoilus.

Zoilus taken.

Ptolemais besieged by Ptolomey.

Ptolomey taketh Azot a towne in Galilee.

G

H

CHAP. XXI.

How PTOLOMEY LATHYRVS *fought against* ALEXANDER, *and obtained the victory.*

HE afterwards set vpon Sephor a city neere vnto Azoch, from whence he departed with the losse of many men, with an intent to fight with *Alexander*: who came forth to make head against him, and met with him neere vnto Iordan, in a place called Asophon, and encamped right ouer against the enemy. He had in his vantgard eight thousand men, whom he called Combattants by the hundreths: who carried brazen bucklers. *Ptolomies* foreward also had bucklers after the same fashion: who perceiuing themselues to bee inferiours in other points, deferred the charge, and were loth to hazard battell. But *Philostephanus* the campe-master did not a little encourage them: For he caused them to passe the floud, hard by which they were encamped, neither would he hinder *Alexander* from passing the same, making his account, that if the enemies had the riuer hn their backes, hee should bee the more assured of them, that they should not warrantize themselues from the fight. In the beginning of the skirmish, each one of them fought, with answerable valour; so that a great number of them fell on both sides. But *Philostephanus* perceiuing that *Alexanders* army had the better, he tooke a part of his followers, and speedily seconded those who were ready to retire themselues. The wing of the Iewes vantguard that saw themselues freshly charged, and not succoured by any means, began to flie; and so farre were those that marched next them, from yeelding them assistance, that contrariwise all of them became partners in one shamefull flight. But they of *Ptolomies* side behaued themselues farre otherwise: for they pursued and slew them, and after they had wholly disarraied them, they charged them so hotly, that they blunted their weapons, and wearied their armes with killing them. It is reported that thirty thousand men were slaine in the battell (*Timagenes* saith, fiftie thousand) as for the rest, some of them were taken prisoners, and othersome fled vnto their houses. After that *Ptolomey* had obtained this victory, hee ouerranne and spoyled the whole countrey, and in the euening he quartered himselfe in certaine villages of Iudæa, which he found full of women and children, and commanded his souldiers without respect of person, to cut their throats, and to chop them into peeces; and afterwards to cast the morsels into a boyling cauldron, and when they were well sod to eate the same: All which he acted, to the intent that they that were fled from the battell, and retired to their owne habitations, should know that their enemies would eate mens flesh; that by this meanes they might redoubt them the more when they should behold them. *Strabo* and *Nicholas* report, that they demeaned themselues after this manner, as I haue declared. And *Ptolomey* tooke Ptolemais also by force, as I haue made knowne elsewhere.

Ptolomey assaulteth Sephor.

Hecatontamachi, or the warriors by hundreths.

I

Alexanders ouerthrow.

K

Ptolomey to the end he might afflict the Iewes with more terrour causeth his soldiers to eate mans flesh.

L

Ptolomais taken by force.

But *Cleopatra* perceiuing how her sonne prospered, and how hee had spoiled Iewry without any preiudice, and subiected the city of Gaza to his command: shee concluded with her selfe, that she ought not to suffer him to increase after that manner, considering it was vpon the borders of Egypt, whose soueraignty he affected. For which cause, she sodainly marched out against him, with an army both by sea and land; committing the command of her whole forces to *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, both Iewes; and sent the greater part of her riches into the Isle of Coos, with her nephewes, and her testament, to be reserued and kept there in safety. And after she had commanded

Cleopatra prepareth an army against her sonne.

M

A manded her ſonne *Alexander* to ſet ſaile toward Phœnicia, with a great nauy, becauſe the inhabitants of that countrey were reuolted from her obeiſance: ſhe her ſelfe departed and came to Ptolemais, and beſieged it, when ſhee perceiued that they refuſed to grant her entry. *Ptolomey* made haſte to depart out of Syria, and to enter Ægypt, hoping to be Lord thereof at one time, when he ſhould find the countrey diſfurniſhed of men of warre. But his purpoſe failed him. At that time it fortuned, that *Chelcias* one of the two Generals of *Cleopatras* armie, died in Cœloſyria, being in purſuit of *Ptolomey*. *Cleopatra* hauing tydings of her ſonnes enterpriſe, and that the ſucceſſe and fortune he expected in Ægypt had failed him, ſhee ſent part of her armie to driue him out of the countrey; ſo that he was enforced to returne backe againe out of Ægypt, and to go and ſpend his winter at Gaza. Meane while *Cleopatra* beſieged and tooke the Citie of Ptolemais, whither *Alexander* reſorted vnto her, with great preſents, and an anſwerable reſpect vnto his fortune, who
B had beene ſo vntowardly handled by *Ptolomey*, hauing now no other recourſe left him but to her fauour and aſſiſtance. Vpon his arriuall, certaine of her familiars counſelled her to lay hands on him, and to ſeize the countrey: and not to permit that ſo great a number of Iewes, and they ſo valiant men, ſhould become ſubiects vnto one man. But *Ananias* gaue her counſell to the contrarie, alleadging that ſhe ſhould commit an act of great iniuſtice, if ſhe ſhould depoſe him, who was her allie, from the gouernment; who was beſide that, very neerely allied vnto her. For (ſaid he) I would you ſhould know, that by committing this wrong, you ſhal raiſe in all the reſt of the Iewes a hainous hatred againſt you. *Cleopatra* conforming her ſelfe according to *Ananias* counſell, reſolued with her ſelfe to offer *Alexander* no iniurie; but in ſteed thereof, ſhe entertained him as her allie and friend, at Scythopolis a Citie of Cœloſyria. Now when *Alexander* perceiued, that he
C was diſcharged of the feare whichhe had conceiued in reſpect of *Ptolomey*, he incontinently drew his army into Cœloſyria, and after ſixe moneths ſiege, tooke Gadara: he tooke ſhortly after Amath alſo (which is a great fortreſſe belonging to the inhabitants about Iordan) where *Theodore* the ſonne of *Zenon* had hoorded vp the richeſt and goodlieſt part of his ſubſtance: who ſurpriſing the Iewes at vnawares, ſlew about ten thouſand of them, and pillaged *Alexanders* baggage.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 100.

Ptolomey driuen out of Ægypt.

Ptolemais beſieged and taken by Cleopatra.

Alexanders peace with Cleopatra renued.

The yeere of the world, 3873. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 91.

Alexander taketh Gadara.

This did not any waies aſtoniſh *Alexander*: but notwithſtanding the diſaſter, he marched forward toward the Cities Raphia and Anthedon, which *Herod* afterwards called Agrippias, ſituate on the ſea coaſts, and tooke them perforce; and ſeeing that *Ptolomey* was retired from Gaza into Cyprus, and that *Cleopatra* his mother was in Ægypt, he beſieged the Citie of Gaza, and ſpoiled all the countrey round about it, by reaſon of the diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt the
D Citizens, for that they had ſought their aſſiſtance at *Ptolomeis* hands againſt him. Againſt him *Apollodotus* Captaine of the Gazeans made a ſally by night, and entred the campe of the Iewes, hauing onely with him two thouſand ſtrange ſouldiers, and one thouſand of his owne followers. And as long as the night laſted, the Gazeans had the vpper hand, becauſe that they made their enemies belieue that *Ptolomey* was come to their reſcue, and to aſſault the Iewes afreſh: but as ſoone as the day appeared, and this opinion was found falſe, as ſoone as the Iewes were aſſured of the truth, they turned backe vpon them, and charging the Gazeans, they ſlew about ſome one thouſand fighting men of them.

Alexander beſiegeth Gaza.

Apollodotus by night inuadeth the campe of the Iewes.

All this notwithſtanding, they bethought them on no ſurrender, but ſtood out, being neither
E amated with loſſe of men, or lacke of prouiſion whatſoeuer, reſoluing themſelues rather to endure any miſery, then to ſubmit themſelues into the hands of their enemies: and that which made them more confident, was the hope of help which they expected from *Aretas* king of Arabia, who had promiſed no leſſe. But it came to paſſe that *Apollodotus* was ſlaine before his arriual, and the citie taken. For *Lyſimachus* his brother conceiued a iealouſie againſt him, by reaſon of the good opinion which the inhabitants had of him; and hauing ſlaine him, & gathered thoſe fighting men that he might, he yeelded vp the Citie vnto *Alexander*, who at the firſt made a peaceable entrie, but afterwards diſperſed his ſouldiers, and gaue them licence to execute all hoſtilitie againſt the Citizens: ſo that they acted their crueltie in euery place, and ſlew many of the Gazeans: Neither died theſe citizens vnreuenged, but ſo manfully behaued they themſelues, that they butchered no leſſe
F number of Iewes, then they murthered citizens among them. Some of them likewiſe perceiuing themſelues to be alone, ſet fire vpon their houſes, taking away firſt that which was therein; to the intent that the enemy might be enriched with none of their ſpoiles. Otherſome killed their wiues and children with their owne hands, meaning this way to deliuer them from the enemies ſeruitude. But the Senators, to the number of 5. hundreth, were fled into the Temple of Apollo (for at ſuch time as the enemy entred the towne, they were by chance aſſembled in councel) all theſe did *Alexander* put to the ſword, and inſtantly raſed and leuelled that Citie with the ground: which done,

Aretas king of Arabia flattereth the Gazeans with hope of reſcue.

Lyſimachus killeth his brother Apollodotus, and betraieth Gaza to Alexander.

done, he returned to Ieruſalem, after he had ſpent one whole yeere at the ſiege before Gaza. G

The yeere of the world, 3873. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 91. About this time *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Gryphus*, died by the treaſon of *Heracleon*, in the fortie and fift yeere of his age, and in the nine and twentith of his raigne. His ſonne *Seleucus* had the kingdome after him, who made warre againſt his vncle *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Cyzicenus*, and hauing ouercome and taken him, he ſlew him. Not long after, *Antiochus* the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, and *Antoninus*, ſurnamed the Deuout, came to Arade, and placed the Diademes vpon their heads, and made warre againſt *Seleucus*, whom they ouercame in one conflict, and draue him out of all Syria; who flying into Cilicia, and arriuing againe in the Citie of the Mopſeates, he exacted a ſum of money at the Citizens hands. But the people were ſo incenſed, that they ſet fire on his palace; whereby it came to paſſe, that both he and his friends were burned to duſt. During the time that *Antiochus* the ſon of *Cyzicenus* raigned in Syria, another *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* brother, made war againſt him; but he was not onely ouercome, but both he and his army were put to the ſword. After him, *Philip* his ſonne tooke the Diademe, and gouerned in certaine places of Syria. H

Antiochus Gryphus ſlaine.

Seleucus Gryphus ſonne, maketh warre with Antiochus the Cyzicenian.

The yeere of the world, 3874. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 90. Meane while *Ptolomey Lathurus* ſent to *Gnidus* for his fourth brother *Demetrius Eucærus*, and made him King of Damaſco. Againſt theſe two brothers *Antiochus* made a manly and valiant reſiſt, but died very ſhortly after. For repairing to Laodicea to ſuccour the Queene of the Galadenians, who made warre againſt the Parthians, he died fighting valiantly; and his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Philip* poſſeſſed Syria, as hereafter ſhall be declared. As for *Alexander*, a domeſticall ſedition was raiſed againſt him; for the people aroſe and mutined at ſuch time, as he aſſiſted at the Altar to ſolemnize the feaſt of Tabernacles, and during the time that he intended the ſacrifice, they caſt Citrons at him: for (as wee haue declared elſe-where) the Iewes haue this cuſtome, that on the feaſt of the Tabernacles, each one bringeth a branch of Palme, and of Citrons. They vpbraided him alſo with many iniurious ſpeeches, reproching him, that hee had bin priſoner in warre; and that he was alſo vnworthy of the honour of the Prieſthood. Whereupon, he being mooued by theſe diſgraces, ſlaughtered about ſixe thouſand men: and hauing made an incloſure of wood about the temple and the altar (as farre as the place whereinto it was lawfull for none to enter but the Prieſts) he kept there, to the intent the people might not apprehend him: he entertained alſo certaine ſtrange ſouldiers Piſidians and Cilicians. For in that hee was at oddes with the Syrians, he made no vſe of them. I

Antiochus Euſebes putteth Seleucus to flight.

Antiochus, Seleucus brother, fighteth againſt Antiochus the ſon of the Cyzicenian.

Demetrius Eucærus made King of Damaſco by Ptolomey Lathurus.

Citrons caſt at Alexander

After this, hauing ouercome the Arabians, hee conſtrained the Moabites and Galaadites to pay him tribute, and deſtroied the Citie of Amath whil'ſt *Theodore* for feare gaue ouer to reſiſt him. But encountering with *Obeda* the King of Arabia, and being ſurpriſed and betraied by an ambuſcado in certaine miry and vnhaunted places, he was thruſt by the preſſe of the Camels into a deepe trench (neere vnto Gadara a village of Galaad) from whence he almoſt deſpaired to eſcape: notwithſtanding, auoiding that danger, he came to Ieruſalem. And beſides this his laſt miſhap, the people hated him, againſt whom he made warre for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres, and ſlew at the leaſt fiftie thouſand of them: and the more he intreated them to compromit theſe hainous debates between them, the more grieuous diſpleaſure conceiued they againſt him, becauſe of the inconuenients they had ſuffered: ſo that when he demanded of them what they would haue him to doe: they all of them with one voice cried out, that he ſhould kill himſelfe. And thereupon they preſently ſent meſſengers to *Demetrius Eucærus*, requeſting him of his fauour and aſſiſtance. K

Amath deſtroied.

Obeda King of Arabia.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 80. Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 20.

CHAP. XXII. L

DEMETRIVS EVCÆRVS *ouercommeth* ALEXANDER *in battell.*

HE comming onward with his army, and taking with him thoſe who had incited him to the enterpriſe, came and encamped neere vnto the Citie of Sichem. But *Alexander* gathering together ſome twentie thouſand Iewes (whom hee knew to be well affected towards him) with ſixe thouſand and two hundreth mercenary ſouldiers and ſtrangers, marched forward againſt *Demetrius*, who led with him three thouſand horſemen, and fortie thouſand footmen. Both on the one and the other ſide there fell out many ſubtill ſtratagems: the one of them ſtriuing on the one ſide to inueigle and withdraw the forraine ſouldiers, who were Grecians; and the other inforcing himſelfe to reconcile thoſe Iewes that were of *Demetrius* followers to his faction: but neither the one nor other preuailed ought at all by theſe deuices: ſo that finally they were driuen to decide their quarrell by the ſword: in which encountry *Demetrius* had the vpper hand. For al the ſtrangers that were on *Alexanders* ſide were euery one hew'd in peeces, after they had made ſufficient proofe both of their faith & valor. There died alſo many of *Demetrius* M

Demetrius fighteth with Alexander and hath the vpper hand.

Alexander in this fight looſeth all his hired ſoldiers.

A *trius* ſouldiers. But after that *Alexander* had fled vnto the mountaines, diuers Iewes (to the number of ſixe thouſand) in commiſeration of his deſperate eſtate, and thorow the feare they had of *Demetrius*, reſorted vnto him; which when the Conquerer heard, he retired himſelfe. After this, the Iewes made war againſt *Alexander*, & in diuers loſſes which they receiued, there dyed a great number of them in diuers combates: Finally, after he had cloſed vp the moſt ſtrongeſt amongſt them in the City of Bethom, he beſieged them; and after he had taken the City, and brought them vnder his ſubiection, he carried them to Ieruſalem, where he perpetrated an vnſpeakeable and cruell murther. For whil'ſt he banquetted with his concubines, in the ſight of them all, he commanded eight hundreth of them or thereabout to be crucified, and before their eies whil'ſt they yet liued, he cauſed their wiues and childrens throats to be cut. All which he did to reuenge himſelfe of thoſe wrongs which he had receiued: but he exceeded the bounds of humanity here-
B in, notwithſtanding they had rebelled againſt him, and reduced him into a moſt pitious eſtate, and put him in danger both of his life and kingdome. For being not content to aſſaile and make war vpon him with their forces, they drew ſtrangers alſo in his countrey againſt him: and finally, they ouerpreſſed him in ſuch ſort, that hee was conſtrained to yeeld vp into the king of Arabias hands, the countries and cities that he had conquered from the Moabites and Galaadites, for feare leaſt they ſhould ioyne with the Iewes, and make warre againſt him; beſides other innume-
rable iniuries and outrages committed by them againſt him. This notwithſtanding it cannot be excuſed, but that he ouerſhot himſelfe herein; ſo that by reaſon of this ſo enormous cruelty, hee was called *Thracidas*, that is to ſay, as cruell as a Thracian: and this title continued amongſt the Iewes. The ſouldiers of the contrary party, who amounted to the number of eight thouſand, fled
C by night into ſtrong and ſure holds; and as long as *Alexander* liued, they were in exile. But at the laſt, after he was deliuered of all theſe troubles, hee liued in quiet, and gouerned his kingdome peaceably all the remnant of his life. But *Demetrius* departing from Iudæa to Berœa, beſieged his brother *Philip* with ten thouſand footmen, and one thouſand horſe. But *Straton* Lord of Berœa, allied to *Philip*, called *Zizus* Duke of the Arabians, and *Mithridates Sinaces* gouernor of the Parthians, vnto his helpe; who repairing vnto him with great forces, beſieged *Demetrius* in his owne trenches, in which they ſo incloſed him by continuall ſhooting of darts, and want of water, that they conſtrained him, and thoſe that were with him, to ſubmit themſelues to their mercy. When
D as therefore they had preyed the whole countrey, and were ſeized of *Demetrius*, they ſent him priſoner to *Mithridates*, who at that time was king of Parthia. And as touching the Antiochians, as many of them as were found in the camp, were ſuffered to depart with the ſafety of their liues and baggage, and to returne to Antioch. But *Mithridates* king of Parthia honoured *Demetrius* by all meanes poſſible, vntill ſuch time as he was ſurprized with a ſickneſs, whereof he died. Incontinently after the battell, *Philip* came into Antioch, and hauing obtained the kingdome ruled ouer Syria.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Chriſts Natiuity, 80.

Sixe thouſand men reſort vnto Alexander.

Alexander being aſſailed by the Iewes, beſiegeth the mightieſt of them in Bethom.

Alexander crucifieth 800 Iewes, and murthereth their wiues & children in their preſence.

Alexander ſurnamed Thracidas.

Demetrius beſiegeth his brother Philip in Berœa.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of ANTIOCHVS DYONISIVS *againſt Iudæa.*

E AFTER this, *Antiochus* called *Dionyſius* (who was *Philips* brother) came into Damaſco to obtaine the ſoueraignetie therein, and therein in ſhort ſpace accompliſhing his affaires, got poſſeſſion of the crowne. When his brother *Philip* (who had an army in a readineſſe to inuade the Arabians) had tidings hereof, he came to Damaſco with great ſpeede, and made him ſurrender vp the Citie, both by the meanes of *Mileſius* whom *Antiochus* had left gouernour in the Caſtle; as alſo by the conſent of the Citizens themſelues. But *Philip* ſhewed himſelfe vngrateful toward *Mileſius*, performing nothing of that which he had promiſed him, at ſuch time as he deliuered him the Citie; becauſe his intent was, that the world ſhould thinke that the feare of his power, and not *Mileſius* fauour, was the cauſe of the ſurpriſall of Damaſco. Which act of his drew him into ſuſpicion with *Mileſius*, and was the cauſe that he loſt the City againe. For
F departing from thence to exerciſe himſelfe at tilt, *Mileſius* lockt the gates againſt him, and kept the City for *Antiochus*. Who hauing intelligence of that which had befallen *Philip*, returned out of Arabia, and at that very inſtant led his army into Iudæa, in which there were eight thouſand footmen, and eight hundreth horſemen. *Alexander* fearing his approach, made a deepe trench from Caparſabe (which is called at this day Antipatris) as farre as the ſea of Ioppe (which was the onely ſtreight wherby he might be aſſailed) and made a wall furniſhed with wooden towers, with their courts of guard, diſtant the one from the other an hundreth and fiftie furlongs, to keepe

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 21.

Antiochus king of Damaſco.

Antiochus thruſt out of his kingdome by his brother

The yeere of the world, 3887. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 77.

Caparbaſa called Antipatris.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Christs Natiuity, 80.

keepe backe *Antiochus*. But he fired all these his fortifications, and made his armie passe into Arabia thorow this streight. The King of Arabia retired vpon the first assault; but afterwards he presently came into the field with ten thousand horsemen: whom *Antiochus* charged very valiantly, and in the onset lost his life (yet with victorie) whil'st he sought to succour a company of his men that were hardly laid to. After *Antiochus* death, his armie retired to the borough of Cana, where diuers of them died for hunger. G

Antiochus death and the famine amongst his armie.

After him *Aretas* raigned in Cœlosyria, who was called vnto that kingdome by those that held Damasco and hated *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mennæus*. *Aretas* led his armie into Iewry, and got a victorie against *Alexander* neere to Adida: which done, hee retired out of Iudæa, vpon a composition made betweene them. Moreouer, once more *Alexander* marched towards the Citie of Dion, and tooke the same. And afterwards hee led his army against Essa, where *Zeno* had hoorded vp his chiefest riches: and before he assailed the fortresse, hee inuironed the place with three huge walles, which he builded round about it, and hauing taken it by force, he marched to Gaulana, and Seleucia: which when he had ouercome, he made himselfe master of a valley called the Valley of *Antiochus*, with the fortresse of Gamala. And obiecting many crimes against *Demetrius* the Lord of those places, he dispossessed him of his gouernment. Finally, after he had made warre for the space of three whole yeeres, he returned into his countrey; where the Iewes entertained him willingly by reason of the happy exploits which he had atchieued. H

Aretas king of Cœlosyria.

Certaine cities taken by Alexander.

The yeere of the world, 3887. before Christs Natiuity. 77.

About the same time the Iewes were already possessed of the cities of Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia; of the tower of Straton, Apollonia, Ioppe, Iamnia, Azoth, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocura, all which were neere vnto the Sea: and in the firme land on the on side of Idumæa, as Adora, Marissa, and all Samaria; the mounts Carmel and Itabyr; and herewith Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, Gabala; and of Moab, Essebon, Medaba, Lemba, Orona, Telithon, and Zara; Antona of Cilicia and Pella. This last Citie was rased by them, because the inhabitants would not promise to conuert themselues to the religion of the Iewes) with diuers other of the principall Cities of Syria also, which were conquered by them. I

The Iewes are Lords of the cities of the Syrians, Idumæans and Phœnicians.

Pella destroied and rased.

After this, King *Alexander* fell sicke, by the meanes of his serfeit and drunkennesse; and for the space of three yeers he was trauelled with a quartane ague. This notwithstanding, he was alwaies in the campe, vntil such time as being wearied with trauailes, he died in the marches of the countrey of the Gerasens, at such time as hee besieged Ragaba (which is a Castle situate on the other side of Iordan. The Queene perceiuing that he was at deaths doore, and that there remained neither hope of life, nor recouerie; she began to weepe and lament, and to beate her breasts, because both she and her children were likely now to be left desolate, and in these words she bemoaned her selfe vnto him. To whom wilt thou leaue both me and thy children in the estate, wherein we be? or why should we suruiue or liue one after another, considering that thou assuredly knowest, that the heart of thy people are estranged from vs? Hereupon the king comforted her, and gaue her this counsel, that if she would assure the kingdome both vnto her and her children, she should behaue her selfe according to his direction: which was, first to conceale his death, and not to suffer his men of warre to haue notice thereof, vntill such time as she had taken this Castle. Which done, he aduised her to repaire to Ierusalem in pompe, and triumph; and that being there, shee should bestow some authority vpon the Pharisees, who should recouer her praises, and obtaine her fauour amongst the people. For (said he) these kind of men are in great estimation and credit with the people, and can doe much hurt vnto those they hate, and further them in like sort very mightily towards whom they are wel affected: For the people easily beleeueth them, when they vrge ought against any man, notwithstanding it be of enuie; and that he himselfe also had incurd the displeasure of the people for their sakes, in that he had offended them. K L

Alexanders sickenesse.

The yeere of the world, 3890. before Christs Natiuitie. 74.

Alexander instructeth his wife, how shee should raigne securely.

The authority of the Pharisies among the people.

When as therefore (said hee) thou shalt arriue in Ierusalem, send thou for the chiefest amongst them, and pray them to come vnto thee; and after you haue shewed them my dead body, vse the most plausible speech that you can, and giue them permission to dispose of my body as they list, whether it be their pleasure to interdict and deny me funerall (in that they haue receiued many indignities by mee) or whether in auengement of their displeasure, they will offer any ignominie to my body: and promise you them that you will doe nothing in the administration or gouernment of the kingdome, but by their aduise. If in this sort you shape both your manners and discourse towards them, it will come to passe, that I shall bee buried by them with great magnificence (which otherwise I could not bee by any other meanes) because they will offer no outrage to my body, no although you should permit them: and besides that, you shall raigne in more assurance and quiet. M

After

A After he had giuen his wife theſe aduertiſements, hee gaue vp the ghoſt; after he had raigned ſeauen and twentie yeeres, and liued fortie and nine.

The yeere of the world, 3890. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 74.

Alexanders death.

Chap. XXIIII.

After Alexanders *death, his wife* Alexandra *gouerneth the kingdome.*

After that *Alexandra* had taken the Caſtle of Ragaba, ſhee conferred with the Phariſees, according to her husbands counſell, and committed vnto their diſcretion, not onely that which concerned her husbands obſequies, but alſo the gouernment of the B kingdome: whereby ſhee not onely appeaſed the diſpleaſure which before time they had conceiued againſt *Alexander*, but alſo obtained their good will and amitie. They therefore came and declaimed amongſt the people, making an oration of the acts and geſts of *Alexander*, complaining euery where that they had loſt a good King, and by the inforced praiſes that they vſed, they incited the people to great griefe and lamentation: ſo that they buried him with more magnificence, then any King that raigned before him. This *Alexander* left two ſonnes behind him, the one called *Hircanus*; the other *Ariſtobulus*; and by his teſtament committed the gouernment of the kingdome to *Alexandra* his wife. For *Hircanus* was incapable to manage affaires, and rather delighted in peace and quiet; and *Ariſtobulus*, who was the yonger, was both actiue and fit for gouernment. The people were well affected towards *Alexandra*, becauſe ſhe had C manifeſtly expreſſed how greatly ſhe miſliked her husbands miſgouernment.

Alexanders funerall.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 22

Hircanus and Ariſtobulus Alexanders ſonnes.

Shee appointed *Hircanus* high Prieſt (both in regard of his age, as alſo for that by nature hee was compoſed to peace and quiet) and committed all things to the diſpoſition of the Phariſees, commanding the people to obey and ſerue them. Shee alſo renued and confirmed that which *Hircanus* had diſannulled, and the Phariſees (according to the cuſtomes of their forefathers) had introduced; ſo that ſhe bare the name, and the Phariſees the authoritie royall. For they reſtored ſuch as were baniſhed, to their eſtates, and deliuered priſoners; and in all things they demeaned themſelues like great Lords, *Alexandra* alſo for her part vndertooke the care of the commonweale, and kept a great number of ſouldiers in pay, and increaſed her power in ſuch ſort, that the Tyrants round about her feared her, and deliuered the hoſtages and pledges of peace. All the D countrey was at quiet, onely the Phariſees troubled the Queene, perſwading her to put thoſe to death, who had counſelled King *Alexander* to put thoſe eight hundreth to death (of whom wee haue ſpoken before) and they themſelues afterwards ſlew one that was called *Diogenes*, and after him diuers others, one by one: vntill ſuch time as thoſe in authoritie came vnto the royall palace, accompanied with *Ariſtobulus* (who ſeemed to be diſpleaſed with that which had hapned, and who if the occaſion were offered, made ſhew that he would not permit his mother to gouerne after that manner) and told her that which had hapned, and in what dangers they had beene, to expreſſe their dutie and loyaltie which they ought to their deceaſed maſter; and how for that cauſe they had beene greatly honoured by him; requiring her that ſhee would not vtterly fruſtrate them of their hopes, which they expected in lieu of their ſeruice, that now they that had E eſcaped from the danger of their forraine enemies, were in their houſes murthered like beaſts by their priuate maligners, without any reliefe or ſuccours from any one. They furthermore vrged, that if their aduerſaries would content themſelues with thoſe that had ſlaine, they would endure their misfortunes patiently, by reaſon of the ſincere affection they bare vnto their Lords: but if they muſt needly as yet ſuffer the like, they required that they might haue licence to depart. For that they would not procure their ſafetie, otherwiſe then by her conſent: and would rather ſuffer a voluntary death neere vnto her royal palace, if they might not be ſpared: for that it would be a ſhame both for themſelues, and for the Queene, if by her toleration, thoſe, who had beene her deceaſſed husbands friends, ſhould be thus vexed by them which were his aduerſaries.

Hircanus high Prieſt.

The Phariſies admitted to the adminiſtration of the commonweale, are greedy of reuenge.

Ariſtobulus and his followers accuſe the Phariſees of tyrannie.

That *Aretas* King of Arabia and other Princes, would be glad of this newes, to heare that ſhe ſhould eſtrange thoſe perſons farre from her, whoſe names haue beene dreadfull enen amongſt F thoſe neighbouring Kings who haue but heard the ſame. And if ſhe had reſolued to make more account of the Phariſees fauour, then of their ſeruice, they beſought her that ſhe would at leaſtwiſe diſtribute them in ſeuerall Caſtles, for that rather then any miſhap ſhould purſue their ſoueraigne *Alexanders* houſe, they were content to lead their liues in that contemptible and abiect condition. Whil'ſt thus they ſpake, and exclaimed on the ſoule of *Alexander*, praying him to haue compaſſion as well of thoſe that were already dead, as of thoſe who were in danger of their liues

liues, the teares ranne from the eyes of all the assistants: and *Aristobulus* (aboue the rest was hear- G
The yeere of the world, 3890. before Christs Nativity. 74. tily discontent, and expressed the same by expostulating the cause with his mother. But they themselues were the cause of their owne calamity, because that against all right and reason, they had permitted a headstrong and ambitious woman to raigne ouer them, as if the king had no heires reserued to succeed him in the kingdome. The Queene vncertaine how to determine the matter at that instant, committed the charge of all her Castles into their hands, reseruing onely Hircania, Alexandrion, and Machæron, wherein the Princes mooueables and wealth was kept.

Alexandra committeth the custodie of the Castles to the Iewes.

Not long after, she sent her sonne *Aristobulus* with a strong army, commanding him to draw his forces towards Damasco, against *Ptolomey* called *Mennæus*, who was an il neighbour vnto that Citie: but he returned thence without atchieuing any memorable action. About the same time newes was brought, that *Tigranes* King of Armenia inuaded Syria, with fiue hundreth thousand men of war, intending shortly to set vpon Iewry. This rumour affrighted the Queene, and all the H

Aristobulus is sent to Damasco against Ptolomey.

Tigranes inuading Syria, heareth newes of Lucullus pursute of Mithridates, and returneth home.

communaltie (and not without cause.) Whereupon shee sent Embassadors with many princely presents vnto *Tigranes*, who besieged the Citie of Ptolemais. (For Queene *Selena*, otherwise called *Cleopatra*, raigned in Syria, and perswaded the Syrians to deny *Tigranes* passage.) But *Alexandras* Embassadours met with the King of Armenia, and besought him to conceiue a good opinion of their Queene, and of all the whole nation of the Iewes: who receiued them willingly, praising them for that they had sought him out so farre to do him honour, and put them in good hope. After the taking in of Ptolemais, it was told *Tigranes* that *Lucullus* pursued *Mithridates* (who was not as yet apprehended, for that he was fled into Iberia, which was the cause that *Lucullus* had entred Armenia, and forraged the same.) *Tigranes* hearing this newes, returned backe I

The yeere of the world, 3893. before Christs Nativitie, 71.

into his countrey.

The yeere of the world, 3894. before Christs Nativitie, 70.

After this, Queene *Alexandra* fell sicke of a dangerous and noisome disease: whereby *Aristobulus* tooke occasion to entermeddle with the affaires of estate. Walking therefore abroad one night attended by a trustie seruant, he repaired vnto those Castles, which were committed to the custodie of his fathers friends: for of long time he had misliked his mothers gouernment, and now was the more affraid that if shee should happen to die, all her posteritie should be made subiect to the power of the Pharisees. For hee well perceiued how vnapt his elder brother was to gouerne the kingdome, vnto whom notwithstanding the succession appertained: onely his wife, whom (accompanied with his children) he had left with *Alexandra*, had an inkling of this his intent. He therefore went first of all to Agaba, where *Galestes* one of the chiefest Potentates K commanded, who entertained him with great ioy.

Alexandras sickneſſe, and Aristobulus attempt.

The yeare of the world, 3897. before Christs Nativitie. 67.

The next day, the Queene hearing that *Aristobulus* was departed from Court, yet little suspected she at the first, that he was retired to worke some alteration in the state. But when as messengers came flocking one after another, and told her that after the first Castle, the second; and after the second, all the rest had consequently bin surprised by *Aristobulus*: at that time both the Queene and the whole nation were dismaied, fearing least hee should presently vsurpe the soueraignty; but aboue all they feared, least he should reuenge himselfe on those, who had outraged his familiars: and it was thought meet that both his wife and children should be committed to the Castle, that adioyned the temple. But from all parts round about resorted there souldiers to *Aristobulus*; so that he was attended like a King: for in the space of some fifteene daies he tooke L twentie and two forts, whether he made his retreats, and assembled an armie of souldiers, and leuied them amongst the Lords that inhabite Libanus and Trachonitis: For the multitude hath alwaies resort to the stronger side, supposing that if they submit thereunto willingly, and maintaine and roiallize the same, that they shall draw some profit thereby, as being those that were the occasion of the conformation of his Monarchie.

Aristobulus seizeth the castles, and great concourse of people resort to him.

Hereupon the ancient Iewes and *Hircanus* repaired vnto the Queene, humbly intreating her to take some mature counsell and good aduice touching the present affaires, because that *Aristobulus* her sonne was already well nigh Lord of the whole countrey, since hee had so many forts vnder his command: Furthermore, that it was inconuenient and vndecent for them to consult without her expresse order, notwithstanding shee were grieuously sicke, but that the impendent M danger extorted the same. The Queene willed them to doe that which they thought should bee most profitable for the Common-weale; telling them that they had many meanes, for that their Nation was mighty, great and strong; and had great store both of money and riches in the common treasurie: certifying them, that because shee knew that she had not long to liue, she had no more reason to take care of those affaires. Anon after shee had spoken thus, shee died; after shee had raigned nine yeeres, and liued in all seauentie and three yeeres. This woman was adorned with

Hircanus and the elders informe the Queene, and accuse Aristobulus.

Alexandras death.

The yeere of the world. 3899. before Christs Nativitie. 65.

A with greater excellency then could be expected from one of her ſexe, and expreſſed both in her actions and ordinances how fit ſhe was to gouerne a kingdome, and how oftentimes men thorow imprudence ouerſhoote themſelues in affaires of eſtate. For making more account of the preſent then future occurrences, and neglecting all other things in reſpect of thoſe which are requiſite in a moderated gouernment, ſhee neuer vpon any inſtigation whatſoeuer peruerted iuſtice; notwithſtanding her family fell into ſuch inconueniences, that the ſame ſoueraignty, which ſhee had obtained by diuers dangers and trauels, was not long after that ruined and loſt for her ſcarce effeminate deſires. For ſhee gaue eare vnto thoſe, who were ill affected towards her poſteritie, and left the kingdome deſtitute of ſuch as were fit to gouerne: ſo that the gouernment which ſhe enioyed during her life time, was after her death diſtracted with infinite troubles, and
B calamities, wherewith her family was repleniſhed. And notwithſtanding her regiment after this manner, yet during her life time ſhe kept the kingdome in peace. And thus died *Alexandra*

The yeere of the worlde, 3899. before Chriſts Nativity. 65.

Alexandras family incurre much trouble.

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

C

The Contents of the Chapters of the fourteenth Booke.

1 *How after the death of* Alexandra, *her yongeſt ſonne* Ariſtobulus *made warre againſt his brother* Hircanus *for the kingdome: who obtaining the victorie, compelled* Hircanus *to flie into a caſtle in Ieruſalem. And how after it was agreed and concluded betweene them, that* Ariſtobulus *ſhould be King, and* Hircanus *liue as a priuate man without dignitie.*

2 *Of the race of* Antipater, *and how he purchaſed renowne, great power and authoritie both to himſelfe and his children; and of the flight of* Hircanus *to* Aretas *King of Arabia.*

D 3 Ariſtobulus, *being vanquiſhed, is purſued as farre as Ieruſalem.*

4 Hircanus *and* Ariſtobulus *ſend Embaſſadours to* Scaurus *to requeſt his aide and ſuccour.*

5 Ariſtobulus *and* Hircanus *preſent themſelues before* Pompey, *to debate their titles touching the kingdome.*

6 Pompey *is ſeized of the fortreſſes by a warlike ſtratageme.*

7 *They of Ieruſalem ſhut their gates againſt the Romans.*

8 Pompey *taketh the temple and lower part of the citie by force.*

9 Scaurus *maketh warre againſt* Aretas, *and by the perſwaſion and ſollicitation of* Antipater *maketh a league with him.*

E 10 Alexander *being ouercome by* Gabinius, *retireth himſelfe into a caſtle, where he is ſhut vp and beſieged.*

11 Ariſtobulus *eſcaping out of priſon, flieth from Rome: who being taken againe in Iudæa by* Gabinius, *is ſent backe priſoner to Rome.*

12 Craſſus *warring againſt the Parthians, paſſeth thorow Iewry, and ſpoileth the Treaſurie of the temple.*

13 Pompey *retireth into Epirus, and* Scipio *commeth into Syria.*

14 Cæſars *voyage into Egypt, wherein the Iewes doe him faithfull ſeruice.*

15 Antipaters *valiant acts, and the amitie betwixt him and* Cæſar.

16 Cæſars *letters, and the Senates decree, as touching the friendſhip betwixt the Iewes and Romans.*

F 17 Antipater *committeth the gouernment of Galilee to his ſonne* Herod, *and that of Ieruſalem to* Phaſaelus *his other ſonne, and how* Sextus Cæſar *aduanced* Herod *to great honour and dignitie.*

18 Caſſius *afflicteth Iurie, and exacteth eight hundreth talens.*

19 Malichus *poiſoneth* Antipater.

20 Herod *putteth* Malichus *to death, by* Caſſius *commandement.*

21 Antigonus *the ſonne of* Ariſtobulus *ſeeking to recouer his fathers kingdome by the aide of the* G
King of Tyre, is diſcomfited and driuen out of Iudæa by Herod.
22 Herod *meeting* Antonius *in Bithynia winneth his fauour with a great ſumme of money, to the intent he ſhould giue no eare to his accuſers.*
23 Antonius *arriuing in the prouince of Syria eſtabliſhed* Herod *and* Phaſaelus *for* Tetrarchs.
24 *The Parthians make warre in Syria to reſtore* Antigonus *the ſonne of* Ariſtobulus *to the kingdome.*
25 *The Parthians take* Hircanus, *and* Phaſaelus *priſoners, and lead them away.*
26 Herod *at Rome is declared King of Iurie by the Senate.*
27 Herod *returneth from Rome, and fighteth againſt* Antigonus.
28 Antigonus *is diſcomfited by* Soſius *and* Herod.

H

CHAP. I.

How after the contention betweene the two brethren touching the Kingdome, it was agreed that ARISTOBVLVS *ſhould be King, and* HIRCANVS *liue as a priuate man.*

The yeere of the world. 3899. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 65.

WE haue already intreated in our former Booke both of the actes: and death of Queene *Alexandra*: it now remaineth at this preſent to proſecute and continue the ſequell of our Hiſtorie, to the end that we neither omit any thing thorow ignorance, or bury ought in forgetfulneſſe. For they that make profeſſion I
to write Hiſtories, and to recite ſuch things as are obſerued by antiquitie, ought not only ſtudiouſly to conforme their ſtyle, but alſo to beautifie the ſame with ornaments of eloquence, to the intent the reader may conuerſe in their writings with the more delectation. But aboue all things they muſt haue an eſpeciall care ſo exactly to ſet downe the truth, that they, who know not how theſe things came to paſſe, may be the more duly and fitly informed.

The office and dutie of an Hiſtoriographer.

When as therefore *Hircanus* had taken vpon him the high Prieſthood, in the third yeere of the hundreth ſeuentie and ſeuenth Olympiade, and in the yeere that *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus* (called the Cretenſian) were conſuls at Rome: *Ariſtobulus* ſodainly vndertooke the warre againſt *Hircanus*, and fought with him neere vnto Iericho: where a great number of *Hircanus* followers ſubmitted themſelues of their owne accord to *Ariſtobulus*. Thorow which accident K
Hircanus was inforced to fly to the fortreſſe of the higher City, wherein *Alexandra Ariſtobulus* mother had impriſoned both his wife and children (as before this is ſpecified.) The reſt of the faction for feare of his brother who had gotten the victory, retired themſelues within the enclo-ſure of the Temple, where they were beſieged and taken. After this, a peace was entreated of betwixt both the brethren, and their different was accorded in this manner, that *Hircanus* ſhould paſſe the remnant of his life without intermedling with affaires of eſtate, but ſhould onely intend his ſecurity and peace; and *Ariſtobulus* ſhould command the kingdome. This league was ratified betweene them in the temple, and confirmed with oathes, coniunction of hands and embraces, in the ſight of all the people: which being finiſhed, *Ariſtobulus* retired himſelfe into the palace; and *Hircanus* to *Ariſtobulus* lodging, to lead a priuate and quiet life.

Ariſtobulus and Hircanus ſtriue for the kingdome.

The peace betwixt Hircanus and Ariſtobulus.

L

CHAP. II.

Of the race of ANTIPATER, *and how he is aduanced to high eſtate, and how* HIRCANVS *flieth to* ARETAS *King of Arabia.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11 Antipater the Idumæan Hircanus friend.

BVT a certaine friend of *Hircanus* (by nation an Idumæan, and by name *Antipater*) being well monied, and by nature both factious and induſtrious, and thorow ambition but badly affected towards *Ariſtobulus*, the rather for that he affected *Hircanus* faction, began to ſtir much trouble. True it is that *Nicholas Damaſcene* writeth of this man, that he was deſcen- M
ded from the nobleſt amongſt thoſe Iewes who returned from out of Babylon into Iurie: but this he did of ſet purpoſe to gratifie *Herod Antipaters* ſonne, who by a caſualtie became afterwards King of the Iewes (as we will expreſſe hereafter in time and place conuenient.) This *Antipater* was at the firſt called *Antipas*; according to his fathers name, who (as it is reported) was made

Antipater of Iudæa, as Nicholas Damaſcenus implies, firſt called Antipas.

A made Gouernour of all Idumæa by King *Alexander* and his wife: and afterwards made a league with the Arabians, Gazeans, and Aſcalonites, corrupting them, and inſinuating himſelfe into their fauours by diuers great preſents beſtowed vpon them. This yong *Antipater* conſidering with himſelfe what *Ariſtobulus* power was, and fearing leaſt ſome miſchiefe might befall him through the hatred the yong king had conceiued againſt him, he communicated with certaine of the greateſt reckoning amongſt the Iewes, and ſecretly and cunningly incenſed them againſt *Ariſtobulus*, telling them that they had done amiſſe, both to ſee and ſuffer *Ariſtobulus* to detaine the kingdome vniuſtly in his hands, and to diſpoſſeſſe his elder brother *Hircanus*, to whom by right of inheritance it appertained. Hee likewiſe accoſted and founded *Hircanus* ordinarily with theſe words; telling him that he liued in danger of his life, and would doubtleſſe bee ouertaken
B except hee ſought his owne ſecurity, and fled his imminent perill: alleadging, that *Ariſtobulus* friends would neuer ceaſe to conſult how they might ſhorten his life, to the end that hee might liue in more ſecuritie. To theſe inſtigations of his, *Hircanus* gaue ſmall credit (for that of his owne nature he was curteous, and could not eaſily be induced or ſeduced by detractions) but this negligence and careleſneſſe in him, was the cauſe that hee was accounted a ſilly and abiect man. On the contrary ſide, *Ariſtobulus* was of a different and more heroicke nature, being more actiue in performance, and carefull preuention.

The yeare of the world, 3899. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 65.

Antipater inceenſeth the princes of the Iewes againſt Ariſtobulus.

Now although *Antipater* ſaw that *Hircanus* made ſmall account of his inſtigations; yet ceaſed he not daily to inuent and propoſe new ſurmiſes and accuſations, vrging *Ariſtobulus* hatred and practiſe to murther him: and ſo much preuailed hee by his importunitie, that at laſt hee perſwa-
C ded him to flie to *Aretas* king of Arabia, promiſing him that in ſo doing, he would giue him both aide and aſſiſtance. *Hircanus* hauing debated vpon theſe concluſions, at laſt thought good to flie to *Aretas* (for that he knew that Arabia confined vpon Iewry.) Whereupon he firſt of all ſent *Antipater* to *Aretas*, to take aſſurance of him that hee ſhould not betray him into his enemies hands, if ſo be he ſhould ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and require his aſſiſtance. When as therefore *Antipater* had receiued this aſſurance from the king, he returned to Ieruſalem vnto *Hircanus*: and not long after that tooke him away with him, and departed the Citie by night, and afterwards with great iourneies arriued at Petra, where *Aretas* kept his royall court. And for that hee was inwardly familiar with the King hee beſought him to reeſtabliſh him in the kingdome of Iewry, and wrought ſo much by his importunitie and the preſents which he gaue him, that hee perſwa-
D ded *Aretas* to attempt the matter. Whereupon *Hircanus* promiſed, that if hee confirmed him againe in his royall dignitie, hee would vpon the recouery of his realme reſtore vnto him thoſe twelue Cities which his father *Alexander* had taken from the Arabians, the names whereof are theſe that follow: Medaba, Nabello, Liuias, Tharabaſa, Agalla, Athona, Zoara, Orona, Nariſſa, Rydda, Luſa, Oryba.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Chriſts Nativity. 64.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBVLVS *beeing vanquiſhed, is purſued as farre as Ieruſalem.*

E ARETAS induced by theſe promiſes, was content to ſend foorth an army againſt *Ariſtobulus*, and himſelfe in perſon conducted onward in that expedition fiftie thouſand men both on foote and horſe, and had the vpper hand of his enemy in ſuch ſort, as diuers after the attainment of this victory, of their owne accord ſubmitted themſelues to *Hircanus*: and *Ariſtobulus* perceiuing himſelfe to bee deſtitute of all his friends and followers fled vnto Ieruſalem. After him the king of Arabia led his army with all expedition, and beſieged him in the temple: In this ſiege the common people aſſiſted *Hircanus*, neither were there any but the prieſts only that ſtucke to *Ariſtobulus* ſide. Whereupon *Aretas* marſhalled the forces he had, and buſily ſet the army both of Iewes and Arabians about the ſiege. Whileſt theſe things were vnder theſe tearmes, the feaſt of vnleauened bread, which we call the paſſeouer, was at hand, and the princes of the Iewes forſaking their countrey were fled into Egypt. About that time, a cer-
F taine man called *Onias* (ſuch a one who for his vertue was beloued of God, and in times paſt had by his deuout praiers and ſupplications in a time of drought, obtained raine from God) hid himſelfe, perceiuing that this ſedition would be of ſome continuance. This man therefore being ſurpriſed and brought into the campe of the Iewes, they required him that as by his praiers he had obtained water; ſo at that time likewiſe he would by his imprecations incenſe God againſt *Ariſtobulus*, ann his accomplices. But whereas he contradicted and excuſed himſelfe, he was at laſt

Aretas maketh warre againſt Ariſtobulus, and enforceth him to flie to Ieruſalem.

The Arabian beſiegeth Ariſtobulus in the Temple.

The Iewes fly into Egypt.

constrained by the people to performe their requeſt; ſo that ſtanding vp in the midſt of them he G
ſpake after this manner. O God, King of the whole world, ſince they who are at this preſent here
with me are thy people, and thoſe that are beſieged are thy Prieſts; I humbly beſeech thee, that
when they ſhall require thee to be incenſed againſt their brethren, thou wilt not heare them: and
when as likewiſe they ſhall prouoke thee againſt the other, thou wilt not reſpect them. Hereup-
on, a certaine ſort of reprobate ſouldiers amongſt the Iewes, hearing theſe words of his, ſtoned
him to death: But God incontinently puniſhed this cruelty in them; and the murther of *Onias* ſo
curſedly perpetrated, was reuenged by this meanes which enſueth. At ſuch time as *Ariſtobulus*
and the Prieſts were beſieged, the feaſt of Eaſter or the Paſſeouer fell out, during which time it
was an vſuall cuſtome amongſt the Iewes to honour God with many ſacrifices: Now for that
they who were with *Ariſtobulus*, had not any beaſts to offer vp in ſacrifice, they required the o-
ther Iewes which were without, that they might haue ſome deliuered vnto them for their mony. H
Wherunto it was anſwered, that if they would giue one thouſand drachmes for euery head, they
ſhould haue ſome deliuered vnto them. To this demand of theirs, *Ariſtobulus* and the Prieſts that
were with him, willingly condeſcended, and let downe the prefixed price and deliuered the ſame
from the wall: but the others, after they had receiued the money, deliuered them not thoſe beaſts
which they required them to ſell them for ſacrifice; but ſo farre were they giuen ouer to impie-
ty, that they falſified their oathes not onely toward men, but defrauded God alſo, in denying that
which they had promiſed toward the furniſhing of their ſacrifice. For which cauſe, the Prieſts
being defrauded in this manner contrary to the oath and proteſtations of their aduerſaries) be-
ſought God to ſhew vengeance on their country-men, that had committed this hainous and per- I
iurious impietie: neither did God deferre their puniſhment any long time, but incontinently af-
ter he ſent a great and violent winde, that ſpoiled all the fruits of the countrey; ſo that a meaſure
of wheate was ſold for eleuen drachmes.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Chriſts Nativity. 64.

Onias contradicting the Iewes petition is ſtoned to death.

Breach of faith, and the reuenge thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

HIRCANVS *and* ARISTOBVLVS *ſend Embaſſadours to* SCAVRVS, *to couenant their peace with him.*

MEANE while *Pompey* ſent *Scaurus* into Syria (himſelfe being in perſon detained in Ar-
menia in purſuite of the warre betwixt him and *Tigranes*.) Now when as *Scaurus* came K
vnto Damaſco, he found that *Metellus* and *Lollius* had newly taken the Citie; for which
cauſe hee marched onward towards Iewry: Where beeing arriued, certaine Embaſſadors came
vnto him in the behalfe of *Ariſtobulus*, and others alſo in the name of *Hircanus*, requiring alliance
and confederacie in the behalfe of them both, and offering in eithers reſpect a tribute of foure
hundreth talents. But *Scaurus* preferred *Ariſtobulus* promiſes, both for that hee was a man of
mightier ſubſtance and greater minde, and withall more moderate in his demand; whereas *Hir-
canus* was poore and couetous, and notwithſtanding he demanded greater things then his brother
did; yet was his promiſe of leſſe aſſurance: For it was a harder matter to ſubdue a Citie that was
ſo defenced and ſtrong, then to repulſe a troupe of runnagate Nabatheans, and they ſcarcely well
animated to proſecute that warre. For theſe cauſes therefore hee (receiuing his money) leuied L
the ſiege, commanding *Aretas* to returne; which if hee refuſed, hee declared him an enemy to
Rome. This done, *Scaurus* returned to Damaſco, and *Ariſtobulus* led forth his army againſt *Are-
tas* and *Hircanus*, and fighting with them in a place called Papyron he obtained the victorie, and
ſlew about ſome ſeuen thouſand of his enemies, amongſt the number of which was *Cephalius An-
tipaters* brother.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 4. Hircanus and Ariſtobulus Embaſſadours vnto Scaurus.

Scaurus is preſented.

Ariſtobulus maketh warre againſt Aretas and Hircanus.

CHAP. V.

How ARISTOBVLVS *and* HIRCANVS *debate their titles in the preſence of* POMPEY.

NOT long time after this, *Pompey* came vnto Damaſco: and as he trauailed thorow Cœ-
loſyria, diuers Embaſſadors reſorted vnto him from all parts of Syria, Ægypt and Iudæa. M
For *Ariſtobulus* ſent him a preſent of great valew, namely a golden vine of fiue hun-
dreth talents price. Hereof *Strabo* the Cappadocian maketh mention in theſe words: There
came an Embaſſadour out of Ægypt, bearing a crowne of foure thouſand pieces of gold; and
"an other from Iewry, with a vine or garden, and the workmanſhip was called *Terpole*, that is to
"
"
ſay,

Pompey commeth into Syria, and Ariſtobulus ſendeth a royall preſent vnto him.

A say,recreation: And this vine haue we beheld at this day in the Citie of Rome in the Temple of Iupiter Capitoline, hauing the inscription of *Alexander* king of the Iewes;and it was esteemed and valued at fiue hundreth talents. It is said that *Aristobulus* prince of the Iewes sent the same. Straight after this,there came other fresh Embassadours vnto him(*Antipater* from *Hircanus*: and *Nicodemus*,from *Aristobulus*)who accused those that had taken mony,namely *Gabinius*,for that he first of all had receiued three hundred talents beside other presents:and secondly *Scaurus*,who had receiued foure hundreth; alleadging that by that meanes they had incensed them against him.He therfore gaue direction,that they should repaire vntohim about the spring,each of them to iustifie and maintaine their seuerall rights: as for himselfe he drew his forces from their wintring places,and marched towards Damasco, destroying in his way a certen fortresse which *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian had fortified in Apamea.He visited also the countrey of *Ptolomey Mennæus*(who was a peruerse and wicked man,and no waies differed from *Dyonisius Tripolitane*) who was punished with the losse of his head, and was vnited also with him in friendship and affinitie; yet acquited of the death he deserued, by the meanes of a thousand talents ransome,which *Ptolomey* distributed amongst his souldiers for their pay. Hee rased likewise the Castle of Lysias (wherein a Iew called *Sylas* tyrannized)and passing by the Cities of Heliopolis and Chalzis,and hauing likewise ascended the mountaine(which is betweene them) he came to Cœlosyria; and from Pella repaired to Damasco. In which place he gaue audience to the Iewes, and their princes *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus*,who were at oddes the one against the other,as touching their particular interests,as all the whole nation against them both; alleadging that they would not be gouerned by kings, because their custome was to obey Gods Priests, whom they honoured, affirming that these two brethren(who were descended of the race of Priests, sought to draw their nation vnder a different forme of gouernment, to the intent to reduce them vnder seruitude. *Hircanus* complained, for that being the elder borne, he had bin depriued of his inheritance by *Aristobulus*,and had only but a small portion of the countrey allotted him, because *Aristobulus* had seized the rest by force.He complained likewise of those incursions,that both by land and sea *Aristobulus* followers had endomaged their frontiers with.For the people had not reuolted,if he had not beene a violent and turbulent man.To this accusation of his,a thousand of the principallest of the Iewes(drawne on by *Antipaters* perswasion)subscribed, who auerred and iustified the same. But *Aristobulus* answered, that *Hircanus* was dispossessed of the kingdome, by reason of his incapacitie and naturall defects; alleadging for himselfe, that the gouernment was enforced on him by a necessitie,for feare it should be transported to others: in effect,he protested that he challenged no other title;then that which his father *Alexander* had had. He brought in also for his witnesses certen arrogant yong men,who were hated for their pompe,purple robes,their curiosity in painting and curling their haire, and bard horse, and other braueries which they presented,not like men that intended to expect iudgement, but as if their pretence had beene to make shew of their pompe. After that *Pompey* had heard them, he condemned *Aristobulus* violence, but for that time he dismissed them(after some fauourable and gracious conference) promising them that he would come into their country,and determine their differents,after he had seen the region of the Nabatheans: commanding them in the meane while to liue in peace.He vsed *Aristobulus* likewise very kindly,fearing least hee should incense the people, and shut vp his passage: which notwithstanding came to passe.For *Aristobulus* came into the City of Delion, and from thence went into Iudæa,without respect of that which *Pompey* had commanded him.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Christs Natiuitie, 64.

Antipater for Hircanus,and Nicodemus for Aristobulus,come as embassadours to Pompey.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5.

A castle destroied in Apamea.

Ptolomey Mennæus fined at a great summe of money.

The yeere of the world, 3902. before Christs Natiuitie, 62.

Aristobulus and Hircanus accused by the Iewes before Pompey.

Aristobulus Apology before Pompey.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.6.

CHAP. VI.

POMPEY *maketh himselfe Lord of the Castles by a warlike stratageme.*

F POMPEY hearing this,was sore displeased herewith;and taking with him his army which he had prepared against the Nabatheans (with the supplies he had in Damasco, and the rest of Syria,besides the other Romane companies that he had) he marched forth against *Aristobulus*:when as therefore he had left Pella and Scythopolis behind him,he came to Coreas(which is the entrance into Iudæa) drawing toward the heart of the countrey. There found hee a goodly Castle situate vpon the top of a mountaine called Alexandrion,whither *Aristobulus* was retired. For which cause he sent Embassadours to inuite him to come and parlee with him: who perswaded by the counsaile of many of his inward friends, in no sort to commence warre

Pompey marcheth out against Aristobulus.

Aristobulus descendeth from his fortresse to conferre with Pompey.

The yeere of the world, 3902. before Christs Natiuitie, 62.

againſt the Romanes, came downe vnto him, and after he had debated his title with his brother, as touching the kingdome, *Pompey* permitted him to returne againe into his Caſtle. And this did he two or three times, alwaies flattering *Pompey* thorow the hope he had of the kingdome, and making a ſhew that he would be obedient vnto him in whatſoeuer he would command. Meane while he retired himſelfe, and fortified the place, and made preparation for the warre, for feare leaſt *Pompey* ſhould transferre the kingdome to *Hircanus*. But when as *Pompey* commanded him that he ſhould deliuer vp the fortreſſes that he held, and had written with his owne hand to the captaines of the garriſons (who otherwiſe would not haue obeyed him) *Ariſtobulus* ſubmitted, and in diſcontent repaired to Ieruſalem, with full intent to prepare for warre. Not long after this, when as *Pompey* marched towards him with his army, certaine meſſengers comming from *Pontus* certified him of *Mithridates* death, who was ſlaine by his ſonne *Pharnaces*.

Ariſtobulus deliuereth the fortreſſes to Pompeies hands.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Mithridates king of Pontus ſlaine by his ſonne Pharnaces.

CHAP. VII.

They of Ieruſalem ſhut the gates againſt the Romanes.

WHEN *Pompey* was encamped neere vnto Iericho (in which place there was a number of Date trees, and where alſo groweth that balme which is the moſt precious of all other ointments, diſtilling from a little ſhrub, which is opened and ſlit by a ſharpe cutting ſtone) the next morning he marched towards Ieruſalem. At that time *Ariſtobulus* (being ſorry for his misbehauiour) came vnto him, offering him money: and promiſing him to receiue him into Ieruſalem, he beſought him, that (diſmiſſing publike enmities and quarrels) hee would peaceably doe what him liſted hereafter. Whereupon *Pompey* pardoned him, and condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent *Gabinius* with his ſouldiers, both to receiue the money, as alſo to enter the city; but his purpoſe failed him in both: for *Gabinius* returned, becauſe he was excluded out of the city; neither receiued he any mony, for that *Ariſtobulus* ſouldiers would not permit that any promiſe ſhould be performed. Hereupon *Pompey* waxed wroth; ſo that after he had committed *Ariſtobulus* to priſon, he went in perſon againſt the citie, which was ſtrongly fortified on euery ſide, except toward the quarter that extendeth northward, which was eaſie to bee beaten downe: for this ſide is inuironed with a large and deepe valley, compaſſing the Temple, which is incloſed with a marueilous ſtrong wall of ſtone.

Gabinius comming to receiue the mony Ariſtobulus had promiſed, hath the city gates ſhut againſt him.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 8.

Pompey beſiegeth Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3903. before Christs Natiuity. 61.

CHAP. VIII.

POMPEY *taketh the Temple, and lower part of the Citie perforce.*

BVT within the city there grew a diuiſion and faction, by reaſon of the difference and diſſident opinions of thoſe that kept the ſame; for ſome thought good to yeelde vp the citie into *Pompeis* hands; otherſome (that were of *Ariſtobulus* faction counſelled that the gates ſhould bee kept ſhut, and preparation for warre ſhould bee made, for that the Romans detained *Ariſtobulus* priſoner. Theſe latter preuailing more then the reſt ſeized the temple: and breaking downe the bridge which was betwixt it and the city, addreſſed themſelues to ſtand on their defence. But the others not onely deliuered the city into *Pompeis* hands, but the royall palace alſo: who ſent *Piſo* his lieutenant thither with his forces to take poſſeſſion thereof, and to plant his garriſons therein, and to fortifie the houſes neere adioyning the temple, and whatſoeuer conuenient habitation without the walles. Firſt therefore *Piſo* offered the beſieged certaine conditions of peace: which for that they refuſed, he fortified and ſhut them in on euery ſide, being in all theſe his endeauours aſſiſted by *Hircanus*. On the outſide of the city, *Pompey* incamped with his army on the north part of the temple (which was the eaſieſt & meeteſt ſide to be aſſaulted) on this ſide alſo there were certen high towers, and a huge trench, beſides a deepe valley that begirt the temple. For towards the city all waies and paſſages were ſo broken vp, that no man could either goe vp or downe, and the bridge was taken away on that ſide where *Pompey* was incampt. Each day did the Romanes trauell earneſtly to raiſe a mount, and cutting downe all the timber round about them, & hauing fitly applyed the ſame, the trench being fild vp (although very hardly, by reaſon of the incredible depth thereof) the Rammes and Engines that were brought from Tyre were addreſſed, which when they inforced and darted ſtones againſt the temple: & had not the ordinance of the countrey commanded to keepe the Sabbath (which was the ſeuenth day of the weeke) holy, and to labour in no ſort on that day; the Romans had neuer bin able to haue raiſed their bulwarke, if they within the temple had oppoſed themſelues againſt them. For the law permit-

Ieruſalem partly betraied, partly beſieged by Pompey.

Pompey maketh preparation to beſiege the temple.

A permitteth to defend themſelues againſt their enemies, at ſuch time as they are aſſailed and vrged to fight, but not aſſaile them when they intend any other worke. Which when the Romans vnderſtood, they neither gaue aſſault, not proffered skirmiſh on thoſe daies, which we call Sabbaths: but they built their fortifications and towers, and planted their engines; ſo that the next day they were ready to put them in vſe againſt the Iewes. And hereby it is eaſie to coniecture, how incredible the piety of our nation is, and how ſtudious and induſtrious they be in obſeruing the diuine lawes. For notwithſtanding any preſent or imminent feare, yet deſiſted they neuer to offer their ſolemne ſacrifices: but twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth houre, the Prieſts offered vpon the altar; and notwithſtanding any difficulty or danger of the ſiege that might happen, they omitted not the courſe of their oblations. For at ſuch time as the temple was taken (in the third

B moneth, and on a faſting day, in the hundreth ſeuentie nine Olympiade, in the yeere wherin *Caius Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* were Conſuls) the enemy entred the Temple by force, and ſlue thoſe that withſtood them. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the prieſts ceaſed not to exerciſe their accuſtomed ſacrifice: and neither the hazard of their liues, nor the great number of thoſe that were dead, could force them to flie; but that they held it more conuenient for them to indure all things that might happen in attending vpon the Altar, then to tranſgreſſe or vary one iot from their ordinances. And that this may ſeeme to be no fable, or praiſe of their diſſembled deuotion, but the exact and perfect truth, all thoſe that write the Hiſtories concerning *Pompey* and his acts, doe witneſſe no leſſe: amongſt the number of which, are *Strabo*, *Nicholas*, and *Titus Liuius* the Romane Hiſtoriographer the moſt famous among the reſt. The greateſt of thoſe towers was battered by

C theſe engins, and fell, bearing a great pane of the wall to the earth with it, which was the cauſe that the enemies in multitudes brake in by the breach. The firſt that aſcended the wall, was *Cornelius Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*, with his ſouldiers. After him mounted the Centurion *Furius*, accompanied with thoſe that followed him, on the other ſide: and thorow the midſt of the breach, did the Centurion *Fabius* enter with a ſtrong ſquadron. The whole circuit was filled with murthers; and ſome of the Iewes died by the Romanes ſwords; other ſome ſlew one another; the reſt caſt themſelues downe headlong from the ſteepie places: many likewiſe ſet fire on their houſes, and conſumed themſelues therein, for feare they ſhould behold the executions that were performed by their enemies. There died about twelue thouſand Iewes, and very few Romanes. *Abſolom* alſo, who was *Ariſtobulus* father in law, and vncle, was taken priſoner. The religion of the Temple

D likewiſe was not a little prophaned. For wheras before that time no prophane man either entred or beheld that which was in the temple: *Pompey* and diuers others that accompanied him, entred the ſame, and ſaw that which was not lawfull to be beheld by any other but the high prieſts onely. But although he found a table of gold, and a ſacred candleſticke, with diuers other veſſels and odoriferous drugs in great quantity; and whereas beſides that, there was about two thouſand talents of ſiluer in the ſacred treaſurie in the Temple: yet touched he nothing thereof through the reuerence hee had of GOD, and heerein hee behaued himſelfe anſwerably to his other vertues. The next day he commanded thoſe that had the charge of the Temple to purge the ſame, and to offer ſacrifices vnto GOD, according to the law; committing the high Prieſthood to *Hircanus*

E hands, both for that he had ſtood him in great ſteed in many things, as for that hee had hindered the Iewes, that were of the countrey, from ioyning themſelues with *Ariſtobulus*. After this, he beheaded the authors of this warre, and honoured *Fauſtus* and the reſt with condigne gifts, who with great courage had firſt attempted and aſcended the wall. As for Ieruſalem, he made it tributary to the Romans, taking away from the Iewes thoſe Cities they had conquered in Cœloſyria, and aſſigning them a proper and peculiar gouernment. After this, he incloſed the nation within certaine limits, whereas before time their dominions were of a large extent. Not long after this, hee repaired Gadara, that not long before was deſtroied: all which he performed in fauour of *Demetrius* the Gadarenian his late ſeruant and bondman. And as touching Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azot, Iamnia, and Arethuſa, hee reſtored them to the ancient inhabitants thereof, all which were ſituate in the heart of the land: Beſides, Gaza, Ioppa, Dora, and the tower of Straton (cities ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt, and ruinated before times with diuers warres) he ſet

F at libertie, and annexed them vnto the prouince. As for the tower of Straton, it was magnificently builded by *Herod*, and decked with gates and faire Temples, and the name thereof was changed, and called Cæſarea. Thus *Hircanus* and *Ariſtobulus* through their diſſenſions and ciuill broyles, were the cauſe of that ſeruitude and miſery that fell vpon the Iewes. For we haue loſt our liberty, and haue beene ſubdued by the Romans. Beſides that, we haue beene enforced to ſurrender vp thoſe Cities vnto the Syrians, which we before time by force of armes had conquered

The yeere of the world, 3093. before Chriſts Natiuity, 61.

The Iewes intermitted not their ſacrifice notwithſtanding the ſiege.

The taking of the Temple.

Twelue thouſand Iewes ſlaine.

Pompey entering the temple, neither toucheth or taketh away any thing. Alias cap 9.

Pompey beſtoweth the Prieſthood on Hircanus.

Ieruſalem tributary to to Rome.

Gadara reſtored.

Cities taken from the Iewes.

and

The yeere of the world, 3093. before Christs Nativity, 61.

and gotten from them. And that which is to be lamented, the Romans in a little time haue drawn G from vs more then ten thousand talents: and the royaltie which before time was an honour reserued for those that were of the race of the high Priests, hath beene bestowed on men of obscurity and community: whereof we will speake in place conuenient. After that *Pompey* had giuen Cœlosyria to *Scaurus*, from Euphrates as farre as to the frontiers of Ægypt, with two legions of the Romans; he went into Cilicia, and from thence drew towards Rome, leading with him *Aristobulus* in bonds, and his children (who were two sonnes, and two daughters) one of which called *Alexander*, escaped by flight; and as touching *Antigonus* (who was the yonger) hee was led to Rome with his sisters.

Scaurus president of Cœlosyria.

CHAP. IX.

SCAVRVS *maketh warre against* ARETAS. H

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 9.

SCAVRVS led forth his army against Petra a Citie in Arabia, and for that the Citie might very hardly be besieged, hee spoiled all the countrey round about. When as therefore his army was pressed with famine, *Antipater* by the commandement of *Hircanus*, furnished him with corne, and all other necessaries out of Iewry. Who beeing sent Embassadour to *Aretas* from *Scaurus*, in that hee had sometime soiourned with him, perswaded him to contribute a certaine summe of siluer to warrantize his countrey from pillage; and hee himselfe also became pledge for three hundreth talents. This done, *Scaurus* finished the warre, according to his desire, and with no lesse contentment to *Aretas* and his countrey. I

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER *ouercome by* GABINIVS, *retireth himselfe into a Castle, wherein hee is shut vp and besieged.*

The yeere of the world, 3094. before Christs Nativity, 60.

NOT long after this, *Alexander Aristobulus* sonne, made diuers inroads into Iewry: for which cause *Gabinius* came from Rome into Syria, and (besides other things worthy of memory which he atchieued) he led forth his army against *Alexander*, for that *Hircanus* had not as yet sufficient power to resist him, beeing otherwise exercised in building the walles of Ierusalem that were beaten downe by *Pompey*; notwithstanding the Romans that were K
Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. al. 11. in Iewrie hindred him from performing the same. This *Alexander* trauailing thorow the whole countrey, assembled diuers Iewes; so that in short time, hauing gotten together tenne thousand footemen, and fifteene hundreth horse with good munition, he fortified the Castle of Alexandrion neere vnto the Citie of Coreas. Hee fortified Machæron also in the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinius* therefore came forth against him, hauing sent before him *Marcus Antonius* accompanied with other Chiefetaines of warre, who armed the Romans of their traine, and the Iewes that were vnder their obedience, whose Captaines were *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*. They tooke also those allies whom *Antipater* had hired, and in this equipage came they to make head against *Alexander*. *Gabinius* also seconded them with his troupes. Hereupon *Alexander* drew more neere with his army towards Ierusalem, where waging battell with the Romans, hee lost about three L
thousand of his followers, and the like number of his men were led away prisoners. After this *Gabinius* repaired to Alexandrion, and inuited those that held the same to depart, promising them pardon for the rebellion they had begunne. And where as many of his enemies had encamped themselues before the Fort, the Romans charged them: in which conflict *Marcus Antonius* was adiudged to haue behaued himselfe very valiantly, in that he slew diuers of his enemies. *Gabinius* left a part of his armie in that place, to the ende that during the siege thereof, hee might goe and visit the countrey of Iudæa: he commanded therefore all those Cities, which in his iourney he found either desolate or destroyed, to be repaired: so that Samaria, Azot, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa and Gaza, with diuers others, were new builded: so that thorow the obedience that was giuen to *Gabinius* command, it came to passe that the Cities were M
safely inhabited which had laine long time before desert.

Castles fortified.

Gabinius causeth diuers cities in Iury to be repaired that were defaced.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11 al. 12. Alexandrion & other castles rased.

And after *Gabinius* had behaued himselfe in this manner in the countrey, he returned to Alexandrion. Whilst therefore he thus insisted about the siege, *Alexander* sent Embassadors vnto him, demanding pardon at his hand for his offences, and restoring into his hands the Castles of Hircania and Machæron, and finally that of Alexandrion; which *Gabinius* leuelled with the ground. And whereas *Alexanders* mother came vnto him (who fauoured the Romane faction, and whose husband

husband and children were kept priſoners in Rome) ſhe obtained all that which ſhe requeſted at his hands: and after he had carefully and friendly diſpoſed of her affaires, he led *Hircanus* to Ieruſalem to take charge of the temple and Prieſthood. He ordained alſo fiue iudgement ſeats and places of ſeſſion, and diuided the prouince into anſwerable parts: for the one anſwered in Ieruſalem; the ſecond at Gadara; the third in Amatha; the fourth at Ierico; and the fift at Saphora; which is a towne of Galilee. By this meanes the Iewes were deliuered of their Monarchie, and liued vnder an Ariſtocracie, or gouernment of the Nobilitie.

The yeere of the world, 3974. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 60.

Fiue preſidiall ſieges in Iury.

CHAP. XI.

ARISTOBVLVS eſcapeth out of priſon and flieth from Rome, and is apprehended againe by GABINIVS in Iudæa, and led backe priſoner to Rome.

BVT *Ariſtobulus* flying from Rome, returned into Iewrie, and determined to reedifie the Caſtle of Alexandrion, which not long ſince was ruinated. Againſt him *Gabinius* ſent out certaine men of warre with their captaines, namely *Siſenna*, *Antonius* and *Seruilius*, both to keepe him from the poſſeſſion of the place, as to apprehend and ſurpriſe him likewiſe. For many Iewes reſorted vnto him, being drawne thereunto by the ancient reputation that he had: who deſired likewiſe to worke innouations. *Pitholaus* alſo (who was eſtabliſhed Lieutenant Generall in Ieruſalem) of his owne accord came vnto him, with a thouſand men well armed: but the other that were retired within, for the moſt part were not ſufficiently furniſhed with armes; for *Ariſtobulus* making his reckoning to ſeize Machæron, diſmiſſed thoſe followers of his that were diſarmed, and were vnapt for any execution, and retaining onely eight thouſand wel armed men, he tooke the field and marched thither. But the Romans purſuing and ouertaking him, fought deſperately with him, and ouercame both him and his, notwithſtanding their valiant reſiſt. Beeing therefore forced by the enemies, they were put to flight, & about fiue thouſand of them were ſlaine; and the reſt diſperſed, wandring here and there, ſought for their owne priuate ſecurities: but *Ariſtobulus* fled to Machæron with more then a thouſand followers, and fortified the place. And though his affaires had very ſlender ſucceſſe; yet loſt he not his hope: but after he had endured the ſiege ſome two daies, and receiued many wounds, he was taken priſoner, and with his ſon *Antigonus* (who fled from Rome with him) led away captiue by *Gabinius*. Such was the aduenture of *Ariſtobulus*, that he was ſent priſoner backe againe to Rome, and there kept in bonds after he had beene King and high Prieſt three yeeres, and ſixe moneths. A man in that dignity both magnificent and magnanimous: yet did the Senate ſend backe his children (according to the tenor of *Gabinius* letters) who had promiſed their deliuery to their mother, at ſuch time as ſhee ſurrendred the Caſtles into his hands: whereupon they returned into Iewry. But *Gabinius*, intending to make warre againſt the Parthians, and hauing already paſt Euphrates, changed his reſolution, and determined to returne into Egypt, and reeſtabliſhed *Ptolomey*, as it is declared in an other place. In this expedition alſo he was furniſhed by *Antipaters* meanes, with victuals, money and munition; and by his aduice, thoſe Iewes that inhabite Peluſium (who kept as it were the very entry into Egypt) were drawne into his ſociety. When as therefore *Gabinius* returned backe out of Egypt, he found all Syria full of tumult and rebellion. For *Alexander*, *Ariſtobulus* ſonne, taking once more poſſeſſion of the kingdome, cauſed diuers Iewes from day to day to reuolt; and forraging the countrey with a huge army, he ſlew all thoſe Romanes whom he met withall, and beſieged all thoſe that fled into the mount Garizim. *Gabinius* ſeeing the affaires of Syria in that eſtate, ſent *Antipater* before him vnto them to appeaſe theſe commotions, and to heale them of their frenzie, and if it were poſſible to reduce them to a better mind: for *Antipater* was a man of good diſcretion. In effect, he repairing vnto them, moderated diuers of them, and brought them vnder obedience: but it was impoſſible for him to reconcile *Alexander*, for he hauing thirty thouſand ſouldiers with him, came forth to meet with *Gabinius*, with whom he fought, and was ouercome, with the loſſe of ſome ten thouſand of his men, neere vnto the mount Itabyr.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 13.

Ariſtobulus returning from Rome, ſeeketh to reeſtabliſh Alexandrion.

Ariſtobulus ouercome in battell by the Romans.

Ariſtobulus ſent backe againe priſoner to Rome, with his ſonne Antigonus.

Ariſtobulus ſonnes diſcharged.

Antipater relieueth Gabinius in his iourney to Ægypt to inſtall Ptolomey.

Alexander Ariſtobulus ſon vſurpeth the Monarchie.

Alexander ouercome by Gabinius.

After that *Gabinius* had ordered all things in Ieruſalem by *Antipaters* aduice, he preſently ſet forward againſt the Nabatheans, whom he ouercame in battell. He ſent backe alſo *Mithridates* and *Orſanes* (men of good reckoning among the Parthians) who had retired themſelues vnto him, cauſing a bruit to be ſpred, that they were fled with *Gabinius*. Now when *Gabinius* had performed great and magnificent exploits in warre, he returned to Rome, ſurrendring the gouernment to *Craſſus*. *Nicholas Damaſcene*, and *Strabo* of Cappadocia (who differeth in nothing from *Nicholas*) haue written of theſe expeditions of *Pompey*, and *Gabinius* in Iudæa.

The conqueſt of the Nabatheans.

Mithridates and Orſanes.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world. 3924. before Christs Natiuitie. 60.

CHAP. XII.

CRASSVS *going against the Parthians, passeth by Iudæa, and robbeth the sacred treasurie.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13 al. 14.

CRASSVS intending to make warre against the Parthians, came into Iewry, and tooke away with him the sacred money (which *Pompey* had not touched, which amounted to the summe of two thousand talents: He spoiled the temple also of all the golde that was in the same, to the summe of 8000. talents. Furthermore, he bare away a wedge of solid gold, to the weight of three hundreth pounds, which pound amongst the Iewes containeth two pounds and a halfe. He that deliuered him this ingot, was a Priest, and the keeper of the sacred treasure, called *Eleazar*, who gaue him the same vpon no malicious intent (for he was a vertuous and iust man) but whereas he had the custodie of the tapestries of the temple, committed to his hands (which both were admirable to behold, by reason of their beautie and esteeme, and withall were in like sort tied and fastned to this beame) and perceiuing that *Crassus* sought all the meanes that in him lay, to gather all the money he could, he fearing least he should haue seized on all the ornaments of the temple, gaue him this beame for a ransome to redeeme all the rest: binding him vpon the deliuerie thereof by an oath, that hee should not take any thing away that was in the temple, but should content himselfe with that onely piece of great esteeme and value, which he gaue him. This beame was inclosed in another hollow beame of wood; so that no man knew thereof but onely *Eleazar*. *Crassus* therefore tooke this beame, as if he determined to leaue all other things in the temple; yet notwithstanding he falsified his oath, and carried away whatsoeuer was therein. Neither is it to bee wondred at, that there was so great riches found in our temple, sith all those Iewes that were dispersed thorow the face of the whole earth, and all those that feared God (both in Asia and in Europe) for a long time offered their presents in that place. The greatnesse and multitude whereof wanteth no testimonie: neither is it fained in way of ostentation, but diuers other Historians make mention thereof: and amongst the rest, *Strabo* of Cappadocia speaketh after this manner. And *Mithridates* sent men into the Isle of Coos, to fetch from thence the money that Queene *Cleopatra* had laid vp there, and eight hundreth talents of the Iewes. But we haue no publique money, but that which is dedicated vnto God. It is therefore a thing most manifest, that the Iewes that inhabite Asia, transported this money into Coos, for the feare that they had of *Mithridates*: For it is not likely that they, who inhabited Iudæa, and had a Citie so strong, and a temple so well defenced, should send their money to Coos. Neither is it credible likewise, that the Iewes remaining in Alexandria should doe it, for that they feared not to fall into danger thorow this warre of *Mithridates*. The same *Strabo* also saith in another place, that at such time as *Sylla* passed thorow Greece to make warre against *Mithridates* and *Lucullus*, he sent men to Cyrene, which was troubled by reason of the mutinies of our nation, wherewith the whole world was filled, and saith thus: There were foure sorts of people in the Citie of the Cyrenians: One of them were Citizens; the second were Labourers; the third were Soiourners; and the fourth were Iewes, who at this present are intermingled thorow all Cities; neither is there an inhabited place thorowout the world, neither was there any nation that inhabite the same, wherein these haue not set foote and fortified. For both Egypt and Cyrene (being vnder the subiection of the same Princes) and diuers other regions, conformed themselues to their customes, and nourished assemblies of Iewes, and aduanced them, and more and more vsed the Iewish ordinances. It appeareth therefore that there was a colony of Iewes in Ægypt. Furthermore, in Alexandria a great part of the Citie is assigned to this nation. They haue likewise their peculiar magistrate, who gouerneth the people, endeth, and decideth their differences, and maintaineth their contracts and ordinances, as if hee gouerned in his owne common-weale. By this meanes, this nation hath fortified and established it selfe in Ægypt, for that the Iewes had their originall amongst the Ægyptians, and for that Iudæa is neere vnto Ægypt, from whence the Iewes are descended: And as touching Cyrene, they haue entred it, in that it confineth that countrey, which is vnder the obedience of the Ægyptians (in like maner as Iudæa doth) or rather for that in times past it appertained to the same kingdome. Thus farre *Strabo*.

The yeere of the world, 3911. before Christs Natiuity, 53.

Marcus Crassus in his expedition against the Parthians, taketh the treasure out of the temple of Ierusalem.

Crassus breaketh his oath.

Whence the temple of Ierusalem grew so rich.

Strabo of Cappadocia.

Crassus slaine in Parthia.

After that *Crassus* had disposed all things according to his owne pleasure, hee dislodged and marched forward to make warre against the Parthians, where both he and all his army were destroied (as it is declared in another place.) As for *Cassius*, he retired himselfe into Syria, and tooke possession thereof, to the end he might affront the Parthians; who being proud of their victorie lately

Cassius resisteth the Parthians.

A lately obtained, made excurſions ſo farre : and comming to Tyre, hee finally arriued in Iudæa, where vpon his firſt entrance hee tooke the Citie of Tarichæa, and led away from thence thirty thouſand priſoners. He put *Pitholaus* alſo to death, for that he maintained *Ariſtobulus* faction. All which he did by *Antipaters* procurement and inſtigation, who was in great credit with him, and who alſo at that time was highly eſteemed amongſt the Idumæans : amongſt whom hee married his wife, who was deſcended of one of the moſt famous families of Arabia, her name was *Cypron*, by whom he had theſe foure ſonnes : *Phaſælus* and *Herod* (who after was made King) *Ioſeph* and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*. This *Antipater* alſo made alliance with other Princes, and eſpecially with the Arabian, to whoſe cuſtody he committed his children, during the time he made war againſt *Ariſtobulus*. But *Caſsius* gathered another army, and marched towards Euphrates to make head againſt the Parthians, as it is ſpecified and regiſtred by other Writers.

The yeare of the world, 3911. before Chriſts Nativitie. 53.

Antipaters wife and children.

B

CHAP. XIII.

POMPEY *retireth himſelfe into Epirus, and* SCIPIO *commeth into Syria.*

ANON after this, *Cæſar* (beeing Lord of Rome) after that *Pompey* and the Senate were fled on the other ſide of the Ionian ſea, ſet *Ariſtobulus* at liberty, determining to ſend him into Syria, with two legions ; as being a ſufficient man to gouerne the ſtate affaires in that quarter. Neuertheleſſe, *Ariſtobulus* failed of his hopes and authority hee expected at *Cæſars* hands : For *Pompeys* partakers preuented and poiſoned him, where-through he died ; ſo that hee C was buried by thoſe of *Cæſars* faction. His body was kept embalmed with hony for a long time, vntill that *Antonius* ſent it into Iury, to be entombed among the Kings and Princes.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Chriſts Nativity. 47.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. 15.

Ariſtobulus deliuered out of priſon, is poiſoned.

Scipio, by *Pompeys* commandement, cauſed *Alexander Ariſtobulus* ſonnes head to bee cut off, charging him with ſome miſdemeanors which he had committed againſt the Romanes, and after this manner finiſhed he his daies being executed in Antioch. *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Mennæus*, who gouerned in Chalcis (at the foote of the mount Libanus) tooke his brothers, and ſent his ſonne *Philippion* to Aſcalon to *Ariſtobulus* wife, commanding her to ſend her ſonne *Antigonus* and his daughters ; one of which, called *Alexandra*, was beloued by *Philippion*, and married by him : but afterwards he beeing ſlaine, *Ptolomey Philippions* father married her, and continued the carefull maintenance of his brethren in law.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15 al. 16.

The ſlaughter of Ariſtobulus ſonne.

D

CHAP. XIIII.

CAESARS *voyage into Egypt, wherein hee was aſsiſted by the faithfull ſeruice of the Iewes.*

AFTER *Pompeis* death, and that victory which *Cæſar* had obtained againſt him, *Antipater* (gouernour of Iudæa by the commandement of *Hircanus*) was very profitable vnto *Cæſar*. For whereas *Mithridates* the Pergamenian brought him certaine ſupplies, and could E not bring them on, by reaſon of an arme of Nilus paſſing thorow Peluſium ; but was conſtrained to ſtay at Aſcalon : *Antipater* came vnto him, and brought with him three thouſand ſouldiers, and ſo dealt with the Princes of Arabia to aſſociate them with *Cæſar*, that by his meanes, all they of Syria gaue him their aſſiſtance, and neuer altered their affection that they bare vnto *Cæſar*. Theſe were *Iamblicus* a great Lord, and *Ptolomey* his ſonne ; and *Tholomæus* the ſonne of *Sohemus*, dwelling on the mount of Libanus, and welny all the Cities. *Mithridates* being departed from Syria, campe to Peluſium, where beeing repulſed and excluded by the Citizens, hee beſieged the Citie. *Antipater* in this warre behaued himſelfe valiantly, and after hee had beaten downe a pane of the wall, he firſt of all ſet forward to enter the Citie. Whileſt Peluſium was in this eſtate, the Iewes that inhabited Ægypt in the countrey of *Onias*, would neither grant paſſage to *Antipater*, nor *Mithridates* that marched towards *Cæſar*. But *Antipater* who was of their nation, perſwaded them F to take their parts, ſhewing them the letters of the high Prieſt *Hircanus*, in which he inuited them them to be friends vnto *Cæſar*, and exhorted them to furniſh his army in whatſoeuer they ſtood in neede of ; ſo that ſeeing that *Antipater* and the high Prieſt were accorded together, they ſubmitted themſelues. They that dwelt round about Memphis, hearing that they were thus vnited, ſent for *Mithridates* alſo vnto them, who came and receiued them into his fauour.

Hedio & Ruf. finus chap. 16. al. 17.

Antipater gathereth ſouldiers out of Syria for Cæſars ſeruice.

Antipater helpeth Mithridates to take Peluſium.

The Iewes of Onias countrey, are confederated with Cæſar.

Memphis in Ægypt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The noble actions of ANTIPATER, *and the amity that he had with* CAESAR.

The yeare of the world, 3917. before Christs Nativitie. 47.

WHEN hee was come to a place called Delta, hee fought with his enemies in a place, which is called the campe of the Iewes : in which battell *Mithridates* led the right wing, and *Antipater* the left. When as therefore they came to handy blowes, *Mithridates* wing retired and fainted, and grew in danger to be wholly discomfited, had not *Antipater* (running with his souldiers along the banke of the riuer) obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, by putting the Ægyptians that were conquerours to flight, and restoring *Mithridates*. And so long pursued he them that he got their campe, and called backe *Mithridates*, who chased the Ægyptians, to take part of the prey with him, that hee had recouered from the fugitiue enemy. In this fight there fell eight hundreth on the enemies side, and fiftie on *Antipaters*. Afterwards, *Mithridates* wrote herof vnto *Cæsar*, and certified him that *Antipater* was cause of the victorie, and their preseruation : so that *Cæsar* from that time forward highly commended him, and in all his warre he made vse of *Antipater* in his most dangerous attempts : Whereby it came to passe that *Antipater* was grieuously wounded in diuers fights.

The conflict of the Egyptians with Mithridates at Delta. Alias cap. 18.

Mithridates commendeth Antipaters seruice to Cæsar.

Now after that the warre was finished, *Cæsar* sailed into Syria, and bestowed great honours as well on *Hircanus* to whom he confirmed the high Priesthood, as on *Antipater*, whom he made a free citizen of Rome, and granted him full exemption of all charges in all places. Diuers men report that *Hircanus* himselfe was an agent in this warre, and that he came into Ægypt: whereunto accordeth *Strabo* the Cappadocian, speaking after this manner by the authority of *Asinius*; after that *Mithridates* had entred Ægypt, with *Hircanus* the high Priest of the Iewes. The same *Strabo* in another place speaketh thus by the authority of *Hypsicrates*, that *Mithridates* issued alone; and that *Antipater* was sent for into Ascalon, where he prepared three thousand souldiers, because he was gouernour of Iudæa, and encouraged the rest of the gouernours ; and *Hircanus* the high Priest also had a part in this warre. Thus farre *Strabo*. At that time came *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* sonne, to *Cæsar*, lamenting vnto him the inconuenient that had befallen his father, and how hee was slaine by poison in his seruice, and how his brother had his head strooken off by *Scipio*; beseeching him to haue compassion of him, who was excluded and thrust out of the kingdome. He accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater* also, for their tyrannicall and violent gouernment ouer their nation, and iniuries offered to himselfe. *Antipater* being at that time present, answered for himselfe in those points wherein he was accused; declaring that *Antigonus* and his friends were factious and seditious men, protesting for himselfe how much hee had trauailed, and how many exploits he had executed, in the late warre, whereof *Cæsar* himselfe was a witnesse. Moreouer, he auowed that *Aristobulus* had beene iustly led twice into captiuity to Rome, for that he had bin alwaies an enemy, and no waies well affectioned towards the Romans. And as for his brother, who was beheaded by *Scipio*, hee auerred that he was iustly punished by him, for his Larcinies, and not iniuriously and outragiously as he pretended. After that *Antipater* had spoken to this effect, *Cæsar* declared *Hircanus* high Priest, and gaue *Antipater* any gouernment whatsoeuer best him liked: who according to his choice, was appointed perfect in Iudæa.

Cæsar confirmeth Hircanus in the priesthood, & maketh Antipater a citizen of Rome. Strabo. Asinius. Hypsicrates.

The yeere of the world, 3919. before Christs Nativitie. 45.

Antigonus Aristobulus son accuseth Hircanus & Antipater before Cæsar.

Antipaters answer to his obiection.

Antipater made gouernour ouer Iudæa.

CHAP. XVI.

CAESARS *letters, and the Senates decree as touching their amity with the Iewes.*

MOREOVER *Cæsar* permitted *Hircanus* to repaire the walles of Ierusalem (according to his humble suit.) For after that *Pompey* had beaten them downe, they lay leuelled with the earth ; and he commanded the Consuls at Rome, that this decree should bee registred in the Capitol. The example of which ordinance of the Senate containeth matter to this effect ; *Lucius Valerius* the sonne of *Lucius* the Pretor, hath related to the Senate (assembled in the temple of Concord the 13. day of December) in the presence of *L. Caponius* the sonne of *Lucius*, and *Caius Papyrius Quirinus* ; the requests made by *Alexander* the son of *Iason*, *Numenius* the sonne of *Antiochus*, and *Alexander* the sonne of *Dorotheus*, Embassadors in the behalfe of the Iewes, men of good regard, and our allies, and proposed by them in renuing the ancient fauours they haue receiued from the Romanes : and in testimony of the confederation ; haue brought as

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. al. 18. Hircanus by Cæsars permission repaireth the wals of Ierusalem.

The Senates decree as touching their league with the Iewes.

A vs a violl and buckler of gold of fiftie thouſand crownes price; requiring our letters might bee giuen them, addreſſed to the free Cities and the kings our confederates, to grant them paſſage thorow their countries and ports with all ſecurity, and without any offence. And we haue thought good to make friendſhip and alliance with them and to grant them all that which they require, in accepting the buckler brought by them. This hapned in the time that *Hircanus* was high prieſt and prince, and in the ninth yeere of his princedome, in the month of Iuly. *The yeere of the world, 3919. before Chriſts Nativity, 45.*

Hircanus was in like ſort honored by the people of Athens, for many commodities and friendſhips that they receiued at his hands. They ſent him alſo a decree which they ratified in his behalfe, the tenor whereof enſueth: The yeere wherien *Dyoniſius* the ſonne of *Aſclepiades* was gouernour, and prieſt, in the moneth of Iuly, and on the 20. day this arreſt or deeree of the Athenians was deliuered to the gouernours by the Pretor *Agathocles*. *Eucles* the ſonne of *Menander* the Alimuſian hath written in the eleuenth of March in the aſſembly generall; and placed it in the Theater, and the ſuffrages were gathered by *Dorotheus* the high prieſt, with the chiefe aſſiſtants of the people. *Dyoniſius* the ſonne of *Dyoniſius* publiſhed the ſame: Since that *Hircanus* the ſonne of *Alexander*, the high prieſt and prince of the Iewes, continueth his good affection towards all the people, and in eſpeciall towards euery Citizen of Athens, and hath ſhewed them many friendſhips, receiuing with all humanitie thoſe Athenians that come vnto him, whether they reſort thither as Embaſſadours, or for any other particular occaſion whatſoeuer, and ſendeth them backe after they haue prouided them of ſafe conduct, whereof we haue heretofore had teſtimonie by the report of *Theodoſius*, the ſon of *Theodorus Simeus*; who hath made recitall vnto the people of his worthineſſe, and of the will he hath to doe vs all the good that is poſſible. We haue thought good to honour him by ſending him a crowne of gold in teſtimony of his curteſies, according to our cuſtome and law; and by erecting a brazen ſtatue vnto him in the temple of Demus, and the Graces: Our will is alſo that this be proclaimed by a herauld in the Theater, during the Bacchanals, and at ſuch time as the new Tragedies are plaide. Likewiſe in the ſolemnities Panathean and Eleuſynian, and at the publike exerciſes: wee will alſo that the gouernours prouide, that all that which we haue aduiſed for the honour, fauour, affection and good will toward this man, as he hath well deſerued, be diligently performed, to the end that thereby it may appeare how our nation reward, and entertaine ſuch men as are vertuous; and to the intent, that the honour we impart vnto him, may prouoke others to be the better affected toward vs. It is likewiſe decreed, that amongſt all the Athenians there be certen Embaſſadours choſen, who ſhall beare this Decree vnto him, and exhort him to doe whatſoeuer is profitable for our common good, ſeeing himſelfe ſo much honoured by vs. Let this ſuffice to expreſſe the honours beſtowed on *Hircanus* by the people of Rome, and the Citizens of Athens.

Hircanus honoured by the Athenians.

After that *Cæſar* had giuen order for the affaires of Syria, hee returned backe by ſea. And as ſoone as *Antipater* had brought *Cæſar* out of Syria, he returned into Iudæa, and ſodainly builded vp the walles which were before time defaced by *Pompey*; and in riding circuit about the countrey, he pacified the troubles, not onely by menaces; but by counſailes alſo which hee gaue euery one to liue in peace; certifying them that if they ſubmitted themſelues to *Hircanus* their prince they ſhould liue happily, and enioy their poſſeſſions without any trouble: and that if they hoped to aduance themſelues by any new commotion (ſuppoſing by that meanes to profit themſelues ſome way) they ſhould feele that in ſteed of a gouernor, they had a maſter; and in ſteed of a king, they ſhould finde *Hircanus* a tyrant; and in ſteed of the Romans and *Cæſar* to be their gouernors, they ſhould feele and find them to be their moſt hatefull enemies, for that they would not ſuffer, that any thing ſhould be altered that they had eſtabliſhed. By theſe and ſuch like admonitions, he kept and continued all the countrey in peace.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18 Cæſar departeth out of Syria. Antipater pacifieth all occaſion of commotion in Iudæa. *The yeere of the world, 3921. before Chriſts Nativitie, 43.*

CHAP. XVII.

ANTIPATER *committeth the gouernment of Galilee to his ſonne* HEROD, *and that of Ieruſalem to* PHASÆLVS *his other ſonne: and how* SEXTVS CÆSAR *aduanceth* HEROD *to great honours and dignities.*

ANTIPATER perceiuing that *Hircanus* was ſlow and idle, he declared and appointed *Phaſaelus* his eldeſt ſonne gouernour ouer Ieruſalem, and the countrey thereabout: As for *Herod* (who was very young, for hee was not at that time aboue fifteene yeeres olde) hee committed Galilee vnto his charge: who although hee were young in yeeres, yet did not his tender age any waies preiudice him becauſe hee was of a noble ſpirit, and found

Alias, chap. 10 Antipater maketh Phaſælus gouernour in Ieruſalem, and Herod in Galilee.

The yeare of the world, 3921. before Christs Nativitie, 43.

out this sodaine occasion to expresse that vertue that was in him. For hauing apprehended *Exechias*, who was the prince of those theeues, who ranged ouer all Syria a long time with a great troupe of outlawes, he put him to death with diuers of his complices. Which act of his got him no little estimation and credit among the Syrians: for by that meanes he rid their countrey of all those robbers, according as they desired. He was therfore praised thorow the villages, and Cities for this act, as he that had giuen them peace, and assured possession of their estates. For this cause he was made knowne to *Sextus Cæsar*, who was vncle to *Cæsar* the great. Furthermore his brother *Phasælus* was incited to follow his noble actions, and inforced himselfe to obtaine no lesse reputation then he had; for which cause he stroue to get the good will of the common people in Ierusalem, and gouerned the city with such discretion, that he acted all things to each mans content, and abused not his power to any priuat mans iniury: which was the cause that *Antipater* was honoured by the whole nation, with no lesse respect then if he had beene their onely Lord and soueraigne. Yet did not this eminencie of estate so farre distract him, that he forgot the loue and duty he ought to *Hircanus* (as in such like occasions it oftentimes falleth out) notwithstanding diuers of the greatest amongst the Iewes (seeing *Antipater* and his sonnes so highly aduanced both by the publike fauour of the whole nation, as also by the reuenues, that they drew both out of Iewry, as also by the emploiment of *Hircanus* money) were grieuously incensed against them. For *Antipater* had made friendship with the Emperors of Rome, and hauing perswaded *Hircanus* to send them money, he had appropriated the same vnto himselfe, sending it not in *Hircanus* name, but in his owne; which though *Hircanus* knew, yet was he not mooued therewith, but rather well contented. But that which most of all terrified the princes of the Iewes was, to behold the violent and audacious nature of *Herod*, who gouerned after a royall and tyrannicall manner: For this cause they addressed themselues to *Hircanus* and accused *Antipater* openly. How long (said they) will you dissemble and winke at those things that are daily practised? see you not that *Antipater* and his sons possesse in effect the royall power and authority of the kingdome, and that you haue onely the name? Assure your selfe that you are not out of danger in contemning thus both your selfe and your kingdome. For *Antipater* and his sonnes are not now your substitutes, neither intend they your profit, or your countries good (whatsoeuer your opinion is of them) but they openly are known for Lords and Commanders. For *Herod* (*Antipaters* son) hath already put *Ezechias* and his complices to death, and therby transgressed our lawes, which forbid to take away any mans life (how wicked soeuer hee be) except he be first of all condemned to death by the councell: and notwithstanding this hee hath been so bold, as to doe iustice without your authority. When *Hircanus* heard this, he grew wroth (for their mothers, whom *Herod* had slaine, had incensed him by their continuall exclamations in the temple, exhorting the king and people to call *Herod* to account before the councell of that which he had done.) So that *Hircanus* mooued by these women called *Herod* to answer vnto those accusations which were obiected against him. Who made his appearance, forewarned by his father not to present himselfe after the manner of a priuate person, but well attended and accompanied to withstand all inconuenients. After therefore he had taken order for the affaires in Galilee (according as he thought meet in his owne discretion) and that he himselfe was sufficiently accompanied to make his voiage, with such a guard as neither might terrifie *Hircanus* with number, nor leaue himselfe vnsecured in danger, he resorted to Ierusalem. Furthermore, *Scxtus Cæsar* gouernour of Syria wrote vnto *Hircanus* to absolue him, adding threats to his perswasions, if so be hee should performe the contrary; which gaue *Hircanus* occasion to deliuer *Herod* in despite of the councell and their intent; the rather also for that hee loued him as intirely as his sonne. When as therefore *Herod* presented himselfe before the councell with his retinue all of them were astonished, and none of those that accused him in his absence, durst open their mouthes to speake one word, but all of them kept silence, not knowing what to doe. Now whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, a certaine man called *Sameas*, who was of vpright conuersation, and for this cause was not distracted with feare, arose and spake to this effect. Drad king, and you honourable assistants, I could neuer yet remember, that euer any man which was called in question to defend his cause before vs, hath appeared in this equipage; and I suppose that none of you can say, that the like hath euer happened: but whosoeuer commeth into this place to receiue iudgement; hee presenteth himselfe with humilitie and feare, with a countenance prepared to implore mercy, hauing his haire long, and his garment blacke: but this gallant *Herod* accused of murther (and for this occasion called before vs) who could imagine that he should appeare before vs in a purple robe, hauing his haires trimmed, and besides that, a guard of armed men about him? with an intent

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs Nativitie, 42.

Herod executeth Ezechias and his followers for robberies.

Sextus Cæsar gouernour of Syria.

The forme of Phasælus his gouernment.

Antipater notwithstanding his high authority was alwaies faithfull to Hircanus.

Antipater winneth the Romanes hearts by Hircanus money, and draweth the Iewes into hatred.

The Iewes accuse Antipater and Herod before Hircanus.

Herod called in question appeareth with a great traine.

Sextus Cæsar writeth to Hircanus to discharge Herod.

Sameas one of the Iudges fortelleth Hircanus and his counsailers of their imminent death by Herods meanes.

that

A that if we condemne him, according to law, he may put vs to death without law, that after hee hath violated all right, he might eſcape and ſaue himſelfe. But I blame not *Herod* in this action, for that he hath a more inward regard of his particular profit, then of the law: but I accuſe both you and the King, who haue giuen him ſuch aſſurance. Know therefore, that there is a ſoueraigne God, that will one day puniſh both you and the King, and him whom you will deliuer by the Kings meanes. And ſo generally fell it out as hee had ſaid: For as ſoone as *Herod* had obtained the kingdome, hee put all thoſe of the councell to death, and *Hircanus* himſelfe likewiſe, onely *Sameas* was exempted: for he held him in great eſtimation, becauſe of his wiſedome and iuſtice, and becauſe that at ſuch time as the Citie was beſieged by *Herod* and *Soſius*, *Sameas* perſwaded the people to receiue *Herod*, telling them that by reaſon of their ſinnes and offences, they might B not eſcape from him; whereof we will ſpeake in place conuenient. *Hircanus* perceiuing that the iudges were inclined to condemne *Herod*, deferred the ſentence till the next day, and ſent ſecretly vnto *Herod*, counſelling him to flie out of the Citie, aſſuring him that there was no other meanes to ſaue his life. Thus poſted he to Damaſco (as if he had fled from the Kings preſence) and preſenting himſelfe before *Sextus Cæſar*, after hee had aſſured his perſon, hee reſolued with himſelfe that if the councell ſhould call him once more to his anſwer, he would not obey them. But after his departure the councell were diſpleaſed with *Hircanus*, and laboured to perſwade him, that all theſe things tended to his deſtruction: which he well perceiued, yet knew hee not what to doe, he was ſo negligent and void of foreſight.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 42.

Herod honored Sameas.

Herod admoniſhed by Hircanus flieth himſelfe by flight, and appeareth no more in iudgment.

When *Sextus* had made *Herod* gouernour of Cœloſyria (which eſtate he ſold vnto him for ready money) *Hircanus* was affraid leaſt *Herod* ſhould make war againſt him: neither paſſed there C long time before the effect grew anſwerable to his feare. For *Herod* marched forth againſt him with a great army, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be much wronged by the aſſignation hee had ſent him, and in that he was ſummoned to giue a reaſon of his actions before the councell. But his father *Antipater*, and his brother *Phaſælus* came forth againſt him to hinder his approch towards Ieruſalem, ſtriuing to appeaſe his fury, and counſelling him not to attempt any thing by way of action; but that contenting himſelfe that he had threatned and affrighted *Hircanus*, hee ſhould not attempt any further againſt him, who had raiſed him to that high degree. They told him alſo, that it became him not onely to remember that he was cited to anſwer but that he was abſolued alſo, and permitted to depart without danger or any violence. Moreouer, that he ought to thinke, D that God gouerneth the ballance of warre, and that the iſſues of battels is vncertaine, and for that cauſe he ought not to expect the victorie, if hee made warre againſt the King who was his familiar, and from whom he had receiued farre more kindneſſe, and no diſpleaſure: who though hee made ſome appearance and ſhadow of ſeueritie, touching the accuſation intended againſt him, yet notwithſtanding it proceeded not ſo much from him, as from his euill counſellors. *Herod* in ſome ſort pacified by theſe perſwaſions, obeyed his father, ſuppoſing that it ſufficed him in regard of his future hopes, that he had giuen the people ſo large a teſtimonie of his power. This was the eſtate of the Iewes at that time.

Alias chap. 11 Sextus Cæſar ſelleth his Preſidents place to Herod for ready money.

Herod marcheth againſt Hircanus with a great army, and is diſſwaded from war by his father Antipater, and his brother Phaſælus.

But *Cæſar* arriuing at Rome, prepared himſelfe to ſet ſaile towards Affricke, with an intent to make warre againſt *Scipio* and *Cato*. To him *Hircanus* ſent Embaſſadours, beſeeching him to E confirme the amitie and aſſociation that hee had with him. But now at this preſent, I thinke it very conuenient to declare all the prerogatiues, and aſſociations that the Romans and their Emperors made with thoſe of our nation, to the end that all other people might know, that the Kings of Aſia and Europe haue beene well effected towards vs, and haue made great account of our valour and fidelitie. And although diuers men lewdly affected towards vs, beleeue not that which the Macedonians and Perſians haue written of vs, becauſe the ſame matters are not extant in all places, neither ſet downe in publike writings, but only amongſt our ſelues and ſome Barbarians; yet is it manifeſt that they cannot contradict the declarations made by the Romans, which are manifeſtly affixed in publike places in Cities; as likewiſe alſo at this preſent they are written in the Capitol in brazen pillars. *Iulius Cæſar*, in like manner in a brazen pillar erected by him, hath declared vnto the Iewes that inhabited Alexandria, that they were free Citizens there- F in. And to the intent that theſe things may more manifeſtly appeare, I will propoſe the decrees of the Senate, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, made in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation. *Caius Iulius Cæſar Emperour, high Prieſt, Dictator the ſecond Time*, to the gouernours, Senate and people of the Sidonians: Health. If you are well, we are in health, both our ſelues and our armie. I haue ſent you the copy of an inſcription, regiſtred in fauour of *Hircanus Alexanders* ſonne, high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes, to the end it may be placed among your publike monuments: and my

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 19

Hircanus embaſſadours to Cæſar.

The Iewes much honoured by the Kings of Europe and Aſia.

Iulius Cæſar teſtified in a brazen pillar that the Iews were free citizens of Alexandria.

Iulius Cæſars decree touching the honours, immunities and priuiledges granted to the Iewes.

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will is, that it be engrauen in a table of brasse, both in Greeke and Latin letters; the tenour where- G
of is this that followeth: Because *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne the Iew, both at this present as also
heretofore; as well in peace as in warre, hath expressed his fidelitie towards vs and our estate, as
diuers chieftaines of our armies yeeld testimony of him; and for that in our last Alexandrine
" warre, he seconded vs in the battell with fifteene hundreth men; and hauing beene sent by vs to
" *Mithridates*, hath surmounted all those of his company in valour. For these causes my will is
" that *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne and his successors, be Princes of the Iewes: and further, that they
" continue alwaies in the high Priesthood, according to the ordinance and custome of their coun-
" trey: and that both he and his children be our associates; and bee enrowled likewise amongst
" our chiefest friends: and that all that which appertaineth to the Priesthood, according to the
" ordinances of the Iewes, be attributed to him and his. And if there happen any different as tou-
" ching the discipline of the Iewes, our pleasure is, that it bee determined by him. And as tou- H
" ching the munitions of winter, and the money to bee leuied for the entertainment of souldiers,
" wee thinke it not meete that they should be charged. The decrees made and granted by *Caius*
" *Cæsar* being Consul are these.

" That the sonnes of *Hircanus* bee Princes ouer the nation of the Iewes, and inioy the places
" granted vnto them. That the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes giue fauour and aide vnto those
" that are offenced. The Embassadours be sent to *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander* high Priest of
" the Iewes, to intreat of amitie and association with vs. That a brazen table be erected in the Ca-
" pitol: and likewise at Sidon, at Tyre, and at Ascalon in the temples, wherein shall be engrauen the
" contents hereof in Romane and Greeke letters, to the end that all the treasurers that are in the
" Cities, and all other Magistrates may by this our decree vnderstand, that they are our friends, and I
" that their Embassadours be entertained with kindnesse and presents, and that these edicts be sent
" into all places.

" *Caius Cæsar* Emperour, Dictator, Consul, for the good of the Senate and people of
" Rome, hath granted to the honour, vertue, and humanitie of *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexan-*
" *der*, that both hee and his children shall bee high Priests in Ierusalem, and of the whole Na-
" tion, according to the rites and customes, whereby their ancestors haue enioyed the Priest-
" hood.

" *Caius Cæsar*, Consul the fift time, hath ordained that they shall inhabite Ierusalem, and build
" againe the walles of the Citie; and that *Hircanus* (*Alexanders* sonne, the high Priest and Prince
" of the Iewes) shall gouerne as best him liketh, and that euery second yeere of their tribute, there
" be a Chore deducted out of the rent they owe, and that they be exempt from all other impositi- K
" ons, and tributes.

" *Caius Cæsar*, twice Emperour, hath ordained, that the Iewes shall contribute euery yeere for
" their cities, except Ioppe; he acquiteth them also euery seuenth yeere (which they call the yeere
" of rest) because that therein they neither reape, nor sow, neither gather the fruits of trees.
" His further pleasure is, that euery second yeere, they bring their tributes vnto Sidon, which shall
" be the fourth part of that which shall be sowen; and besides this, that they pay the tenths to *Hir-*
" *canus* and his sonnes, which they haue paid to their predecessours vnto this day. Commanding
" that no man whether he be gouernour, captiue, or embassadour, or any other whatsoeuer hee
" be, leuie soldiers within the countrey of Iudæa, or draw any thereout: neither exact any money,
" whether it be for garrisons in winter, or for any other cause, but that the Iewes bee exempt from
" all troubles in all places, and enioy all that which sithence they haue had, bought, and possessed. L
" It is our pleasure also, that the citie of Ioppe be vnder their gouernment (which they haue euer
" enioyed since the beginning of their friendship with the Romanes.) We further grant, that *Hir-*
" *canus Alexanders* sonne and his children, receiue the tribute of that Citie (both by them, that till
" the land, as by the gates, entries, and issues of merchandizes that are transported vnto Sidon)
" twentie thousand, sixe hundreth, seuentie and fiue bushels euery yeere, exempting the seuenth
" yeere, which is called the yeere of rest, wherein they neither labour nor gather any fruit of the
" trees. It is the Senates pleasure also, that *Hircanus* and the Iewes haue those villages, which are
" in the great champain, which he & his predecessors haue possessed, and that with the like interests
" that they held them before this; and that the same customes continue therein, whereby they held M
" and gouerned them. Their will is likewise, that the same lawes which haue from the beginning
" beene respectiuely obserued betweene the Iewes and their high Priests be continued; and what-
" soeuer benefits were granted them by the consent of the Senate and people of Rome. Moreouer
" it shall be lawfull for those of Lydda, to vse the same rites and priuiledges also. And as touching

the

A the demains places, and habitations that haue appertained to the Kings of Syria and Phœnicia, by the gift made vnto them at ſuch time as they were allied to the Romanes: the Senate I ſay ordaineth, that *Hircanus* the high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes poſſeſſe the ſame. It is lawfull alſo for *Hircanus* and his ſonnes, and their Embaſſadours ſent by them, to behold the iuſts and combates, and to ſit among the Senators, and that at all and euery time or times wherein they ſhall require to be brought into the Senate by the Dictator, or by the maſter of the horſe, they may haue free entrance; and that within ten daies at the moſt they receiue their anſwer, if there bee any decree ratified by the Senate. *The yeere of the world, 3922. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 42.*

Caius Cæſar, Emperour, the fourth time Conſull, and the fift time Dictator for terme of life, hath ratified theſe things, as touching *Hircanus* the ſonne of *Alexander*, the high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes: Becauſe that the Generals my predeceſſors haue teſtified as well in the prouinces, B as before the Senate and people of Rome, both of the good deſerts of *Hircanus* high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes, and that nation alſo towards vs and our ſtate; and whereas both the Senate and people of Rome haue gratified them for the ſame: wee thinke it conuenient alſo to haue the ſame in memory, and to giue order that *Hircanus* and his ſonnes may be remunerated by the Senate and people of Rome, according to the meaſure of their loyalties and good deſerts.

Iulius Caius Cæſar Romane Conſul, to the Gouernours, Senate and people of *Patræ*: Health. The Iewes are come vnto vs to Delos, with ſome of the Colonies of their countrimen in the preſence of your Embaſſadours, and certifie vs of a decree made by you: whereby you forbid them the practiſe and ancient vſe of their ſacrifices and oblations: I thinke it not meete that you make C any ſuch decrees againſt our friends, and aſſociates; neither that you forbid them to liue according to their faſhions and cuſtomes; or to employ their purſes together in furniſhing their feaſts and ſacrifices; ſince in Rome it ſelfe they are not interdicted or forbidden to performe the ſame. For at ſuch time as *Caius Cæſar* Conſul had prohibited by Edict, that in celebrating the Baccharials, no one ſhould dance about the Citie; yet were the Iewes alone exempted from this inhibition: and neither haue they beene prohibited to contribute, neither to banquet together. My ſelfe alſo in like caſe in the defence I haue made to forbid all other ſodalities, haue excepted the Iewes therein, and haue giuen them leaue and licence to aſſemble and demeane themſelues, according to the cuſtomes, ceremonies, and ordinances of their countrey. If therefore you haue made any ſuch decrees againſt our friends and aſſociates, you ſhall doe well to diſannull them, by D reaſon of the vertue of the Iewes, and the forwardneſſe they haue proteſted in performance of our ſeruice.

After *Caius Cæſars* death, the Conſuls *Marcus Antonius* and *Publius Dolobella* aſſembled the Senate, and hauing brought in *Hircanus* Embaſſadours, they declared their requeſts, and contracted amitie with them: the Senate likewiſe ordained, that each thing ſhould bee granted them that they required. And *Dolobella* hauing receiued *Hircanus* letters, ſent them thorowout all Aſia, and to Epheſus (which is the Metropolitane citie of Aſia) in theſe tearmes. The Generall *Dolobella* to the Princes, Senate, and people of Epheſus: Health. *Alexander* the ſonne of *Theodore* Embaſſadour to *Hircanus* the high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes, hath giuen vs to vnderſtand, that his ſubiects cannot goe on warfare, becauſe it is not lawfull for them to beare armes, nor to E trauell on the Sabbath day; as alſo for that they may not ſeeke for their victuals and other neceſſaries (on that day) according to the cuſtome of their countrey: for this cauſe I grant them exemption from the warre in like manner as my predeceſſors haue done; permitting them to vſe the ceremonies and rites of their countrey, aſſembling themſelues to make their oblations and ſacrifices, as their lawes and cuſtomes require, in contributing to the offering of the ſacrifices in the temple. And my will is, that you write to this effect to euery citie of the prouince. See here how *Dolobella* honoured *Hircanus* at ſuch time as he ſent his Embaſſadours vnto him. M. Antonius, and P. Dolobella bring Hircanus embaſſadors into the Senate. Dolobellas letters to the Epheſians,

Lucius Lentulus Conſull pronounceth that the Iewes (that are citizens of Rome) and that obſerue and offer the ſacrifices of the Iewes in Epheſus before the tribunall, bee exempt from warfare, by reaſon of their religion. Giuen the nineteenth of October. There are beſides theſe ma- F ny other Edicts and ordinances made to the like effect, by the ſame Generals, and by the Romane Senate in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation, and ſome other cities. In like ſort there were diuers decrees and writs ſent vnto the gouernours and rulers of the prouinces touching our priuiledges: all which may be eaſily beleeued by thoſe that ſhall read our Hiſtorie, with no preiudicate opinion, if they conſider thoſe that we haue here inſerted. For wee haue ſhewed more expreſſe and liuely teſtimonies of the friendſhip that we haue had with the Romanes, and ſuch as at this day are Lucius Lucullus in the French, Lentulus in the Laune, being Conſul maketh an edict in behalfe of the Iewes. Ioſephus concluſion concerning theſe edicts.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs Nativitie, 42.

are affixed to pillers, and engrauen in tables of brasse in the Capitoll; and that hereafter shall remaine affixed for euer: For which cause, I haue thought it to be a friuolous and vnnecessary matter to insert all in this place; and I think that there is not any man of so sinister iudgment, that will not beleeue how much we haue beene esteemed by the Romans, as they haue giuen testimonies by diuers decrees published in our behalfe; neither may any man suppose that we lie, considering the truth of that which we publish. G

Cæcilius Bassus murthereth Sextus Cæsar.

Thus haue we sufficiently declared the amity and association, that in times past wee haue had with the Romans. About this time it came to passe, that the estate of Syria was sore troubled vpon the occasion that ensueth. *Cæcilius Bassus* one of *Pompeies* partakers, laid an ambush for *Sextus Cæsar* and slew him, and seizing vpon his army, vsurped the gouernment: whereby there arose great warre nigh Apamea. For *Cæsars* captaines marched out against *Cæcilius*, with great force both of foote and horsemen, to whom *Antipater* sent his sonnes with a power to second them (in remembrance of the benefits he had receiued at *Cæsars* hands) supposing it to be an act of iustice, that the murtherer should be punished for his so hainous offence. Now whereas this warre continued a long time, *Marcus* came and succeeded *Sextus*. Meane while *Cæsar* was slaine by *Cassius* and *Brutus* in the midst of the Senate, after he had commanded three yeeres and sixe moneths, as it is expressed in another place. H

Marcus succeedeth Sextus in Syria. Cæsar slaine by Cassius and Brutus.

CHAP. XVIII.

CASSIVS *afflicteth the Iewes, and exacteth about eight hundreth talents at their hands.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 20. Cassius commeth into Syria, and exacteth more then 700. talents of siluer from the Iewes.

AFTER *Cæsars* death, the brand of ciuill warre began to flame, and the greatest men of Rome trauailed the one this way, the other that way to gather men of warre. But *Cassius* came into Syria, with an intent to take the army that was neere to Apamea: and hauing leuied the siege he drew both *Bassus* and *Marcus* to be of his faction; and trauailing from City to City, he gathered a number of soldiers, and much furniture, and imposed huge tributes: but especially he afflicted Iewry, and exacted of that countrey more then seuen hundreth talents of siluer. *Antipater* seeing the state in so great feare and trouble, committing the exaction of the two parts of this money to his sonnes; the other hee commanded to be assigned to *Malichus*, who was his enemy, an the other part vnto another. *Herod* first of all gathered that which was commanded him in the countrey of Galilee, and for this cause was greatly beloued by *Cassius*: for hee being prudent and discreet, thought it no small policie at that time to win the Romans good will by other mens expence. Vnder the other gouernours the Cities were set to sale, together with their inhabitants: and amongst them these foure were the chiefest, namely, Gophna, Emaus, Lydda, and Thamna: for *Cassius* sold the people thereof to them that would giue most. Furthermore, *Cassius* was so much transported with choler, that he had slaine *Malichus*) so much was he mooued against him) if *Hircanus* had not restrained his furie, by sending him one hundreth talents of his owne money by *Antipater*. But as soone as *Cassius* was departed out of the country of Iudæa, he practised *Antipaters* death, supposing that his cutting off would assure *Hircanus* state the more strongly. But *Antipater* was not ignorant of this his resolution; for hauing an inkling thereof, hee got himselfe on the other side of Iordan, and assembled an armie of souldiers both Iewes and Arabians. Hereupon, *Malichus* (who was a politique and subtill fellow) denied stoutly that he had intended any treason, purging himselfe with an oath before *Antipater* and his children, that he had neuer any such intent, especially for that he saw that *Phasælus* held Ierusalem, and *Herod* had an armie at command. And in the end, perceiuing the difficultie wherein he was, he reconciled himselfe to *Antipater*, and they agreed at that time that *Marcus* gouerned Syria: who perceiuing that *Malichus* began to raise troubles in Iewry, resorted thither, and there wanted little but that he had slaine him, had not *Antipater* by earnest request obtained his life. I K L

Herod winneth Cassius heart by the mony he leuieth in Galilee.

The yeere of the world, 3923. before Christs Nativity, 41.

Malichus lyeth in wait to murther Antipater, but forsweareth the same and is reconciled.

CHAP. XIX.

MALICHVS *poysoneth* ANTIPATER. M

Cassius and Marcus make Herod gouernour of Cœlosyria.

BVT imprudent *Antipater* saued *Malichus* to his owne mischiefe: For when *Cassius* and *Marcus* had assembled their army, they committed all the charge into *Herods* hands, and made him gouernour of Cœlosyria, and deliuered him great forces both of foot and horse, and ships by sea: They promised him likewise the kingdome of Iudæa, after they had finished

A shed the warre, that was at that time betwixt them and *Anthony* and *Cæsar* the yonger. Whereupon *Malichus* mightily fearing *Antipaters* power determined to make him away; and hauing corrupted *Hircanus* butler with money (with whom both of them celebrated a feast) hee made him away by poyson, and afterwards assembling many men of warre about him, hee made himselfe Master of the Citie. When *Herod* and *Phasælus* vnderstood of the traiterous conspiracie attempted against their father, they were grieuously incensed against *Malichus*. But he denied all, and in especiall abiured the intent or practise of the murther. Thus died *Antipater* a iust and vertuous man, and such a one as deerely loued his countrey. But *Herod*, who was his yonger sonne, incontinently resolued to reuenge his fathers death, and came forth with an army against *Malichus*: But *Phasælus*, who was the elder, determined to circumuent him by policie, for feare least he should raise a ciuill warre. He therefore accepted of *Malichus* iustifications, and made a shew
B that he supposed that he had in no such sort sought *Antipaters* death, and onely intended his fathers monument and funerals. Meane while, *Herod* resorting to Samaria, and finding it in desperate estate, restored the same, and pacified the dissensions that were amongst the inhabitants. Not long after (by reason of a feast) he came to Ierusalem with his men of warre. Whereupon *Malichus* being affraid of this his accesse, perswaded *Hircanus* that he should not permit him to enter into the Citie: whereunto *Hircanus* condescended, alleadging for pretext of his defence, that amongst the holy people it was not lawfull to intermixe a troupe of polluted men. But *Herod* made small reckoning of them that brought him this newes, and notwithstanding this command entred the Citie by night: whereat *Malichus* was much amazed. Whereupon, according to his wonted dissimulations, he openly wept and bewailed the death of *Antipater* as his especiall friend;
C but vnder hand he prepared a guard for his owne safety. Notwithstanding it was thought meete by *Herods* friends, to take no notice of this dissimulation; but to make a shew for their parts that they were well affected towards *Malichus*.

The yeare of the world, 3923. before Christs Nativitie. 41.

Malichus caused Antipater to be poisoned.

CHAP. XX.

HEROD, *at the command of* CASSIVS, *killeth* MALICHVS *by policie.*

D HEREVPON *Herod* certified *Cassius* of *Antipater* his fathers death, who knowing very well of what conuersation *Malichus* was, wrot backe vnto *Herod* that he should reuenge the death of his father: besides, he sent secret letters to the captaines that were in Tyre, commanding them to aide and assist *Herod* in that so iust execution which hee intended. After therefore that *Cassius* had taken Laodicea and the inhabitants of the countrey came together, bringing with them crownes and siluer to present him, *Herod* expected that *Malichus* in that place should receiue his punishment: but hee entring into suspicion of some practise, at such time as they drew neere vnto Tyre in Phœnicia, attempted farre greater things. For whereas his sonne was an hostage in Tyre, hee entred the City with intent to draw him thence, and afterwards to returne into Iudæa. After this, vsurping vpon that opportunitie which hee had by reason of *Cassius* troubles (who hastily marched forward to meet with *Anthony*) he determined to draw the people to an insurrection, and to make himselfe Lord of the countrey: but God dis-
E appointed his vniust purposes. For *Herod* beeing a man of ripe iudgement, incontinently discouered his pretence, and sent one of his seruants before, as if vnder purpose to prepare a banquet, because he had told him before time that he would entertaine all his followers: but in effect, he sent him to the captaines to command them to issue out with their daggers, and to meete *Malichus*; who marching foorth and meeting him neere vnto the shore of the City vpon the sea coast, stabbed him in that place with their daggers. Which act did so much astonish *Hircanus*, that thorow amaze he waxed speechlesse: and finally being much mooued, he demanded of *Herods* men, what accident had happened, and who it was that had slaine *Malichus*? Whereof when they certifyed him, and how nothing was done without *Cassius* command: he answered that all things were well done, for that *Malichus* was a wretched man and a traytour to his coun-
F trey. See heere how *Malichus* was iustly punished for the wickednesse hee committed against *Antipater*.

When *Cassius* was departed out of Syria, there arose a new tumult in Iudæa: for *Felix*, who was left in Ierusalem with an armie, marched forth against *Phasælus*, and all the people were in armes. For which cause *Herod* speedily repaired to *Fabius*, gouernour of Damasco, and intending to succour his brother, was preuented by a sicknes: so that *Phasælus* obtaining the victorie

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Christs Nativitie, 40.

by

The yeere of the world. 3924. before Christs Natiuitie. 40.

by his owne forces against *Felix*, enclosed him vp in a tower, whence afterwards hee dismissed him vnder composition. Whereupon he presently and grieuously rebuked *Hircanus*, for that being forgetfull of diuers benefits which he had receiued by him, hee had giuen aide vnto his enemies. For *Malichus* brother being at that time reuolted, planted garrisons in diuers fortresses, and namely in Masada, which was the strongest of them all. As soone as *Herod* therefore had recouered his health, he drew forth his forces against him, and dispossessed him of diuers places that hee held, and after suffered him to depart with his life and goods. G

Felix assaileth Phasælus in Ierusalem, and is ouercome by him.

CHAP. XXI.

HEROD *discomfiteth* ANTIGONVS *the sonne of* ARISTOBVLVS, *and driueth him out of Iudæa, seeking to recouer his fathers kingdome by aide of the Prince of Tyre.* H

PTOLOMEY *Mennæus* drew vnto him by force of his money *Aristobulus* sonne the yong *Antigonus*, who had gathered a power, and hired *Fabius*, and was likewise drawne by *Ptolomey*, vnder titles of consanguinity and adoption. With him ioyned *Marion* (whom *Cassius* had made Gouernour in Tyre:) For this man hauing occupied Syria by tyranny kept garrison therein: *Marion* also inuaded Galilee, which confined his countrey; and hauing seized three strong fortresses therein, hee kept garrisons in the same. *Herod* also marching forth against him, dispossessed him of them all; and gratiously dismissed those Tyrians that had the keeping thereof, bestowing benefits on some of them for the loue hee bare vnto their Citie. And that done, hee came and encountred with *Antigonus*, and fought with him, and ouercame him before hee had scarcely entred on the marches of Iudæa, and draue him from thence. When hee was come to Ierusalem, *Hircanus* and all the people honoured him with crownes: for already was hee inserted into *Hircanus* family, for that by promise hee was his sonne in law; by which meanes, he had more willingly vndertaken his defence, for that hee was to marry *Alexanders* the sonne of *Aristobulus* daughter, who was *Hircanus* neece: on whom hee begat three sonnes and two daughters. Before her also had he married a wife of his owne nation, who was called *Doris*, on whom he begat *Antipater* his eldest sonne. I

Ptolomey Mennæus adopteth Antigonus, Aristobulus sonne.

Herod expelleth Antigonus out of Iury.

Herod marrieth Mariame Hircanus neece by his daughter.

Doris Herods wife.

CHAP. XXII.

HEROD *meeting with* ANTONIVS *in Bithynia, giueth him a great summe of money, to the ende hee should not giue eare to those that would accuse him.* K

ANTONIVS and *Cæsar* hauing ouercome *Cassius* neere vnto the Citie of Philippi; *Cæsar* went from thence into France, and *Antonius* into Asia. And being in Bithynia, Embassadours resorted vnto him from all parts: Thither also repaired certaine principall men among the Iewes to accuse *Phasælus* and *Herod*; saying, that *Hircanus* had onely the name, but he the authority of the kingdome. But *Antonius* greatly honoured *Herod*, who came vnto him to answer those accusations that they had imposed on him: for which cause they that were his opposites could obtaine no audience: for *Herod* had bought that priuiledge from them with his money. As soone as *Antonius* was arriued in Ephesus, *Hircanus* the high Priest and all our nation presently sent an Embassadour vnto him, with a crowne of golde; requiring him that hee would write vnto the prouinces, that the Iewes whom *Cassius* had taken prisoners (contrary to the law of armes) might be set at liberty, and that their countrey (which was taken from them in *Cassius* time) might be restored. *Antonius* supposing that the demands which the Iewes had proposed, were reasonable, wrote backe presently to the high Priest *Hircanus* and the Iewes; and sent an edict also to the Tyrians to this effect. L

The iudge corrupted with money.

Hircanus embassadours present Antonius with a crowne of gold and require the captiue Iewes liberty sold by Cassius.

"*Marcus Antonius* Emperour, to *Hircanus* high Priest and Prince of the Iewes; Health. If "you are well, all goeth well. I and mine army are in perfect estate. *Lysimachus* the sonne of *Pausanias*, and *Ioseph* the sonne of *Mennæus*, and *Alexander* the sonne of *Theodore* your Embassadors, came vnto me to Ephesus, and haue renued the same Embassade which they heretofore brought to Rome, and at this present likewise they haue duely and faithfully acquitted themselues of the Embassade which they present in the behalfe of you, and your nation, by giuing vs to vnderstand what affection you beare towards vs: so that I esteeme you for our friend, sith I am giuen to vnderstand how friendly you haue behaued your selfe towards vs both in words and deeds, since we M

Antonius writeth to Hircanus as touching Brutus and Cassius actions and death.

haue

A haue had any knowledge of your good and honeſt conuerſation and pietie. For at ſuch time as our aduerſaries and enemies of the Roman nation ſpoiled all the countrey of Aſia, and without regard of their oathes ſpared neither cities nor temples; we haue oppoſed our ſelues againſt them, not onely for our priuate reſpect, but in the quarrell of the commonweale, to the intent to puniſh the authors of ſuch offences committed againſt men, and of ſuch impieties perpetrated againſt God: for which we ſuppoſe that the ſunne hath in a manner obſcured himſelfe, by beholding with vnwilling eies what an hainous offence was committed againſt *Cæſar*. But wee haue gotten the vpper hand of their impious enterpriſes, which are fallen vpon Macedonia, as on the countrey and ayre, from whence proceede ſuch deteſtable and vngracious deſſeignes: and wee haue likewiſe cut off the courſe of their deſperate reſolution, which made them encounter vs neere to Philippi a city of Macedonia, where we ſeized their places fortified by nature, and en-
B cloſed with mountaines as if it were with walles, as farre as the ſea, in ſuch manner as the paſſage was barred vp, as it were with a gate, had not the gods giuen vs way by reſiſting their vniuſt exploits, and furthering ours. *Brutus* likewiſe compelled to flie to Philippi, where being incloſed by vs, he ſuffered the like ruine with his conſort *Caſſius*; and ſince they haue beene puniſhed as they deſerued, me ſeemeth that we are ſeized of peace, and that Aſia hath had repoſe from warre, and all the body thereof is releeued from a grieuous maladie, by the meanes of our victory. For which cauſe remembring vs of you and your nation, to the end to increaſe your good fortunes, we will bethinke vs of that which ſhall be commodious for you: and wee haue already ſent letters from city to city, to the intent that if any one among you, either captiue or free-man, haue been ſold to the vtmoſt by *Caius Caſſius*, or any of that army, they may be ſet at liberty. And our
C will is, that you make vſe of the bounty which we beſtow vpon you, both in our ſelfe as in *Dolabellas* right, forbidding the Tyrians to moleſt you, and commanding them to reſtore all that which they haue taken from the Iewes in goods or poſſeſſions. As for the crowne which you ſent me, I accept the ſame.

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Chriſts Nativity, 40.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to the gouernours, Senate and people of Tyre: Health. I haue been informed in Epheſus by *Hircanus* embaſſadors (who is high prieſt and prince of the Iewes) that you haue ſeized their country, and ſpoyled the ſame, at ſuch time as our aduerſaries held that prouince. But in as much as we haue vndertaken the warre for the Empire, and that in defence of right and pietie, we haue puniſhed theſe ingratefull, diſloyall and perfidious perſons; our wil is, that you ſuffer our allies to liue in peace: and as touching that which you haue obtained by our
D aduerſaries, our pleaſure is, that you reſtore the ſame to thoſe that are diſpoſſeſſed. For no one of them hath obtained either prouince or army by the conſent of the Senate; but haue rauiſhed them by force, and afterwards beſtowed them on thoſe who haue been miniſters of their impieties and iniuſtice. But ſince they haue beene puniſhed according to their deſerts, wee require that our allies may enioy their owne, without any impeachment: and if you holde any places at this preſent, which belong to *Hircanus* prince of the Iewes (that were ſeized ſince the time that *Caius Caſſius* by vniuſt warre inuaded our prouinces) reſtore them vnto him, without offer of any violence, to hinder him from the poſſeſſion of his owne. And if you haue or pretend to haue any right in them; at ſuch time as I ſhall repaire to thoſe places, it ſhall be lawfull for you to debate your right, and we will ſo iudge as that our allies ſhall receiue no wrong.

Marcus Antonius writeth to the magiſtrates of Tyre to reſtore Hircanus and the Iewes their lands, goods, and liberty.

E *Marcus Antonius* Emperour, to the Gouernours, Senate, and people of Tyre: Health. I haue ſent you my edict, which my pleaſure is that you carefully looke vnto, and that you regiſter it amongſt your publike records in Romane and Greeke letters, and ſet it vp in writing in an open place, to the end that it may be read by all men.

Marcus Antonius Emperour and Triumuir, in the preſence of the Tyrians aſſembled for their publike affaires, hath declared, that *Caius Caſſius* during the troubles, by the aſſiſtance of his ſouldiers, hath rauiſhed another mans prouince; and hath in like ſort ſpoiled our allies, and hath ranſackt the nation of the Iewes, who are friends to the people of Rome: and for that by our valour we haue repreſſed his inſolence, by our edicts and iudgements we will correct his offences; to the end that all things may be reſtored to our allies, and that all whatſoeuer hath bin ſolde, and
F appertained to the Iewes (whether they be priſoners or poſſeſſions) be reſtored to their maſters, to the end that each man may be at liberty as he was before; and that each mans poſſeſſion may be reſtored to his firſt owner. And my pleaſure is, that whoſoeuer diſobeyeth this ordinance, he may be puniſhed. And he that ſhall be conuicted to haue diſobeyed the ſame, hee ſhall be puniſhed according to his demerit. He wrote to the like effect to the Sidonians, Antiochians, and Arabians, all which we will inſert in a conuenient place, to teſtifie what account the Romans made of our nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

ANTONIVS *arriuing in the prouince of Syria, maketh* HEROD *and* PHASÆVS *Tetrarchs.*

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Christs Natiuity, 40.

AFTER this, *Antonius* retyred himselfe into Syria, and *Cleopatra* came forth to meet him neere vnto Cilicia, and entangled him in her loues. At that time also, one hundreth of the chiefest reckoning among the Iewes came once againe in embassade to him to accuse *Herod*, and his adherents: who to this end had chosen out the most esteemed Orator that might be found. *Messala* likewise vndertooke the defence of the yong men that were accused, and made them answer. *Hircanus* also was there in person, who was already by marriage allied vnto them. After that *Antonius* had heard both the one and the other in the City of Daphen, he demanded of *Hircanus*, which of both the parties gouerned the common-weale best? who returned him answer, that they, who were on *Herods* side were most studious of the weale publike. *Antonius* (who long since had borne good affection towards them, by reason of the ancient hospitalitie that he had receiued with their father, during the time that *Gabinius* was in Iudæa) established them both for *Tetrarchs*, committing to their hands the affaires in Iudæa: And to this effect wrote he his letters and committed fourteene of their enemies to prison; whom had not *Herod* besought for their liues, he had condemned them to death. This notwithstanding, as soon as they returned from their Embassade, they could not containe themselues in quiet, but resorted once more vnto *Antonius* to the number of ten thousand, to the city of Tyre where *Antonius* soiourned. But *Antonius* (already corrupted by store of money by *Herod* and his brother, who commanded in that place) ordained that the Embassadours of the Iewes should be punished, for that they had attempted and affected some innouation; where contrariwise he confirmed *Herods* gouernment. At that time *Herod*, who walked by the sea side, came vnto them, aduising both them and *Hircanus* (who at that present was with them) to giue ouer their appeale, for feare least some grieuous misfortune should befall them. Whereunto since they gaue no regard, certaine Iewes and inhabitants of that city, all at once ranne vpon them, who slue some of them, and hurt other some, and the rest taking their flight towards their country, euer afterwards contained themselues and liued in quiet, thorow the feare they had conceiued. But when the people ceased not to exclaime and protest against *Herod*, *Antonius* was in such sort displeased, that hee commanded all those whom he held prisoners, should be slaine.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Cleopatra commeth into Cilicia to Antonius. Herod accused by one hundreth Iewes before Antonius. Antonius maketh Phasælus and Herod Tetrarchs. A thousand Iewes repaire to Tyre to accuse Herod, who are partly slaine, partly wounded, and partly put to flight.

The yeere after, *Pacorus* the Kings sonne, and *Barzapharnes* a Prince among the Parthians, inuaded and seized Syria. And about this time died *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mennæus*; and his sonne *Lysanias* raigned in his steed, who plighted friendship with *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus*, who obtained this fauour at his hands by the counsell and solicitation of a certaine Prince of great authority and credit with him.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs Natiuitie, 39.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The Parthians make warre in Syria to restore ANTIGONVS *the sonne of* ARISTOBVLVS *to his kingdome.*

AFTER this, *Antigonus* promised the Parthians to giue them one thousand talents of siluer, and fiue hundreth women, if so bee they would depriue *Hircanus* of the kingdome, and restore it vnto him, and withall put *Herod* and his friends to death. Yet did hee not deliuer them that he promised, notwithstanding the Parthians led their army into Iury to restore *Antigonus*, to wit, *Pacorus* by the sea coast, and *Barzapharnes* to the landward. The Tyrians locked their gates against *Pacorus*, but the Sidonians and Ptolemaidans receiued him into their Citie. He sent a troupe of horsemen into Iury to discouer the estate of the countrey, and to giue succours to *Antigonus*. The chieftaine of these horsemen was the Kings butler; who in like sort was called *Pacorus*. But for that certaine Iewes (inhabiting about the mount Carmel) ioyned themselues with *Antigonus*, and were prepared with him to inuade his enemies, he conceiued some hope that he might by their meanes reduce a certaine part of the region vnder his gouernment, which is called Drymæa: and certaine of his wel-willers meeting him in the way perswaded him to presse forward as farre as Ierusalem; where being seconded by others (and his followers already much increased in number) they addresse themselues to assault the Kings Palace. And whereas those of the faction of the brethren brought present supplies, and the skirmish was maintained

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 22. Antigonus promiseth the Parthians a great summe of money to install him in the kingdome. Pacorus sendeth horsmen to Antigonus in Iudæa. The Iewes inhabiting about mount Carmel ioyne themselues with Antigonus.

A tained in the market place, the yong men repulſed the enemie, and draue him into the Temple. Which done, they ſent certaine armed men into the houſes neere adioyning, to guard them: but the people ruſhing in vpon them and ſeeing they were deſtitute of aide, burned both them and the houſes wherein they were. But this iniquity of theirs was preſently reuenged by *Herod*, who in a skirmiſh that he had with them, ſlew a great number of them. And whereas there were daily aſſaults betweene both parties, the enemies expected vntill ſuch time as the people (aſſembled from all parts of the countrey) ſhould repaire to Ieruſalem to celebrate the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which being come, many thouſands of men aſſembled about the Temple, both armed and vnarmed, who ſeized both the Temple and the Citie; except the Kings houſe onely, which *Herod* made good with a few men of warre. The wall thereof did *Phaſælus* his brother keepe. But *He-*
B *rod* with a company of his followers ſallied out vpon the enemy, who were planted in the ſuburbes, and fighting valiantly againſt them, he put diuers thouſands of them to flight, wherof ſome retired themſelues into the Citie; other ſome into the Temple; the reſt into a certaine bulwarke neere at hand. In this battell alſo *Phaſælus* ſhewed no little valour.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Chriſts Nativity, 39.

Pentecoſt.

Herod fighteth with his enemies in the ſuburbes.

Pacorus chieftaine of the Parthians entering the city perſwadeth Phaſælus to go embaſſador to Barzapharnes

But *Pacorus* conductor of the Parthians came into the Citie with ſome few horſemen at *Antigonus* requeſt, making ſhew that he came to appeaſe the ſedition; but the effect and ſcope of his comming was, to obtaine the ſoueraigntie for *Antigonus*. Furthermore, after that *Phaſælus* was come out to meete with him, and had curteouſly entertained him in his houſe, *Pacorus* perſwaded him to goe Embaſſadour with him to *Barzapharnes*, laying a baite vnder this pretence to ſurpriſe him. Hee ſuſpecting no treacheries, was eaſily perſwaded, notwithſtanding that *Herod*
C miſliked the courſe, who knowing the perfidious manner of the Barbarians, exhorted him rather to aſſaile *Pacorus*, and to aſſault and oppreſſe his forces, when they were come vnto him. Naitheleſſe *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* vndertooke this Embaſſade, and *Pacorus* (leauing with *Herod* two hundreth horſemen, and ten of thoſe whom they call free men) conducted the Embaſſadours. Now as ſoone as they came into Galilee, the Gouernours of the Cities in that countrey, came forth armed to meete them: *Barzapharnes* alſo at the firſt gaue them friendly entertainment, and honoured them with preſents; but anon after, he began to practiſe treachery. For *Phaſælus* and his attendants were conducted to a lodging that adioyned the ſea; where hearing tidings that *Antigonus* had promiſed one thouſand talents, and fiue hundreth virgins to the Parthians, hee be-
D gan already to ſuſpect the Barbarians. For a certaine friend of his had giuen him an inkling that there were treaſons intended againſt him that very night, and that his lodging was priuily beſet with a guard. And ſurely they had beene ſurpriſed, had they not expected that the Parthians (who were round about Ieruſalem) ſhould be ſeized of *Herod*, fearing leaſt he hauing an inkling of their diſaſter, ſhould betake himſelfe to flight. And that this was true, they incontinently gathered by the guard that was ſet about them: For which cauſe there were certaine of *Phaſælus* friends, who counſelled him, that without any more delay, he ſhould betake him to his horſe and flie from thence: and amongſt the reſt *Ofilius* was moſt earneſt, who had wrought out of *Saramalla* a rich Syrian (who offered them his ſhips that road hard by to further their flight) all that which they pretended. But *Phaſælus* would neither forſake *Hircanus*, nor leaue his brother *Herod* in danger, but repairing to *Barzapharnes* he told him, that he did him wrong to vſe theſe
E ſiniſter practiſes againſt them. For that if he had need of money, he was more likely to receiue it at his hands, then from *Antigonus*; and howſoeuer he wrought, it was an intollerable iniurie to put Embaſſadours to death, who came vnto him vnder pledge of his honour, and had no waies offended him. But the Barbarian hearing theſe things, proteſted by an oath, that no one point of that which he had ſuſpected, was true; but that he was onely troubled with falſe ſurmiſe: whereupon he preſently departed to *Pacorus*.

The Parthians compaſſe treacheries againſt Phaſælus.

CHAP. XXV.

The Parthians lead away HIRCANVS *and* PHASÆLVS *into captiuitie.*

F AS ſoone as he was departed, certaine of the Parthians tooke *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* priſoners, who mightily deteſted their periuries. But the Eunuch that was ſent vnto *Herod*, had commandement giuen him to entice and traine him without the Citie walles, and afterwards to apprehend him. But *Herod* was forewarned of this treacherie, by certaine meſſengers (who were ſent by *Phaſælus* to giue him notice thereof) who being intercepted by the enemie in the way, and *Herod* getting notice thereof, he addreſſed himſelfe to *Pacorus* (and thoſe

Hircanus and Phaſælus ſurpriſed by the Parthians.

in

The yeere of the world, 9215. before Christs Nativity, 39.

in greatest authoritie among the Parthians) as to them that were the masters: who subtilly dissembled, notwithstanding they knew how all things went, telling him that he should doe well to repaire with them without the wall to go and meete those messengers, who brought him letters, who had not as yet beene seized by their aduersaries, but came to certifie him of *Phasælus* good estate. But *Herod* gaue them no credit, because hee was already other waies aduertized of his brothers surprisall, and had also farre greater suspicion of the Parthians by the solicitation of *Hircanus* daughter, whom he had married. And although the rest made no account of her aduertisements, yet *Herod* gaue credit vnto her for that shee was a most wise woman. Now whilest the Parthians were in deliberation what were best to be done (in that it was held no policie to make open assault vpon such a man) they deferred the whole matter vntill the next morning. Whilest thus they were debating of their differents, *Herod* came vnto them, who rather giuing credit to that which he had heard as concerning his brother (and touching the treasons intended against him by the Parthians) then to his aduersaries, as soone as it was night concluded to make vse of the time, and to make away, without staying any longer amongst those vncertaine dangers, which his enemies intended against him. For which cause he fled with those men of warre which hee had with him: and mounting his mother, his sister and his betrothed, whom he was to marry (who was *Alexanders* daughter, the neece of *Aristobulus*) and her mother (who was *Hircanus* daughter) and her yonger brother, with all their family & traine, he departed into Idumæa without espiall or suspicion of the enemy. Amongst whom there was not one so hard or yron-hearted, who seeing such a pittifull spectacle could not be mooued to compassion, beholding the mothers drag away their little children, and abandon their countrey with teares and complaints: and that which was worse, to leaue their friends in bondage, without any hope of comfort or redresse

The Parthians lay a plot to surprise Herod: hee discouereth it, and preuenteth them by flight.

But *Herod* mastered these misfortunes by his inuincible courage, and for that hee was a constant man in all fortunes, he exhorted euery one of them whom he met in the way to be of good courage; and not abandon themselues to immeasurable sorrow, for that by such meanes they might hinder his retreat, on which their sole and secureſt conseruation depended: whereupon they for their parts indeuoured themselues to digest their griefes, according to *Herods* exhortation. Meane while he hardly refrained from laying violent hands on himselfe, by reason of the chariot wherein his mother rode, which ouerturned and had almost slaine her; yea so much did this casualtie terrifie him (for feare least the enemie in pursuit should surprise him during these delaies) as that he drew and prepared his sword to kill himselfe, had not some assistants and followers stept in to him and stayed the stroke, beseeching him instantly not to forsake them & leaue them subiect to the enemies violence: assuring him that it was not the part of a valiant man to respect his owne priuate interest, and neglect his friends perill. By these perswasions he was induced to hold his hands, both by reason of the apprehension of these words, which were spoken vnto him, as also for that he was ouerruled by the multitude of those, who would not permit his hand to execute his will: so that taking vp his mother, and doing her all the seruice that the time permitted, he followed on his way, and with the speediest and neerest meanes he could, he retired toward the Castle of Massada; where in the way, he oftentimes fought against the Parthians that charged and pursued him, and returned alwaies with victorie from them. The Iewes also were not in peace with him during this his flight; for scarcely had he trauelled sixtie stounds out of the Citie, but that they assailed him in the high way: but hee put them to flight and obtained the victorie, not like a desperate man enforced thereunto thorow necessitie, but like a discreet, well furnished and valiant souldier. So that in the very place where he obtained that victorie against the Iewes (after such time as hee was made King) hee builded a most sumptuous palace, and neere vnto the same a citie which he called Herodium. Whilest hee remained at Ressa (a borough of Idumæa) *Ioseph* his brother came forth to meete him, and to consult with him as touching their whole estate, and to know of him what should become of that great multitude that followed them, considering that they had no souldiers in pay, and the Castle of Massada (whither he pretended to flie) was too little to hold all the people: for which cause he sent away many to the number of nine thousand, willing them to disperse themselues here and there in the countrey of Idumæa; and for the better dispatch of their iourney, he furnished them with victuals. As for himselfe hee tooke with him his most able souldiers and inward friends, and repaired to the Castle of Massada, in which place he left the women and their traine, to the number of eight hundreth or thereabouts: and furnishing the place with corne, water and other prouisions necessary, he went vnto Petra the chiefest Citie of Arabia. As soone as it was day the Parthians sacked all that which appertained to the Citizens of Ierusalem; and among other things they spoyled

Herod comforteth his friends in their flight.

Herod seeing his mothers charriot ouerturned is ready to murther himselfe.

Herod retiring towards Massada is assailed by the Parthians.

The Parthians spoile the citizens of Ierusalem, and destroy Marissa.

A ſpoyled the palace; notwithſtanding they medled not with *Hircanus* money, which amounted to ſome three hundreth talents. They left diuers other things behind them alſo that appertained to *Herod*, and eſpecially that which had been tranſported into Idumæa by his mature prouidence. Neither were the Parthians content with the ſpoyle of the City, but they forraged all the countrey round about, and raſed Mariſſa a very rich City. Thus *Antigonus*, brought backe into his countrey by the king of the Parthians, receiued *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* that were priſoners: yet was he vehemently diſpleaſed, becauſe the women had eſcaped, whom according to his promiſe he intended to haue deliuered with the money: and fearing leaſt *Hircanus* thorow the fauour of the people ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in his kingdome (who was then priſoner in the cuſtody of the Parthians) he cut off both his eares, depriuing him by that meanes from enioying the prieſthood

B any more, by reaſon of that maime, becauſe the law commandeth that they who are in that dignitie, ſhould bee ſound in all their members. But *Phaſælus* is to be admired for his great courage at that time: for vnderſtanding that hee muſt needly die, hee was no waies diſmaied with death, but that which he held moſt miſerable and diſhonourable was, that he muſt needs die by the hands of his enemy. Seing therefore that he could not diſpatch himſelfe by other meanes, (becauſe he was bound and chayned) he knockt out his owne braines againſt a ſtone, and ſo ended his life) with as great honour as may bee imagined in ſuch a deſperate eſtate) depriuing his enemy of that power which he intended to practiſe in tyrannizing ouer him at his pleaſure. It is ſaid that the wound being very deepe, *Antigonus* ſent priuily ſurgeons to cure him; and that vnder colour of healing him, they ſhould put poiſon into the ſame, where-through he might die.

C But before *Phaſælus* gaue vp the ghoſt, he vnderſtood by a certaine woman that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped from his enemies: for which cauſe he endured his death with far greater cheerefulneſſe and conſtancy, ſeeing that hee left behind him ſuch a man, as would reuenge his death, and puniſh his enemies. Bnt *Herod* was no waies diſcomforted with the greatneſſe of thoſe aduerſities which enuironed him round about, but was the more whetted on to find out new inuentions, and to aduenture dangerous attempts. For hee went vnto *Malchus* king of the Arabians (to whom before time hee had ſhewed much curteſie) hoping to receiue the like of him in this time of his great neceſſity, and to draw ſome money from him either by loane or gift, according as he had often and very bountifully pleaſured him. For being ignorant of his brothers death,

D hee endeuoured himſelfe to ranſome him ſpeedily from his enemies, by paying his ranſome (which amounted to three hundreth talents) and for that cauſe he led with him the ſon of *Phaſælus*, who was onely ſeauen yeeres olde, to leaue him in pledge amongſt the Arabians for the ſumme that was demanded. But certaine meſſengers came to him from *Malchus*, who charged him in the kings behalfe to retire backe againe, for that the Parthians had enioyned him that he ſhould neither receiue nor retaine *Herod*. And this colourable pretence vſed he, becauſe hee would not pay his debts: and hereunto was he perſwaded by the aduice of the greateſt in authority among the Arabians, who pretended thereby to make themſelues maſters of that treaſure that *Antipater* had committed to their cuſtody. *Herod* anſwered them, that hee repaired not into their countrey to giue them cauſe of any trouble, but onely to conſult with him about cer-

E taine matters of great importance touching his owne eſtate, and that afterwards he was reſolued to depart, and withdraw himſelfe into Ægypt as ſecretly as might be poſſible. Hee returned therefore to a certaine temple, where he had left diuers of his followers; and the next day hee came to Rhinocura, in which place he heard tydings of his brothers death. But afterwards *Malchus* repented himſelfe of his ingratitude, and ſpeedily ſent after *Herod*, but hee could not ouertake him: for he had gotten farre onward of his way, and was already arriued in poſt neere to Peluſium: where being denied his paſſage to Alexandria in thoſe ſhips that were there, he addreſſed himſelfe to the magiſtrates of the place, who highly reſpected and honoured him, and ſent him to the City where *Cleopatra* was; who entertained him kindly: yet notwithſtanding could ſhe not perſwade him to remaine with her. Whereupon he repaired towards Rome (notwithſtanding the winter and thoſe grieuous troubles that at the very ſame time afflicted Italy, as it was reported.) Embarking himſelfe therefore to ſaile into Pamphilia, he was toſſed with a moſt

F cruell ſtorme; ſo that with great danger at laſt he arriued in Rhodes, hauing beene inforced in the tempeſt to caſt into the ſea a good part of his ſubſtance. There met hee with *Sappinas* and *Ptolomey* two of his indeered friends. Hee found alſo that the City of Rhodes had ſuffered much miſery by *Caſſius* warres: and although his meanes were very ſcant, yet profited he them in what he might, and cauſed their walles to be repaired, notwithſtanding that by ſo doing, hee greatly hindred himſelfe. After that, he cauſed a little frigote to be built, and embarked himſelfe with

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 39.

Antigonus reſtored to the kingdome by the Parthians cutteth off Hircanus eares to preuent his reinſtalement in the prieſthood

Phaſælus daſheth out his owne braines. Antigonus putteth poiſon into Phaſælus wounds in ſteed of curing him.

Herod flieth to Malchus king of Arabia to borrow money.

Herod is commanded out of Arabia, and flieth into Ægypt: from thence after ſome ſtormes he repaireth to Rome, where he certifieth Antonius of that which had befallen him.

The yeare of the world, 3925. before Christs Natiuitie. 39.

his friends to repaire into Italy, and arriued at Brundusium, and from thence went to Rome. The G first to whom he discouered his misfortunes, was *Marcus Antonius*: to whom he reported all the occurrences in Iudæa, and how his brother *Phasælus* was taken by the Parthians and slaine; and how *Hircanus* was imprisoned with him. The manner also how they had established *Antigonus* king, vnder promise to giue them one thousand talents, and fiue hundreth of the faireſt women, whom he intended to choose out of his owne race. Lastly, how he stole away by night, and rescued them; and escaping his enemies hands, had afterwards endured many paines and miseries. Furthermore, that his friends were in great danger, and left besieged; for which cause hee had sailed by winter, and despised all dangers, onely to seeke for assistance at his hands, on whom depended his hope, and last refuge.

CHAP. XXVI. H

HEROD *is made King of Iury by the Romane Senate.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 23 al. 25.

ANTONIVS hearing all those alterations that had befallen *Herod*, had compassion of his misery (bethinking himselfe of the estate and condition of great men, who are likewise subiect to no lesse casualties) and the rather was hee induced to doe him good, both in remembrance of the friendship he had with *Antipater* his father, as also by reason of *Herods* promises of certaine summes of money, if so be he were made King by his means, as he had beene before time declared Tetrarch. But that which most mooued him hereunto, was the hatred which he bare to *Antigonus*, whom he accounted to be a mutinous man, and an enemy to I the Romans fortune. On the other side *Cæsar* was well inclined to succour him, both in regard of those armies which *Antipater* had brought into Ægypt in his fathers seruice, as also because of the good hospitality and kindnes that he had shewed him in all things; as in especiall to gratifie *Antonius* who was well affected towards *Herod*. Whereupon the Senate being assembled, *Messala* and *Atratinus* brought foorth *Herod*, and after they had praised him, and recited the benefits which the Romans had receiued by his father, and the great affection and good will which he bare to the people of Rome; they accused and declared *Antigonus* for the Romans enemy, not onely for his ancient crimes, but also for that in contempt of the Romans hee had receiued the kingdome from the Parthians. Whilest the Senate was sore displeased at the report of these things, *Antonius* arose, and declared openly before them all, that in furtherance of the Parthian K warre, it were not amisse that *Herod* should be made King: which opinion of his was generally allowed, and finally ratified. The principall demonstration of the loue and affection which *Antonius* bare vnto *Herod*, was, that he not onely obtained him the kingdome, beyond all hope: for neuer thought he that the Romans would grant that dignity vnto him, who were wont to reserue that honour to those of the kings blood; and therefore he intended to haue demanded it for his wiues brother *Alexander*, and nephew to *Aristobulus* by the fathers side, and to *Hircanus* by the mother (which *Alexander Herod* afterward put to death, as it shall bee declared in place conuenient) but also for that within the terme of seauen daies, he sent him out of Italy with the vnexpected titles of his felicity.

Antonius loued Herod, & hated Antigonus

Cæsar Augustus Herods friend.

Herod admitted into the Senate, and declared king.

Herod intending the kingdome for his wiues brother enioyeth the same himselfe.

As soone as the Senate was risen, *Antonius* and *Cæsar* issued foorth, leading *Herod* betweene L them, and being accompanied by the Consuls and other magistrates went vp into the capitoll to doe sacrifice, and to place there this decree the Senate had made as touching this matter. The first day of *Herods* raigne *Antonius* feasted him; and after this sort was he established King in the hundreth eighty and fourth Olympiade, in the yeare wherein *C. Domitius Caluinus* twice Consul and *Caius Asinius Pollio* were Consuls. Meane while *Antigonus* besieged those that were in the castle of Massada, who were plentifully furnished with all things necessary (except it were water) for which cause *Ioseph Herods* brother that was within, and two hundreth of his friends, had concluded to flie vnto the Arabians: for that they vnderstood that *Malchus* had repented himselfe of the fault he had committed against *Herod*. But whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, God powred downe a huge raine on a certaine night, that in short time filled their cesternes in M such sort, as that they had no more necessity to flie; and from that time forward they waxed confident: and for that this abundance of water befell them by Gods prouidence, they made a sally vpon their enemies, in which they charged *Antigonus* soldiers after such a maner, sometime in open field, sometime by couert assault, that they slue a great number of them. At that time *Ventidius* a Roman captaine was sent into Syria to driue the Parthians from thence, & after their departure he arriued in Iury, making shew that he would assist *Ioseph*: but in effect al his pretẽce was to draw

Herod ascendeth the Capitoll with Antonius and Cæsar.

Herods family besieged by Antigonus in Massada.

Ventidius vnder pretext to helpe Ioseph. fisheth to get money of Antigonus.

A draw money from *Antigonus*. Being therfore encamped neere vnto Ieruſalem, and hauing drawn ſufficient money from *Antigonus*, he retired himſelfe with the greater part of his forces: and to the intent his deceitfull dealing might not be diſcouered, he left *Silo* with a company of his ſouldiers: who likewiſe was honoured by *Antigonus*, for feare leaſt he ſhould be cauſe of ſome new trouble before ſuch time as the Parthians, whoſe comming he expected, ſhould yeeld him aide.

The yeare of the world, 3926. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 38.

CHAP. XXVII.

HEROD *returneth from Rome by ſea, and fighteth againſt* ANTIGONVS.

B AFTER that *Herod* was come from Italy by ſea to Ptolemais, and that he had aſſembled no ſmall number of ſoldiers both ſtrangers and his own countrimen, he marched forward againſt *Antigonus*, and paſſed thorow Galilee. *Silo* and *Ventidius* alſo gaue him aſſiſtance in this action, hauing receiued direction by *Gellius* from *Antonius*, that they ſhould aſſiſt *Herod* to recouer his countrey. But *Ventidius* was emploied in appeaſing the troubles that were raiſed in the Cities by the Parthians: and as touching *Silo* hee kept in Iudæa, hauing beene corrupted by *Antigonus*. But the further that *Herod* daily marched into the country, the more and more increaſed his forces; and all Galilee (except a very fewe) ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. Whileſt therefore hee marched forward toward Maſſada, (beeing vrged thereunto in that hee was to releeue his parents that were beſieged therein) the City of Ioppe would not grant him paſſage: for the Citizens thereof were his enemies: ſo that it behooued him firſt of all to ruinate C the ſame, to the end he might leaue no retreat or place of reſcous for his enemy on his backe, if ſo be he made toward Ieruſalem. Vpon which occaſion *Silo* laying holde, diſlodged his army and made thitherward: whom when the Iewes did purſue, *Herod* ſallied out with a ſmall company, and put them to flight, and ſaued *Silo*, notwithſtanding hee fought very coldly and cowardly. Afterwards being ſeized of Ioppe, he haſted onwards to deliuer his friends that were beſieged in Maſſada; but part of the inhabitants ſubmitted themſelues vnto him for the friendſhip they had borne vnto his father: an other ſort of them, for the honour that they bare vnto him: the reſt admitted his gouernment in acknowledgement of thoſe benefits they had receiued from them both. But the greateſt part was therunto mooued by the hope they had conceiued of their new elected king, and the confirmation of his gouernment. Thus by theſe meanes was his army D mightily increaſed.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. 16.

Herod returning back out of Italy, leadeth forth his army againſt Antigonus.

Herod aſſaulteth Ioppe, & taketh it.

Many ſubmit themſelues to Herod.

Whileſt thus he marched forward, *Antigonus* ſeized thoſe places that were fitteſt to lay ambuſhes in, or to fight at aduantages by the way (notwithſtanding that by thoſe meanes and ſtratagems he did but ſmall or no hurt at all to his enemie; ſo that *Herod* raiſed the ſiege, and diſcharged his friends out of the Caſtle of Maſſada: & after he had taken the fort of Reſſa he approched Ieruſalem being attended by *Siloes* army, and by diuers Citizens of the City, who were afraid of his power. And when as he had pitched his camp to the weſtward of the City, thoſe that kept the watch and guard on that ſide, ſhot their arrowes and caſt ſtones againſt him: diuers likewiſe trouped foorth and fought hand to hand againſt thoſe that were planted there: For which cauſe firſt of all *Herod* cauſed proclamation to be made round about the walles, ſignifying vnto them E that he reſorted thither for the common profit of the people, and for the conſeruation of the city without intent of reuenge or memory of any wrongs that his priuate enemies had offered him, promiſing his moſt free pardon to all thoſe whoſoeuer had hainouſly offended him. Hereunto *Antigonus* made this anſwer (turning his ſpeech to *Silo* and the Roman ſoldiers) that contrary to all iuſtice they gaue the kingdome to *Herod*, who was a priuate man, and an Idumæan (that is to ſay, a halfe Iewe) whereas it hath beene a cuſtome to beſtow the ſame on them that are of the line of the Prieſts. For albeit at that preſent they were diſpleaſed with him, for that he was ſeized of the kingdome by the meanes of the Parthians, and had reſolued with themſelues to diſpoſſeſſe him; yet that there were diuers others of that royall race, who might be made kings according to the law, who haue no waies miſdemeaned themſelues towards the Romanes; and F moreouer there are Prieſts, who ſhould not be iuſtly and vprightly dealt withall, if they ſhould be depriued of that honour which appertaineth vnto them. Whileſt they debated the matter after this manner betweene them, and grew to hot and iniurious taunts the one againſt the other, *Antigonus* commaunded his men to aſſayle thoſe that were neere vnto the wall: who ſhooting many arrowes with great courage againſt them, draue them eaſily from the tower they kept.

Reſſa taken, & Maſſada deliuered from the ſiege, after which Herod marcheth towards Ieruſalem.

Herod proclaimeth about the wals of Ieruſalem that he repaired thither for the good of the people, and the cõmon weale.

Antigonus vpbraideth Herod that he is but halfe a Iew, & of no kingly race.

The enemy repulſeth Herods power from the wall.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Christs Nativitie, 37.

At that time *Silon* gaue manifeſt proofe that he had beene corrupted by money: for he ſubor- G
ned diuers of his ſouldiers, who cried out that they had want of victuals, and demanded greater pay for their maintenance, and requeſted that they might be placed in ſome conuenient garriſons to winter in, for that the places round about the Citie were deſolate; becauſe all neceſſaries for maintenance of life had bin taken away and waſted by *Antigonus* ſouldiers. Thus was the whole army troubled; ſo that each of them prepared themſelues to diſlodge. But *Herod* importuned and cryed out vpon the Captaines and Souldiers that were vnder *Silons* charge, telling them that it concerned them not to abandon him whom *Cæſar*, *Anthony* and the Senate of Rome had ſent thither: That for his owne part he would giue order that they ſhould haue abundance and foiſon of whatſoeuer they demanded; and incontinently departing from them (after he had preſented them with this requeſt) he depriued *Silon* of all colour and pretext of flight: for he cauſed an incredible quantitie of victuals to be brought them; and commanded his friends that in- H
habited the confines of Samaria, to bring them corne, wine, oyle, cattell, and all other ſuch prouiſion from Iericho, to the end that from that time forward the ſouldiers might want nothing. *Antigonus* was not ignorant thereof; ſo that he incontinently ſent men thorowout the countrey, who might intercept and ſurpriſe the purueiours and victualers. Who following *Antigonus* commandement, aſſembled a great number of ſouldiers neere vnto Iericho, and encamping in the mountaines, eſpied and watched thoſe that brought the victuals. Meane while *Herod* lay not ſtill, but tooke with him ten companies, fiue of Romane ſouldiers, and fiue of Iewes, with whom he intermixed ſome forraine ſouldiers, with ſome few horſemen, and came to Iericho: where being arriued hee ſeized the towne, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, of whom I
fiue hundred with their wiues and children were retired into the tops of the mountaines, whom hee tooke, and afterwards ſet at libertie: but the Romane ſouldiers, entring into their houſes, and finding them full of all ſorts of mooueables, they ſpoiled the ſame. And the King hauing left a garriſon in Iericho, returned to his owne place, diſmiſſing the Romane armie to goe and winter in the countries lately ſurrendred vnto him; namely, in Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. *Antigonus* alſo purchaſed this fauour at *Silons* hands by ſtore of bribes, that part of his army was lodged in Lydda, all which he did to currie fauour with *Anthony*.

Silon ſuborneth ſome of his ſouldiers to take an occaſion to depart from Ieruſalem.

Herod procured and furniſhed the army with victuals and aboundant munition.

Antigonus ſendeth out ſouldiers to ſurpriſe Herods victualers.

The Romans ſent to their garriſons to winter.

Whileſt thus the Romans liued in all abundance and bare no armes; *Herod* would not be ſtill, but ſent his brother *Ioſeph* into Idumæa, with one thouſand footmen, and foure hundreth horſe; and himſelfe reſorted to Samaria, where his mother and his other parents kept, who before time K
were departed out of Maſſada. After this hee went into Galilee to ſurpriſe certaine caſtles which were held by *Antigonus* garriſons, and beeing arriued at Sephoris (during a great ſnow) after that *Antigonus* garriſons were departed out of the foreſaid caſtles, hee found a great aboundance of all ſorts of neceſſarie munition. And there hauing notice of certaine theeues, who inhabited in caues, he ſent a troupe of horſemen, with three companies of footmen, againſt them: whom he commanded to doe iuſtice on thoſe robbers (now the place where they kept, was not farre from a borough called Arbela:) and fortie daies after, he himſelfe with all his armie reſorted thither. Now whereas the enemie iſſued out againſt him with a hardy reſolution, the left wing of his ſquadron retired and fainted; but hee comming on with his maine battell put them to flight, who were already almoſt maſters of the field, and made thoſe of his followers that fled, L
to turne their faces; and to purſue their enemies as farre as the floud Iordan: who fled ſome of them by one way, ſome by another; ſo that hee drew all Galilee vnder his ſubiection, except thoſe that inhabited and held the caues. He diſtributed money alſo amongſt his ſouldiers, and gaue each ſouldier a hundreth and fiftie drachmes, and far more vnto their chieftaines, and afterwards ſent them to winter in garriſons neere at hand.

Robbers.

Herod fighteth with his enemies in Galilee, and ouercommeth them, and bringeth all Galilee vnder his ſubiection.

About this time *Silon* and his captaines, who had paſſed the winter in the ſaid garriſons, came vnto him (for that *Antigonus* would no more furniſh them with victuals:) for he gaue them maintenance for no more time then a moneth, commanding thoſe that dwelt round about them to ſpoile the countrey, and afterwards to retire themſelues into the mountaines, to the end that the Romans might be deſtitute of neceſſary maintenance, and by that meanes might bee conſumed M
with famine. *Herod* gaue *Pharoras* his yongeſt brother the charge of that prouiſion, commanding him to incloſe the fort of Alexandrion with a wall; who ſpeedily brought to paſſe that the ſouldiers had all ſorts of neceſſaries at commandement: he reedified alſo the fort of Alexandrion which had beene laide deſolate. About that time *Anthony* ſoiorned in Athens, and *Ventidius* was in Syria, who hauing ſent for *Silon* to accompany him againſt the Parthians, did firſt of all charge him to aſſiſt *Herod* in that warre: and afterwards to excite the prouinciall confederates

Antigonus refuſeth to victuall the Romane army.

Ventidius ſendeth for Silon to war againſt the Parthians.

to

A to further his warre. But *Herod* diſmiſſing *Silon* and his company to follow their deſtinated wars with *Ventidius*, did in his owne perſon lead out his ſouldiers againſt thoſe theeues that liued in dens. Now theſe caues were ſituate in the moſt higheſt and inacceſſible mountaines, impregnable thorow narrow pathes, enuironed with ſharpe rocks, wherein the robbers inhabited ſecretly, with all their families, King *Herod* cauſed a certaine number of coffers to be made, faſtned to fyron chaines, which he cauſed to be let downe by an engine from the top of the mountaine (becauſe it was neither poſſible by reaſon of the ſteepineſſe of the hill to aſcend the ſame from beneath, neither from aboue to creepe downward againſt them.) Theſe cheſts were filled with ſoldiers, armed with great hookes to draw theſe theeues vnto them, and to breake their necks headlong from the height to the bottome. But the vſe of theſe coffers was dangerous, for it was neceſſary to let them downe an infinite depth into the caues, eſpecially for that the theeues had ne-
B ceſſarie munition among them: notwithſtanding when they had gotten downe, none of the theeues durſt peepe out of the mouthes of their caues, but feare conſtrained them to hold themſelues quiet. But a certaine ſouldier, hauing girt his ſword by his ſide, and taken hold of the chaine with both his hands whereto the coffer was faſtened, ſlid downe as far as the entry of the caue: and being diſpleaſed that no one iſſued out, he ſhot diuers arrowes at thoſe that were within, and wounded them; and after that, with his hooke hee drew thoſe vnto him who reſiſted him, and tumbled them downe headlong from the ſteepy rocke: which done, he ruſhed in vpon thoſe that were within the caue, and ſlew many of them, and afterwards returned and reſted himſelfe in his coffer. Diuers hearing the grones of thoſe that were wounded, were ſurpriſed with feare and deſpaire of their life: but the nights approach was the cauſe that the matter was not fully at-
C chieued, and many of them (receiuing notice of the Kings free pardon by a herauld) ſubmitted themſelues. The next day they renued and continued the ſame manner of fight, and diuers iſſued out of their coffers to fight vpon the outward entrances of the caues, into which they caſt fire, which (for that there was great quantity of wood in the caues) did quickly burne. Within theſe caues there was a certaine old man apprehended, with his wife and ſeuen ſonnes: who being required by them that hee would ſuffer them to goe and ſumit themſelues to their enemies, tooke vp the entry of the caue, and as his ſonnes aduanced themſelues to iſſue out, he ſlew them, vntill ſuch time as he had maſſacred them all, and after them his wife; and finally, when hee had caſt their dead bodies downe the rockes, he threw himſelfe downe headlong after them, preferring death before ſeruitude. Yet before his death, he reuiled *Herod* in bitter words, and vpbrai-
D ded him of his obſcuritie and ignoble race: and although *Herod* (who ſaw all that which had happened) ſtretched out his hand vnto him and promiſed him pardon; yet would he not reſpect him; and by this meanes were all theſe caues entered, and the theeues therein taken.

Now when the King had eſtabliſhed *Ptolomey* captaine ouer the ſouldiers in that region, hee retired himſelfe into Samaria, with ſixe hundreth horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, with a reſolution to fight with *Antigonus*, and to end their quarrell. But *Ptolomey* had but very ſlender ſucceſſe in his gouernment: for they that before time had troubled the countrey of Galilee ſallied out vpon him, and ouerthrew him. After which execution they fled into the Mariſhes and vnacceſſible places, where they robbed and ſpoiled all the countrey. But *Herod* returning and ſetting vpon them puniſhed them: for he ſlew ſome of them, and the reſt were conſtrained to
E flie into ſtrong places, where he beſieging them and entring their fortreſſes perforce, ſlew the men, and deſtroied their fortifications: and hauing brought this rebellion to an end, he condemned the Cities to pay him the ſumme of one hundreth talents. Meane while, *Pacorus* was ſlaine in warre, and the Parthians were diſcomfited with him; which was the cauſe that *Ventidius* ſent *Machæras* to ſuccour *Herod* with two legions and 1000. horſe, and that by the commandement of *Antonius*. But *Machæras* was drawen by *Antigonus*, who corrupted him with mony: and notwithſtanding *Herods* contradiction and diſſwaſion; yet reſorted he vnto him, alledging that he did it to looke into his actions. But *Antigonus* ſuſpecting his ſodaine approach, intertained him not but cauſed him to be darted at and driuen thence; giuing him to vnderſtand by his entertainment what opinion he had of him, and how he was affected towards him: who at that time perceiued
F plainly that *Herod* had giuen him good counſell; and that himſelfe had miſdone in misbeleeuing his aduice: for which cauſe he returned to the Citie Emaus, and ſlew all thoſe Iewes whom he met withall in the way, whether friends or enemies: ſo highly diſpleaſed was he at that which had hapned. *Herod* ſore mooued hereat, came to Samaria reſoluing with himſelfe to poſte vnto *Antonius* to complaine of theſe aggrieuances; conſidering that he had no need of ſuch aſſociates, who did him more harme then his enemies; whereas of himſelfe he was able to make good

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 37.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 25.

Herod leadeth his ſouldiers againſt thoſe theeues that held the caues.

Herod letteth downe his ſoldiers from the top of the mountaine in coffers.

A certaine old man killeth his wife and ſeuen of his ſonnes, and at laſt caſteth himſelf headlong from the rocke.

Herod retireth toward Samaria to fight with Antigonus.

Herod puniſheth the rebels in Galilee.

Ventidius ouercommeth Pacorus and the Parthians in battell.

Machæras killeth many Iewes.

Herod reſoluing to depart to Antonius, and to accuſe Machæras is reconciled by him, and leaueth his brother Ioſeph with an army behind him.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Christs Natiuitie, 37.

his warre against *Antigonus*. But *Macheras* hasted after him, requiring him to stay, and to trauell no further on that iourney; or if he might not be deliuered, he prayed him to leaue his brother *Ioseph* behind him, who might with them make warre against *Antigonus*. By these perswasions and instant intreaties of *Macheras*, he was somewhat appeased: so that he left his brother *Ioseph* behinde him, with an army; charging him no way to hazzard his fortune, or to fall at oddes with *Macheras*. As for himselfe hee hasted toward *Anthony*, who at that time besieged Samosata (a Citie situate neere vnto Euphrates) hauing with him an armie of his associates both horsemen, and footmen. When *Herod* was arriued in Antioch, he found diuers men assembled there, who were desirous to goe and seeke out *Anthony*: but they durst not set forward on the way, for feare least certaine Barbarians should set vpon them, and kill them in their iourney: these did *Herod* assure, and offered himselfe to be their guide vpon the way. Now when they came to their second baite, some two daies iourney off of Samosata, the Barbarians laid an ambush for them, and had barred vp the way with hurdles, and had likewise hidden certaine horsemen thereabouts, who should lie in couert vntill such time as the passengers had recouered the Plaine. Now when the foremost were past, the ambush consisting of about some fiue hundreth horsemen, sodainly charged *Herod* who was in his rereward; when as therefore they had broken the former ranks whom they had met, *Herod* with his troupe that was about him incontinently repulsed them; and after he had encouraged his followers and whetted them on to the fight, hee wrought so much, that he made those that fled to turne their faces, and to fight; so that the Barbarians were put to the sword on all sides. The King also pursued them so long, vntill at last hee recouered that which had beene taken by them, which was a certaine number of sumpter horses and slaues. But being charged afresh by others, and they in greater number then those who encountred him at first, he likewise (rallying his forces together) charged and ouercame them; and killing diuers of them, he secured the way to those that followed after, who all of them acknowledged him for their preseruer and guide.

Herod repaireth to Antonius at the siege of Samosata, and in the way killeth many Barbarians.

When hee drew neere vnto Samosata; *Anthony* sent out his armie in goodly array to meete and honour him, and withall to succour him, in that he had heard that the Barbarians had assailed him. As soone as he came to *Anthonies* presence, he entertained him kindly; and after hee had heard that which had befallen him in the way, he embraced him in admiration of his vertue, and did him great honor, as to him whom a little before he had raised to a royall dignitie. Not long after this, *Antiochus* surrendred the fort of Samosata to *Anthony*, and vpon this occasion the warre was ended. Whereupon *Anthony* committed the prouince with the armie to *Sosius*: and after he had commanded him to succour *Herod*, hee departed into Ægypt. *Sosius* therefore sent two legions of souldiers before into Iudæa to succour *Herod*, and afterwards hee followed with the rest of his army.

Herod was honourably entertained by Antonius and his host.

The yeere of the world, 3928. before Christs Natiuity. 36.

Sosius hath the armie committed to his charge by Antonius who departeth into Ægypt.

In the meane while *Ioseph* died in Iewry on this occasion that ensueth: For forgetting his brother *Herods* commandement, which hee gaue him at such time as he repaired to *Anthony*, hee tooke to him fiue companies of souldiers which *Macherus* had left him; and marching towards Iericho to gather in the fruites of the field, he pitched his tents vpon the mountains: And for that the Romane troups were but newly leuied, & consisted of those men who were vntrained in the warres, and for the most part were gathered out of the countrey of Cœlosyria: the enemies hauing aduertisement hereof, assayled and surprised him in certaine places of disaduantage, where there was a hot skirmish betweene them, in which *Ioseph* died, fighting valiantly; and all his army was discomfited: for sixe companies of them were slaine. After that the dead bodies were at *Antigonus* command, he cut off *Iosephs* head, which *Pheroras* his brother ransomed for the price of fiftie talents. Which done, the Galileans reuolting from their gouernours, drowned *Herods* partakers in the lake; so that diuers commotions and troubles were raised in Iewry, *Macheras* he fortified the Castle of Geth. This misfortune of *Iosephs* was reported to the king, in a certen suburb of Antioch called Daphne, who before the tidings, had already conceiued some suspicion and feare, grounded vpon certaine dreames, which gaue him certaine intelligence of his brothers death. Departing therefore from thence with all expedition, hee arriued neere to the mount Libanus, where he tooke about 800. men with him, and a Romane legion which he had, and from thence came to Ptolemais; from whence he departed with his army by night, and crossed Galilee with them. Whereupon the enemies came forth against him, and were ouercome by him, and shut vp in a fort, from whence they were departed but the day before; where *Herod* assayled them by breake of day: But being vnable to offer them any preiudice, by reason of the indisposition of the weather, he led his men into the villages neer adioyning. But when *Antonius* second

Ioseph Herods brother is slaine by Antigonus.

The Galileans reuolt from Herod.

Machæras fortifieth Geth.

Herod departeth from Daphne a suburbe of Antioch, into Galilee.

Herod fighteth with the Galileans, and ouercommeth them, and driueth them into a castle.

A second legion was come, and annexed to his forces; they that were within the fort were dismaied, and forsooke the same by night. So that *Herod* marched with all diligence to Iericho, with an intent to reuenge his brothers death; and beeing encamped neere vnto the same, hee banqueted and entertained the Chiefetaines of his army; and after the feast was ended, and he had dismissed his company, hee withdrew himselfe into his lodging. In which place it appeared, how much God loued the King: for the roofe of the house where hee had solemnized his feast fell downe without hurt to any one whomsoeuer: for no man was left within it. Whence it came to passe, that each one perswaded himselfe that *Herod* was beloued by God; considering he had auoyded so great and vnexpected a perill. *The yeere of the world, 3928. before Christs Natiuity, 36.* The house wherein Herod solemnized his feast, fell downe when the guests were gone, without any mans detriment.

The next day, sixe thousand of his enemies came downe from the toppe of the mountaines to fight with him, who affrighted the Romans, and their forlorne hope chased *Herods* souldiers
B with darts, and stones, who was himselfe also hurt in the thigh with an arrow. *Antigonus* sent a captaine to Samaria, whose name was *Pappus*, with some souldiers, intending thereby to signifie vnto his enemies, that he had more men of warre then he needed. *Pappus* drew neere to *Macharas* the Romane Captaine: and as touching *Herod* he tooke fiue cities by force, and put some two thousand of them that were in garrison to the sword; and afterwards (hauing set the houses on fire) he went out to encounter *Pappus*; who was encamped in a borough called *Isanas*. Diuers that came from Iericho and Iury, submitted themselues to *Herod*, who drawing neere the enemy (who marched forward with great hardinesse) fought with him and ouercame him, and beeing inflamed with a great desire he had to reuenge his brothers death, he pursued them that fled and slue them euen within their borough. Herod wounded by his enemies. Antigonus sendeth Pappus to Samaria

These houses were incontinently filled with men of war,
C and diuers fled and hid themselues vpon the tops thereof, who were at last taken; for the roofes of the houses were beaten down, and he saw that all was filled with souldiers, wherby diuers were slaine by stones that were darted at them from aboue, and afterwards cast and killed them by heapes: which was the most grieuous spectacle of all those that had hapned in those warres, to see an infinite number of bodies hidden one vnder another amidst the roomes of the houses. Fight in the houses.

This exploite of *Herod* did very much abate the courage of his enemy, who hereafter expected farre more worse fortunes at his hands: For a man might haue seene them flie away in heapes; and had not a sodaine and forcible tempest fallen vpon them, the triumphant army of *Herod* had incontinently entred Ierusalem with assurance of victorie, which had made a finall end of all that warre. For, *Antigonus* each day bethought him how to flie away, and to for-
D sake the Citie. But for that it was already growne darke, *Herod* commanded his souldiers to refresh themselues; and for that hee himselfe was weary, hee entred into his lodging to bathe himselfe: in which place he ouerwent a mighty misfortune, from which he escaped by Gods prouidence. For (whereas he was naked and accompanied with one only seruant to attend him) at such time as he bathed, there were a certaine number of armed enemies hidden in that lodging, who were fled thither for the feare they had: and during the time that *Herod* bathed, the first amongst them issued with his naked sword and got the doore; and after him the second; and the third no lesse armed, without offending the King, for the feare that they had of his presence: and content to escape in their owne persons, without the preiudice of other men. The next day he sent *Pappus* head to his brother *Pheroras*, who was slaine by his owne sword in reuenge of the iniury of-
E fered to *Ioseph*. When the tempest was done, he departed from thence, and approched neere to Ierusalem and encamped neere vnto the Citie. This was about the third yeere since he was created king at Rome: and encamping himselfe in the place which was (as he thought) fittest for battery; he addressed himselfe towards the Temple side, resoluing to batter and make breach in that place in like manner as *Pompey* had done before him. Hauing therefore erected three bulwarks in three places, he builded towers thereon by the assistance of many workemen; and by meanes of a great quantity of wood, which he caused to be cut downe round about the place; and hauing pointed such men as were of ripe iudgement to ouersee these works, hee left his army well prouided, and resorted to Samaria, to marry with the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Aristobulus*
F sonne to whom he was betrothed, according as I haue heretofore declared. *The yeere of the world, 3929. before Christs Natiuity, 35.* Herod being alone and naked in his house escaped vnhurt amongst many armed enemies. Herod sendeth Pappus head to his brother Phæroras. Herod besiegeth Ierusalem. Herod repaireth to Samaria to marrie Alexanders daughter.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Christs Nativity, 35.

CHAP. XXVIII. G

ANTIGONVS *is discomfited by* SOSIVS *and* HEROD.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 26. al. 27.

AFTER this marriage was solemnized, *Sosius* repaired thither thorow the countrey of Phœnicia, and hauing first of all sent his army thorow the continent, he himselfe also resorted thither with many aswell footemen as horsemen : thither also repaired the King from Samaria, with no small army, to annexe himselfe with the old bands: for he had about thirty thousand men. All these assembled themselues together neere vnto the walles of Ierusalem, and planted their siege nigh vnto the wall of the citie that extendeth towards the northward. The army contained eleuen legions of footmen, with sixe thousand horsemen: besides the succours that came from Syria. Of this army there were two Generals, namely *Sosius*, who was sent by *Antonius* to succour *Herod* : and *Herod* himselfe, who made war for himselfe, with an intent that hauing H dispossessed *Antigonus* (whom he had proclaimed enemy to Rome) hee himselfe might be King in his place, according to the Senates decree. Those Iewes that were within the enclosure of the walles (that is to say, almost all the nation) resisted the Herodians with great courage and affection, vaunting and boasting much of the Temple of the Lord, and wishing all good hap and successe to the people, namely, that God would deliuer them from all dangers : and spoiling all prouision without the Citie, that was either behouefull for the vse of man or beast, by their secret thefts and excursions also they made the very besiegers destitute of reliefe and victuals. Which inconuenience *Herod* so well preuented, that he forestalled their meanes of theft, and laide ambushes in place conuenient to cut them off. As for victuals he sent his footmen to fetch his prouision from farre ; so that within a very little space they had aboundance of all that which was necessary in I the campe. He erected also with no lesse carefulnesse three bulwarks, by the diligent labour of a great number of workemen : for it was sommer time, and neither was the aire incommodious, or negligence of the workemen such, but that they presently furnished and finished them. Afterwards hauing raised their engines vpon them, they battered the wall, with as much violence and diligence as was possible: notwithstanding all this, they did no waies amate those that were within ; who for their parts vsed all the cunning that might bee possible to defend themselues, and by diuers sallies set fire vpon the enemies engines ; and burnt not onely those that were halfe made, but those that were wholly perfected : and when necessity draue them to handy strokes, they shewed no lesse valour then the Romans courage ; but they were inferiour vnto them in skill and martiall discipline. And when as the first wall was beaten downe, they builded vp a new, and coun- K termined against those mines that were made by the enemy ; so that they fought vnder ground hand to hand. Thus vsing despaire rather then courage, they sustained the war to the vttermost ; yea notwithstanding they were besieged by a great armie, and pressed by famine and want of victuals : for the yeere wherein the siege was continued, was the seauenth, in which the earth was vnmanured, which by vs is called the yeere of rest. But finally twenty chosen souldiers first of all mounted vpon the wall ; and after them one of *Sosius* Centurions : for the first wall was taken in the fortith day after the siege, and the second on the fiftieth, and some galleries were burned, which were neere vnto the Temple : which (as *Herod* said) were burned by *Antigonus*, to bring him into more hatred among the Iewes. When the outward part of the Temple, and the lower part of the Citie were taken, the Iewes fled into the Temple, and into the higher towne, for feare they had least the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily and ordinary sacrifices L vnto God : and they sent Embassadours to their enemies, to require that it might be lawfull for them onely to bring in certaine beasts to offer them for sacrifices. Which *Herod* their King granted them, hoping by this meanes that they would submit themselues and yeeld vp the places But perceiuing that his opinion failed him herein, and that they obstinately resisted him, to continue the soueraignty in *Antigonus* ; he gaue the assault, and tooke the Citie by force : where all things were incontinently filled with murthers, in that the Romans were displeased because they had so long time continued the siege ; and the Iewes that were on *Herods* side enforced themselues vtterly to exterminate all those that were of the contrary party : so that continuall slaughters ranged and raigned euery where, both in porches, and in the houses whereinto they entred : Neither did M the religious reuerence of the Temple saue those suppliants that resorted thither for safety, but that without all compassion both olde and yong were slaughtered : Neither did their murthering hand spare or refraine from women ; nay not so much as from yong infants. And although the King besought and requested them to forbeare them, yet no man gaue ouer, but all sorts of per-

Herod preuenteth the dearth.

The Iewes without feare resist those that besieged them.

The outward part of the Temple, and the lower citie taken.

The Iewes fly to the vpper citie and the Temple.

Ierusalem taken.

A persons were murthered by them, without respect either of sexe or age. *Antigonus* inconsiderate of that estate wherein he had beene, or the fortune and disaster that at that present attended him, came downe from the tower and humbled himselfe on his knees before *Sosius* feete; who hauing no compassion of the change of that estate wherein he saw him, outragiously scorned him, calling him *Madame Antigona*: yet left he him not without guard after the manner of a Woman, but fast bound for his further assurance. But *Herod* was busied in deuising how hee might moderate his associates and strangers, after he had had the vpper hand ouer his enemies: For the strangers swarmed into the Citie by heapes, and not onely into the Temple, but also into the Sanctuarie. Hee therefore exhorted some, and threatned other some, and restrained the rest by force of arms; and he was more troubled at that present in beeing a Conquerour, then if he had beene conque-

B red: for that those things that were not lawfull to be seene were beheld by prophane men. Hee preuented likewise the spoile of the Citie, as much as in him lay: Beseeching *Sosius* most instantly, to preserue it to the vtmost, asking him if the Romans would leaue him King of a desart, after they had voided the Citie of men and goods? Alleadging furthermore, that hee esteemed the gouernment of the whole world of no value in regard of the life of one of his Citizens. *Sosius* answered, that it was reason that the pillage should be giuen to the Souldier; who had borne the hazzard of the siege: whereunto *Herod* answered, that hee would satisfie euery man out of his owne treasury: and by this meanes, hee ransomed the rest of the Citie by fulfilling those promises: For he gaue many mighty gifts vnto euery one of the Souldiers, and by proportion vnto the Captaines; but aboue all hee royally rewarded *Sosius*; so that euery one of them departed very rich in Siluer.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Christs Natiuity, 35.

Antigonus submitteth himselfe to Sosius.

Herod sore troubled in pacifying the strangers.

The spoile of the Citie hindred.

C This calamities hapned in the Citie of Ierusalem, in the yeere wherein *Marcus Agryppa* and *Canidius Gallus* were Consuls, which was in the hundreth, fourescore and fift Olympiade, in the third moneth, on the dayes wherein the solemne fast was celebrated; as if this affliction had iumpt together in one issue and instant with that of *Pompeys*: for on the same day had the same Citie beene taken twenty and seauen yeeres before. *Sosius* offered a crowne of golde vnto God, and afterwards departed from Ierusalem, leading *Antigonus* prisoner with him vnto *Anthony*. But *Herod* fearing least if *Antigonus* should be kept by *Anthony*, and sent to Rome, hee should debate his title with him before the Senate by protest that hee was descended of the royall line; whereas *Herod* was but a Plebeian and common person: and that although hee had of-

D fended the Romans, and thereby might not deserue to bee King; yet at least his children, who were of the princely line, were not to bee denied their title: *Herod* I say, fearing these things, wrought so much by force of his money with *Anthony*, that hee caused him to put *Antigonus* to death, so that at that time *Herod* was truely deliuered from all feare. Thus ended the estate of the Asmoneans, after 120. and sixe yeeres. This family was famous both for their nobility, and also by reason of their Sacerdotall dignity, and for the noble actions and exploits, which their ancestors had atchieued for our nation; but they lost their authority thorow their mutuall factions: which soueraignty was deriued to *Herod Antipaters* sonne, who was ignoble by birth, and of meane friends; who were subiects and vassals to Kings. See here what wee haue receiued from our ancestors, as touching the end of the race of the Asmoneans.

When Ierusalem was taken.

Herod bribeth Antonius with money to make away Antigonus.

The end of the Asmonean family, and the extinction of their priesthood.

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F

THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fifteenth Booke.

1 *Ierusalem being ouercome by* Sosius *and* Herod, Antigonus *is healed by* Anthonies *commandement.* Herod *maketh away the chiefe friends of* Antigonus.
2 *How* Hircanus *being dismissed by the Parthians returneth to* Herod.
3 Herod *after he had made* Aristobulus (*his wife* Mariammes *brother*) *high Priest, practiseth and worketh his death.*
4 Cleopatra *thirsting after the kingdomes of Iewry and Arabia, laboureth to begge a part of them at* Anthonies *hands.*
5 *The arriuall of Queene* Cleopatra *in Iudæa.*
6 Herod *maketh warre against* Aretas, *at such time as* Anthony *was ouerthrowne by* Cæsar *in the Actiac warre.*
7 *Of the earthquake in Iewry.*
8 Herods *oration to his armie.*
9 Herod *intending to repaire vnto* Cæsar *doth of necessitie kill* Hircanus.
10 *How* Herod *obtained the continuance of his kingdome of Iudæa at* Cæsars *hands.*
11 Herod *maketh away* Mariamme *thorow false calumniations of her enemies.*
12 *Of the famine that afflicted the land of Iewry.*
13 *The building of Cæsarea.*
14 Herod *buildeth a new temple in Ierusalem.*

CHAP. I.

Ierusalem beeing taken by SOSIVS *and* HEROD, ANTIGONVS *is healed by* ANTHONIES *command:* HEROD *maketh away all his chiefest friends.*

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Christs Nativitie, 34.

IN the former booke. I haue declared how *Sosius* and *Herod* tooke the City of Ierusalem by force, and with it *Antigonus* prisoner: now will we also declare that which hath subsequently followed: for after that *Herod* had obtained the absolute gouernment ouer the whole land of Iudæa, he aduanced all those among the common people, who fauoured his proceedings: as for those who were opposed against him, there passed not a day wherein some one or other of them suffered not punishment. But amongst the rest, *Pollio* the Pharisee and *Sameas* his Disciple, were highly honoured by him: For during the time of the siege of Ierusalem, they counselled the inhabitants to receiue and entertaine *Herod*: for which cause he respected them accordingly, This *Pollio* in times past (when *Herod* was found guilty of death) foretold *Hircanus* and the rest of the Iudges in way of exprobration, that being absolued by them he should one day inflict punishment on them all. Which prediction God in processe of time approoued by the euent: no sooner therefore became he master of Ierusalem, but he gathered together all the rich houshold stuffe that was in the palace; and furthermore hauing spoiled the rich men of their goods, and by this means leuied a great summe of gold and siluer, he sent great presents to *Anthony* and his friends. Moreouer he condemned fiue and forty of *Antigonus* principall and noblest fauourites to death, setting straight watch about their doores, that none of them might be carried out vnder colour of beeing dead. The dead bodies likewise were troden vnder foote: and all the gold, siluer, or iewels that was to be found amongst them, was carried to the king, and conuerted to his vse, so that there was no end of these miseries. For the couetousnesse of the conquerour (whose greedy and thirsty desire could hardly be quenched) laid hold on

Herod preferreth his fauorites, and killeth his enemies.

The Pharisees honoured by him.

Pollio foreprophecied Herods tyranny.

The slaughter of them that were of Antigonus faction.

A on whatſoeuer was theirs. And for that it was the ſeuenth yeere, it neceſſarily came to paſſe that the land was left vnmanured: for we are forbidden to ſowe in this yeere. *Anthony* hauing taken *Antigonus* priſoner, reſolued to keepe him in priſon vntill the time of his triumph: But after he had receiued tidings that the nation of the Iewes were ready to innouate and rebell, and continued their good affection toward *Antigonus*, in regard of the hatred they conceiued againſt *Herod*; he concluded with himſelfe to take his head from him at Antioch: For the Iewes could ſcarcely containe themſelues. *Strabo* of Cappadocia teſtifieth no leſſe in theſe words. *Anthony* hauing brought *Antigonus* the Iewe to Antioch, cauſed his head to be cut off; and was the firſt among the Romanes that hath cauſed a King to bee beheaded in this manner: ſuppoſing that the Iewes might neuer otherwiſe be induced to change their opinions, and receiue *Herod*: yet this opinion B of his was not anſwerable to equity. For notwithſtanding whatſoeuer impulſion hee might deuiſe, yet could they not be induced to call him King: in ſo high eſtimate and account held they their former King. But *Anthony* ſuppoſed that that infamy would obſcure his renowne, and leſſen the generall hate that they bare to *Herod*. See here what *Strabo* writeth.

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 34.

Antigonus beheaded.

Strabo of Antigonus.

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Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

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As ſoone as the high Prieſt *Hircanus* (who was priſoner among the Parthians) heard that *Herod* had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome, hee returned backe vnto him, beeing deliuered after this manner following. *Barzapharnes*, and *Pacorus* Princes of the Parthians had taken *Hircanus*, who was firſt high Prieſt, and afterwards king, and with him *Phaſælus Herods* brother, and ledde them away priſoners with them into their owne countrey: *Phaſælus* not able to endure the diſhonour of impriſonment, and preferring an honourable death before a reprochfull and ignominiC ous life, murthered himſelfe, as I haue heretofore declared.

Hircanus hearing tydings that Herod had obtained the kingdome returneth vnto him.

CHAP. II.

How HIRCANVS *diſmiſſed by the Parthians, returned vnto* HEROD.

PHRAATES King of Parthia, vnderſtanding how nobly *Hircanus* was deſcended, who was brought priſoner vnto him, entertained him graciouſly: and for this cauſe drew him out of priſon, permitting him to conuerſe in Babylon, in which place there were a great number of Iewes, who honoured *Hircanus* very much; and no leſſe then their high Prieſt and D King. The like alſo did all they of that nation inhabiting as farre as Euphrates, which did not a little content *Hircanus*. But after that hee was aduertiſed that *Herod* was poſſeſſed of the kingdome, he transferred his hopes another way, beeing of his owne nature tenderly affected toward his friends, expecting that one day *Herod* would requite him for that he had deliuered him from death whereunto hee was condemned, and in danger likewiſe of the penaltie and puniſhment. He began therefore to conſult with the Iewes as touching his iourney; who in way of dutie and loue came to viſite him, and who beſought him, and importuned him to abide with them, offering him all ſeruice and honour; aſſuring him that he ſhould in no leſſe manner be reſpected among them, then their high Prieſt and King; yea in farre higher regard then he might any waies be in his owne countrey, by reaſon of the maime he had in his body thorow *Antigo*E *nus* tyranny: alleadging that Kings doe not ordinarily call to their remembrance thoſe pleaſures that they haue receiued in their infant fortunes, becauſe that with their eſtates they change both their manners and inclinations. But notwithſtanding all theſe or ſuch like allegations, yet could not *Hircanus* be withdrawne from the deſire he had to repaire homeward. *Herod* alſo wrote vnto him, that he ſhould require *Phraates* and the Iewes that inhabited his kingdome, in no ſort to enuie his felicitie, in that he ſhould partake with him both in dignitie and royaltie, alleadging that the time was now come wherein he might acknowledge the benefits he had receiued, by being heretofore nouriſhed and preſerued by him. With theſe letters he ſent *Samaralla* likewiſe on an embaſſage to *Phraates* furniſhed with great and rich preſents, endeuouring by that meanes to winne him, that hee in no ſort ſhould hinder his gratulation and good intent towards one that had ſo highly deſerued at his hands; yet were not his proteſtations anſwerable to his pretence. F For inſomuch as he gouerned not with that vprightnes which became a iuſt king; he feared leaſt ſome alteration might befall him, according to his demerites: for which cauſe he ſought to get *Hircanus* vnder his power, or at leaſtwiſe to diſpatch him out of his life, which hee afterwards performed. When as therefore *Herod* had perſwaded the Parthian to diſmiſſe *Hircanus*, and the Iewes to furniſh him with money ſufficient to beare his expence in his iourney, he receiued him with all honour. In common aſſemblies he gaue him alwaies the higheſt place, and in the time

Hircanus highly honored in Babylon by the Iewes.

Hircanus leauing his countrey expecteth fauour at Herods hands.

Samaralla Herods Embaſſadour to Phraates.

Herod highly honoureth Hircanus.

of

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Christs Natiuitie, 34.

of festiuals, he made him alwaies sit downe before him; and the more closely to deceiue him, he called him brother, endeuoring himselfe by all means wholly to extinguish in him all colour and cause of suspicion of treachery: neither intermitted he any other stratagems, whereby in his opinion he might any waies further or promote his cause; and yet by these meanes occasioned hee no small sedition in his owne family. For carefully prouiding least any one among the nobilitie should be established high Priest, hee sent to Babylon for a certaine man of base condition called *Ananel*, and gaue him the Priesthood. For which cause *Alexandra* grew sodainly displeased, not being able to endure that outrage. This woman was *Hircanus* daughter, and *Alexanders* wife, who was King *Aristobulus* son, who had two children by her husband, the one wondrous beautifull who was called *Aristobulus*; the other was *Mariamme*, who was likewise faire, and married to *Herod*. Shee was sore mooued and highly displeased to see her sonne so much indignified, for that during his life another was called to the honour of high Priesthood: for which cause she wrote vnto *Cleopatra* by the meanes of a certaine Musition, beseeching her to beg the high Priesthood at *Antonius* hands for her sonne. But for that *Antonius* made little reckoning of those suits, a certaine friend of his called *Gellius*, who was come into Iury about certaine of his affairs, and who had seene *Aristobulus*, fell in loue with him by reason of his beauty: and being abashed likewise at his great and goodly stature, and allured by *Mariammes* admirable beautie, hee openly protested that hee accounted *Alexandra* a happy mother in her children: and deuising to this effect with her, hee perswaded her to send the pictures of her two children to *Antonius*, for that if he should but behold them, he would refuse him in nothing, wherein hee should request his friendship. *Alexandra* perswaded by these words, sent their pictures vnto *Antonius*. *Gellius* also made the matter more wonderfull, telling him that the children seemed rather to be ingendered of no mortall straine, but by some diuine power, labouring as much as in him lay that *Antonius* might be allured to affection them. Who supposing it to be a matter ill beseeming him to send for *Mariamme*, who was married to *Herod*, and desirous likewise to auoide *Cleopatras* suspicions, wrote vnto *Herod* that vnder some honest pretext he should send *Alexandras* sonne vnto him (with this addition, if it might not seeme troublesome vnto him.) Which matter when *Herod* vnderstood, he thought it no waies incident to his security to send *Aristobulus*, (who was a faire yong man, and little more at that time then sixteene yeeres old, and so nobly borne: considering that *Antonius* was at that present in such authority, that no one in Rome was in greater credit then he; and who besides that was very much addicted to his pleasures, which he openly hunted after without feare of punishment in regard of his greatnesse and power. He therefore wrote him this answer, that if the yong man should but only depart out of the countrey, all the land would incontinently be filled with warre and troubles, for that the Iewes pretended alteration in gouernment, and sought to innouate by preferring a new King. When as therefore hee had in this sort excused himselfe vnto *Antonius*; he resolued to entertaine both the yonger *Aristobulus* and his mother *Alexandra*, with more respect. Moreouer his wife *Mariamme* did continually importune him to giue the Priesthood to her brother, alleadging that by that honour he might preuent the occasion of his trauell. For which cause assembling his friends together in counsell, he grieuously accused *Alexandra* before them, protesting that she secretly conspired against the kingdome, and that by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, shee laboured to dispossesse him of the soueraigntie, to the intent that her sonnes by *Antonius* meanes might gouerne in his steed. Which practise of hers was so much the more vniust, because she depriued her owne daughter of that honour wherein she was inseated, and raised vp troubles likewise in that kingdome which hee had conquered with great trauell, and extreame danger: Yet notwithstanding that he willingly forgat that which was past, and forgaue those wrongs she had vrged against him, and was ready notwithstanding to shew all kindnesse and courtesie both to her and hers. Furthermore, hee gaue the high Priesthood to yong *Aristobulus*, alleadging that heretofore he had established *Ananel* in that place for no other respect, then for that *Aristobulus* was vnder yeeres.

Herod giueth the high Priesthood to Ananel.

Alexandra solliciteth Antonius by Cleopatras mediation for the high Priesthood for her sonne.

Antonius requireth Aristobulus at Herods hands

The causes why Aristobulus was not sent.

Herod inueigheth against Alexandra for pretending to vsurpe the kingdome.

Alexandra excuseth her self, and hauing promise of the Priesthood for her sonne is reconciled to Herod.

After that he had thus seriously and considerately discoursed in the presence of the Ladies, and the consistorie of his friends; *Alexandra* almost beside her selfe, not only thorow the ioy she had conceiued by this vnexpected good fortune, but also for the feare she had to be suspected, began to defend her selfe with teares & protestations, saying that all whatsoeuer she had either practised or done, was to prefer her son vnto the priesthood whom she saw dishonored: but as touching the kingdom that she had neuer pretended, neither would (if so be she should be presented therwith) receiue the same, thinking her selfe for the present sufficiently honoured, both for that she saw *Aristobulus* in that estate, for the assurance that all her progeny should receiue, in that he was lifted

A ted vp in dignitie aboue the reſt. Being therefore ouercome by thoſe merits, ſhee accepted willingly the honour for her ſonne, and ſhewed her ſelfe obedient in all things, requeſting him that if ſhe had committed any thing raſhly and thorow inconſideration of paſſion, either in reſpect of her children, or in vnbridled carriage of her tongue, he would be pleaſed to pardon her. After theſe debates and interchangeable diſcourſes on either ſide, they ſhooke hands the one with the other, in token of a more fixed and vnfained friendſhip then was before, burying (as they then pretended) all euill ſuſpicion or cauſe of vnkindneſſe. *The yeere of the world, 3930. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 34.*

CHAP. III.

B HEROD *preferreth* ARISTOBVLVS, *his wife* MARIAMMES *brother, to the Prieſthood; and afterwards putteth him to death.*

HEREVPON *Herod* tooke away the Prieſthood inſtantly from *Ananel*, who was not that countryman borne (as we haue heretofore declared) but was borne amongſt thoſe Iewes that inhabite and were planted beyond Euphrates by the Aſſyrians. For diuers thouſand Iewes inhabite the countrey of Babylon, and from thence tooke he his originall alſo, being otherwiſe of the race of the Prieſts, and intirely affected toward *Herod* for a long time before, with whom hee had familiar acquaintance. Hee had preferred him to his honour at ſuch time, as he was made King; and degraded him likewiſe to appeaſe the troubles of his family; demeaning himſelfe herein contrary to the law of the countrey: for whereas any one hath once C bin inſtalled in that degree, he is neuer to be diſplaced. The firſt that tranſgreſſed this ordinance was *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who diſpoſſeſſed *Ioſuah*, and preferred his brother *Onias* to his place. The ſecond was *Ariſtobulus*, who tooke it away from his brother *Hircanus*, and vſurped himſelfe. *Herod* was the third, who gaue the Prieſthood to *Ariſtobulus*, eſtabliſhing him in *Ananels* place before he was dead: and by this meanes ſuppoſing that he had found out a remedie to appeaſe the diſcords of his family, hee notwithſtanding all this liued not without ſuſpicion what euent would follow after this reconciliation: for he feared *Alexandra*, leaſt demeaning her ſelfe in ſuch ſort as before time ſhe had done, ſhe ſhould ſeeke occaſion hereafter to raiſe new troubles. He commanded her therefore to containe her ſelfe within the royall palace, and to do nothing of D her owne authoritie. Beſides that he had appointed certaine intelligencers, who ſhould diligently obſerue that nothing ſhould bee done without his knowledge, no not concerning her particular expences and table. All which things exaſperated her hate and encreaſed the ſame againſt *Herod*; for being full of feminine pride, ſhe diſdained to ſee her ſelfe thus wrongfully ſuſpected, deſiring rather to ſuffer any thing, then to be depriued of the libertie of free ſpeech; and vnder colour to be honoured, to liue continually in ſeruitude and feare. Whereupon ſhee ſent certaine of her truſtie friends to *Cleopatra* to complaine, and lament vnto her the importable miſeries of her preſent eſtate, requiring her, according to her power, to giue readie and ſpeedie reliefe. Whereupon *Cleopatra* ſent her word, that both ſhee and her ſonne ſhould reſort vnto her into Ægypt, with as great ſecrecy as might be poſſible. Vpon which aduice and the allowance thereof, ſhee E practiſed this policie. Shee cauſed two coffins to be made, ſuch as men were wont to burie the dead in, in which ſhee hid both her ſelfe and her ſonne, commanding thoſe ſeruants of hers that were priuie to her deliberation to carry them out in the night time, and to bend their courſe directly towards the ſea, where there was a barke in readineſſe prepared to ſhape their courſe, and conuey them into Ægypt. But *Eſop* one of her houſhold ſeruants declared this enterpriſe of hers to *Sabbion* one of *Alexandras* friends, ſuppoſing that he had beene made priuy thereunto: who had no ſooner inkling thereof, but (for that before times he was *Herods* enemy, by reaſon he was ſuſpected to haue beene one of thoſe that ſought to poyſon *Antipater*) hee determined by diſcouery of this ſecret flight, to conuert *Herods* hate into aſſured friendſhip: and preſently diſcouered *Alexandras* ſecret enterpriſe to the King. Who diſſembling the matter vntill it was vpon the point of execution, ſurpriſed her at ſuch time as ſhe thought to flie, and yet notwithſtanding hee F pardoned her that fault (in that he durſt not decree any puniſhment againſt her, though he could haue found in his heart to haue vſed ſeueritie) for that *Cleopatra* would not haue contained her ſelfe had ſhe but had ſuch an occaſion offered her to expreſſe her hatred againſt *Herod*. For which cauſe vnder the colour of a high and magnanimous ſpirit, hee made ſhew to pardon her of his meere clemency: yet inwardly reſolued hee to make yong *Ariſtobulus* away: yet not raſhly vpon the inſtant, leaſt the act ſhould grow apparant and palpable.

Hedio & Ruſinus, chap. 3. Herod taketh the Prieſthood from Ananel.

The Prieſthood taken from three.

Alexandra ſuſpected by Herod, is ſpied and watched, and her actions obſerued.

Alexandra pretending to flie into Ægypt is betraied by her ſeruant.

Herod contriueth Ariſtobulus death.

The yeere of the world, 3931. before Christs Nativity 33.

Now the feast of Tabernacles was at hand, which was one of those that was ceremoniously G
and solemnly celebrated among vs; for which cause he concealed his intents during the festiuall
daies, intending both in himselfe and in the presence and company of the people, to follow all
kind of pleasure and delight; yet did his enuie incite him to hasten the execution of his will. *Aristobulus* was at that time some seuenteene yeere olde, who at such time as hee approched the altar to offer sacrifices, according to the lawe, apparelled in the high priests ornaments to performe the ceremonies, he who for amiable countenance and goodly stature surpassed the yongnes and tenderneſſe of his yeeres) expressing in his countenance the dignitie and nobilitie of his race, drew the eies and good affection of all the people vnto him; so that they openly called to remembrance the noble actions of *Aristobulus* his grandfather. All the people therefore being surmounted by those their affections, and at that present time being all of them troubled with the ioy they conceiued, they brake out by little and little into happy acclamations, mixed with wishes and H
praiers: so that the good will the people bare to *Aristobulus* discouered it selfe openly, and they manifestly (although too hastily in such a kingdome) declared what euils they generally endured: For all which causes *Herod* concluded to execute that which he had heretofore complotted, and conceited against *Aristobulus*. As soone therefore as the feast was ouerpassed, he soiourned in Iericho, where *Alexandra* entertained him. In that place he vsed *Aristobulus* with all kindnes, to the end to draw him vnto some place, where he feared nothing, playing also with him, and counterfaiting to sport, after the fashion of the yong men, to gratifie him. Now, for that the place where they disported themselues was by nature too hot, they quickly wearied, left their sport, and went out together to take fresh ayre, and recouering a pleasant shade vnder certaine arbors, and I
neere certaine fish-pooles which were largely spread round about, they beheld certaine of their seruants and friends that swomme therein, with whom not long after *Aristobulus* began to swim, being perswaded thereunto by *Herod*. Whereupon *Herods* confederates (who were deputed to execute the murther) laid hands on him and thrust him vnder the water, pretending to duck him in sport, and neuer gaue him ouer vntill such time as they had stifled him in the water. This happened about the euening, and after this manner died *Aristobulus*, after hee had liued in all for the space of eighteene yeeres, and administred the priesthood one whole yeere: and after this, *Ananel* presently recouered his former dignitie.

Aristobulus is drowned by Herods direction, Ananell restored to the Priesthood.

Now when this accident was reported to the women, all of them were sodainly deuoured in teares, and transported with strange lamentations, which they spent ouer the dead body. All the K
citie also was maruellously amated, neither was there any priuate family that thought not it selfe touched by this inconuenient, but imagined the losse in particular to concerne himselfe, and no other. But aboue all, when *Alexandra* had notice of this wicked deede, she was more passionate and perplexed then any other, being so much the more discomforted, for that she knew how all things had hapned. But the feare of a farre greater mischiefe constrained her to represse her passion, in such sort, that diuers times she was ready to bereaue her of her owne life, and dispatch her selfe out of miserie with her owne hands. But she contained her selfe, to the end, that suruiuing (and liuing after her sonne, who was so traiterously and fraudulently slaine, and prolonging her owne life without giuing any suspicion or shadow, that she supposed her sonne to be thus cursedly murthered) shee might with more opportunity expect the occasion to reuenge her selfe: For L
which cause, shee dissembled all things, gouerned her griefe, and made shew that she knew nothing of that which was either intended, or had hapned. As for *Herod*, he laboured by all meanes to perswade the strangers, that this death had befallen *Aristobulus* without his knowledge; and did not only prepare that which was requisite for the funerall, but vext himselfe likewise, anmade shew of a man truely deuoured in his sorrow: and it may be that in remembrance of *Aristobulus* beauty and flourishing yong yeeres, he was truely touched with compassion, notwithstanding that he imagined that this death of his should be a meanes of his intire security, demeaning himselfe in all things very circumspectly, with intent to purge himselfe of that crime. But especially he shewed his great magnificence in the interring of his bodie, both in the furnishing and preparation of the herse, as in the perfumes and other things thereunto belonging, in such M
sort as the griefe which the Ladies had conceiued, was pacified after this manner of consolation.

The lamentation for Aristobulus death.

Herods counterfeit sorrow.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The yeere of the world, 3931. before Christs Nativity, 33.

CLEOPATRA *thirsting after the kingdome of Arabia and Iewry, laboureth to beg a part of them at* ANTHONIES *hands.*

BVT none of all these things could either mooue or mollifie *Alexandra*, but that daily more and more shee increased her sorrow, and in the heart of her teares kindled her wrath and heate with a desire of reuenge. Shee therefore certified *Cleopatra* by her priuate letters of *Herods* treasons, and hers sonnes most miserable and vntimely death, *Cleopatra* long before that time desirous to assist her, and hauing compassion of her miserie, vndertooke the matter, and ceased not to encite *Anthony* to reuenge *Aristobulus* death, telling him that it was an vnpardonable errour, that *Herod* being created King in such a state, whereunto he had no right, should bee suffered to practise such conspiracies against the true and lawfull Kings. *Anthony* perswaded by these her words (as soone as he came vnto Laodicea) sent for *Herod*, to the end that making his appearance, he might answer that which might be obiected against him, as touching *Aristobulus* death: for hee disliked the act, notwithstanding that *Herod* himselfe had attempted it. But although *Herod* was affraid of this accusation, and did not a little suspect *Cleopatras* displeasure (for that shee ceased not continually to proucke *Anthony* against him) yet obeyed he this commandement, and transported himselfe thither (the rather for that he durst not otherwise doe) notwithstanding he left his vncle *Ioseph* behind him, committing the gouernment both of the kingdome and his priuate estate vnto him, giuing him secret instructions to kill *Mariamme*, if so bee that *Anthony* should happen to doe him any mischiefe. For he loued her so extreamely by reason of her beautie, that he supposed himselfe iniured, if after his decease she should be beloued by any other; and he openly declared that all that misery which befell him, proceeded from *Anthonies* passion, and intire affection, and admiration of her beautie, whereof he had before time heard some report. As soone therefore as hee had in this sort disposed his affaires, notwithstanding he had little hope of good hap, yet repaired he to *Anthony*.

Alexandra certifieth Cleopatra of Herods treasons and her sonnes traiterous murther.

Herod ready to repaire vnto Anthony, commandeth Ioseph, to whose charge he committed the kingdome to kil his wife.

But *Ioseph* gouerning that kingdome that was committed to his hands, conuersed diuers times vpon this occasion with *Mariamme*, and communicated oftentimes with her, not onely for publique profit sake, but also to doe her that honour which so great a Princesse deserued. At such time therefore as hee secretly deuised with her, as touching the friendship and ardent affection which *Herod* bare vnto her, his speeches were iested at after the manner of Ladies, but especially flouted at by *Alexandra*. For which cause *Ioseph*, being ouer-forward to expresse the Kings good will towards her, proceeded so farre that he discouered the commandement that was giuen him; thereby to make manifest, that it was not possible for *Herod* to liue without her, and that if any inconuenient should happen vnto him, he would not in death also bee disioyned from her. This discourse of *Iosephs* was not interpreted by the Ladies, as a demonstration of his good will, but rather as a manifestation of *Herods* malignitie; who dying, desired also that they should perish, and interpreted that which he had spoken, as the testimonie of his tyrannous and malicious heart. At that time there was a rumour spred in the citie of Ierusalem by *Herods* maligners, that *Anthony* had in such sort tormented him, that he was dead. Whereupon all those of the Kings house were troubled, and in especiall the Ladies; so that *Alexandra* incited *Ioseph* to forsake the palace, and take the Ladies, and to retire himselfe vnder the ensignes of the Romane legion, who at that time were about the citie for the securitie of the kingdome, vnder the conduct of the Tribune *Iulius*, to the end first of all, that if any trouble should happen in the Kings house, they might be by this meanes in safetie, hauing the Romanes to friend; and afterwards, for that they hoped that if *Anthony* should see *Mariamme*, shee might obtaine all things at his hands whatsoeuer shee desired, assuring him that he would restore the kingdome vnto her, and depriue her of nothing that concerned, or was answerable to her royall estate.

A foolish rumour of Herods death.

But whilest they were distracted with these deliberations, there came letters from *Herod*, contrarie to some few mens report, and all mens expectation. For as soone as hee came vnto *Anthony*, he compassed his fauour by his many presents, which he had brought with him to that intent from Ierusalem, and sodainly debating the matter with him, he appeased him in such sort, as hee was no more displeased against him: and from that time forward, *Cleopatras* speeches were but coldly conceited of in regard of his so ample satisfaction. For *Anthony* said, that there was no reason that a King should be answerable for that which he had done in his kingdome; for that in so doing, he should no more be King: but that when the honour is once giuen him, he hath the

Herod appeaseth Anthony by presents, and certifieth his friends by letters of his health.

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Christs Natiuitie, 32.

authoritie likewiſe left him, to vſe his regall power. Vrging further, that it concerned *Cleopatra* G likewiſe her ſelfe, not to ſearch too curiouſly into the affaires and gouernment of kingdomes. *Herod* certified all this by his letters, and ſignified further, what other honours hee had receiued at *Anthonies* hands in aſſemblies and feaſts, to which he inuited him alwaies; notwithſtanding that *Cleopatra* ſeemed to be diſpleaſed therewith, detracting him; and being deſirous to get the kingdome of Iewry into her hands, ſtroue by all meanes poſſible to put him to death: but that he had found *Anthony* alwaies an vpright man, and feared not henceforward that any euill ſhould befall him: and returning preſently vpon this, he brought with him a more ample teſtimony of *Anthonies* moſt aſſured affection, both in reſpect of his owne kingdome, as of his particular affaires. And as touching *Cleopatra*, ſhe pretended not to ſeeke any further then that which ſhe had, becauſe that *Anthony* had giuen her Cœloſyria in ſteed of that which ſhee had demanded, forbearing thence-forward to mention Iewry any more, becauſe that *Anthony* wholly reiected thoſe H ſuites.

After theſe letters came vnto their hands, the trouble and diſturbance wherein they were, and their deſire to retire vnto the Romans, as if *Herod* had beene dead, was wholly extinguiſhed. Yet was not this their reſolution hidden from the King; but that *Herod* after he had brought *Anthony* on his way (who at that time ſet forward in his warres againſt the Parthians) he returned into Iewry. Vpon his arriuall, his ſiſter *Salome*, and his mother certified him exactly of *Alexandras* intent, and the determination of her friends. *Salome* likewiſe ſpake againſt *Ioſeph* her huſband, and ſlandered him, obiecting againſt him that hee had *Mariammes* company. All which ſhe ſpake through the malice ſhe had long time conceiued againſt him, for that in a certaine debate *Mariamme* had in her rage deſpitefully hit them in the teeth with their obſcure birth. *Herod* I (who was alwaies inflamed with the earneſt affection which he bare vnto his wife *Mariamme*) was ſodainly troubled hereat: and although iealouſie preſſed him forward, yet loue reſtrained him and kept him from doing any thing raſhly, thorow paſſion or affection: for which cauſe hee called *Mariamme* aſide, and demanded of her in ſecret, what familiar company ſhe had kept with *Ioſeph*? Shee by ſolemne oathes and by all poſſible allegations in her owne defence appeaſed the King by little and little, and pacified his choler. For in ſuch ſort was he tranſported with the loue that he bare vnto his wife, that he beleeued ſhe had ſufficiently purged her ſelfe of thoſe ſlanders, that had beene inforced againſt her; yeelding her moſt heartie thankes for her honeſt affection towards him, and declaring vnto her openly the great eſteeme and loue that he bare vnto her. Finally (as it often falleth out amongſt louers) they fell to teares, and embraced each other with great affection: for that ſhe gaue him no credit, hee endeuoured the more to draw her to be- K liefe. Whereupon *Mariamme* ſaid vnto him: It is not the act of a louer to haue giuen commandement, that if any thing ſhould befall thee otherwaies then well with *Anthony*, I ſhould preſently be done to death with thee; notwithſtanding I haue no waies offended thee. No ſooner were theſe words out of her mouth, but the King entred into a ſtrange paſſion, and giuing ouer his embraces hee cried out with a loud voice and tore his haire, ſaying, that hee had a moſt euident proofe that *Ioſeph* had committed adultery with her: for that he would not haue diſcouered thoſe things which had beene ſpoken to him in ſecret, except they had greatly truſted the one the other: and in this emotion or rage of iealouſie hardly contained he himſelfe from killing his wife. But the force of loue ouercame him ſo much, that hee bridled his rage notwithſtanding it were irkeſome and grieuous vnto him. Yet gaue hee order that *Ioſeph* ſhould be ſlaine without either audience or iuſtification of his innocency: and as touching *Alexandra*, who was the cauſe of all L theſe troubles, he kept her priſoner.

Ioſeph and Mariamme accuſed before Herod.

Mariamme excuſeth and purgeth her ſelfe before the King, and is reconciled.

Herod commandeth that Ioſeph ſhould be ſlaine, and impriſoneth Alexandra.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

Cleopatra very couetous.

Cleopatra murthereth her brother and ſiſter.

About the ſame time there grew certaine troubles and alterations in Syria: for that *Cleopatra* continually ſollicited and importuned *Anthony*, and whetted on his diſpleaſure againſt all, perſwading him to remooue all from their gouernments, and to beſtow the ſame on her ſelfe. And for that *Anthony* loued her extreamely, ſhe was in great eſtimation and credit with him: and being in her owne nature inclined to couetouſneſſe, ſhee abſtained from no kinde of corrupt dealing and wickedneſſe. For knowing that the kingdome ſhould deſcend vnto her brother, ſhee cauſed him to be poiſoned, when as hee was but fifteene yeeres olde: as for her ſiſter *Arſinoe*, ſhe cauſed her to be ſlaine by *Anthonies* meanes at ſuch time, as ſhee made her praiers in the Temple M of Diana in Epheſus. Moreouer, in what place ſoeuer ſhee vnderſtood that there was any hope to get money, whether it were in robbing of Temples, or in breaking open ſepulchers; ſhe would be poſſeſſed thereof: neither was there any religious place ſo ſacred, from whence ſhe tooke not away the ornaments. Furthermore, there was not any thing ſo prophane and interdicted, which

ſhee

A she laid not hands on to satisfie her vnbridled auarice. Neither was the whole word sufficient enough to content this magnificent Lady, who was made slaue to her owne desires; and her disordinate appetite was such, that all the riches in the world were not able to satiate and fill the same. For this cause she incessantly importuned *Antonius* to take from others, to be liberal towards her: and therefore entring into Syria with him, she presently bethought her selfe how she might get it into her possession. For she caused *Lysanias Ptolomies* sonne to be put to death, obiecting against him that he had priuate intelligence with the Parthians. She begged Iury also at *Antonius* hands, and required him besides that, to dispossesse the kings of Arabia. He was in such sort possessed by this woman that he seemed not only to be bewitched with her words, but also inchanted by her poisons, to obey her in whatsoeuer she thought meet: yet was he ashamed to commit so manifest an iniquity, for feare least being so farre ouer-ruled by her, he should happen to offend in matters
B of more consequence. Least therfore either by denying her, he should draw her to discontent; or by condiscending to her demands, he should seeme to be the wickedest man aliue, he deducted a seuerall portion of both their dominions, and presented her with the same. He gaue her likewise those cities that are situate betweene the floud Eleutherius and Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to be free cities of long continuance: although by earnest solicitation she sought to be seized of these also.

The yeere of the world, 3932 before Christs Nativity, 32.

Cleopatra contriueth Lysanias death.

Antonius giueth Cleopatra a portion deducted out of Iurie and Arabia.

CHAP. V.

CLEOPATRAS *progresse in Iudæa.*

C AFTER that *Cleopatra* had obtained all these things, and had accompanied *Antonius* as far as Euphrates, who at that time went to make war in Armenia: she returned back againe, and by the way visited Apamea and Damasco, and at last tooke her progresse into Iurie: Where King *Herod* met with her, and assured that portion which had beene giuen vnto her in Arabia, with all the reuenewes of Iericho vnto her. This countrey bringeth foorth that balme, which of all other ointments is the most precious, and onely groweth in that place, and no other, to the bignes of great Dates. Being arriued in that place, and growne inwardly familiar with *Herod*, she sought to allure and draw him to her lust, beeing of her selfe naturally addicted to such pleasures and intemperance; and happely also being somewhat touched with loue, or rather (as it seemeth most likely) shee in this sort laid the foundation to intrap him vnder colour to reuenge her selfe of some outrage by that meanes. But in effect she generally manifested, that she was ouercome by her desire and sensuall lust. But *Herod* was not ouer kindly bent towards *Cleopatra*;
D knowing of long time how badly she was inclined towards all men; and at that time hee conceiued the greater hatred against her, because by that intemperance of hers she pretended to destroy him: and although that from the beginning he had reiected her sollicitations; yet determined he to reuenge himselfe on her, if so bee by these her subtill vnderminings shee should prosecute and continue her subtill policies to betray him. He asked counsaile also of his friends, whether hauing her in his possession, hee should put her to death. For in so doing all those should be deliuered from diuers euils, whom either in time past she had molested, or hereafter should bring in trouble. Moreouer that it should be profitable for *Antonius* also, whom without all doubt she would forsake, if any occasion or necessitie should enforce him to make triall of her friendship. But whilest he debated and discoursed vpon this resolution, his friends restrained and disswaded him;
E assuring him that it was a great indignity for him, who was a Prince of high thoughts and haughty resolutions, to cast himselfe into manifest perill, beseeching him to attempt nothing rashly: For that *Antonius* would not endure the same, notwithstanding it might be approoued that it stood with his profit: nay rather that by this meanes he should increase his desire, for that by force and subtiltie he might seeme to haue lost her. Further, that no one colour of excuse should be left him, in that she was the woman of greatest note and nobility of that time; and that whatsoeuer profit might redound vnto him by her death, should be annexed with *Antonius* iniury. Wherby it most euidently appeared, how great and remedilesse domages would befall both to the kingdome and the kings family also; whereas nothing letted him by repulsing her vnlawfull demand to dispose
F all things for the present state with great discretion. By these and such like reasons and probable coniectures, they deterred and disswaded him from aduenturing vpon his apparant danger, and attempting so hainous an act: so that contrariwise they induced him to offer *Cleopatra* many rich presents, and to conduct her onward on her way towards Egypt.

Cleopatra commeth to Herod who enstateth her in that part of Arabia and these reuenewes of Iericho that were giuen her.

An intemperate woman giuen to lust.

Herod goeth about to put Cleopatra to death, and is disswaded by his friends.

Antonius conquereth Armenia.

As soone therefore as *Antonius* was seized of Armenia, he sent *Artabazes*, *Tigranes* sonne, with all his children, who were great princes, prisoners into Egypt, and presented them to *Cleopatra*, with all those precious Iewels likewise, which were taken by him or found in the kingdome.

Herod bringeth Cleopatra onward on her way towards Egypt.

The yeare of the world, 3933 before Christs Natiuitie. 31.

But *Artaxias* his elder ſonne (who at that time had ſaued himſelfe by flight) raigned in Armenia: whom *Archelaus* and *Nero* the Emperour draue out of his kingdome, and placed his yonger brother *Tigranes* in his roome, as it ſhall be declared hereafter. As for the tributes of the countries which *Herod* was bound to pay vnto *Cleopatra*, for the lands beſtowed on her by *Antonius*, hee without deceit iuſtly paid them, ſuppoſing it to be very incident to his ſecurity, to continue himſelfe in her good fauor. As for the Arabians, they ſeeing that *Herod* had the leuying of ſuch a tribute, paied him for ſome little time two hundreth talents a yeere; but afterwards they grew ſlow and negligent in their paiments, and ſcarcely ſatisfied the halfe, and that alſo very negligently.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5.

CHAP. VI.

HEROD *maketh warre with* ARETAS *at the ſame time that* ANTONIVS *is ouerthrowne by* AVGVSTVS CÆSAR *in his Actian warre.*

ARETAS demeaning himſelfe thus vngratefully, and refuſing to doe that which in right he ought to performe; *Herod* made a ſhew to take armes againſt him, but deferred his reuenge in regard of the contentions amongſt the Romans. For at that time nought elſe was expected then the Actian warre (which fel in the hundreth, eighty and ſeuenth Olympiade) in which *Auguſtus Cæſar* determined to trie his title with *Antonius* for the Monarchie. In the meane while *Herod*, who had already for many yeares beene maſter of a peaceable and fruitfull countrey, from whence he drew rich reuenues and many forces, gathered diuers companies of men, with the greateſt expedition that he might, to ſuccour *Antonius*. But he by letters ſignified vnto him, that he had no need of his aſſiſtance: notwithſtanding hee commanded him to make a road vpon the Arabian, whoſe perfidious dealing *Antonius* had not onely vnderſtood by *Herod* himſelfe, but alſo by *Cleopatras* aduertiſements. For ſhee very cunningly conceiued, that it would redound vnto her profit, if one of theſe two ſhould ouerthrow the other. *Herod* according to theſe inſtructions from *Antonius*, returned backe into his countrey, and retained his armie alwaies ready about him, and incontinently with the ſame inuaded Arabia, and with his forces both horſemen and footmen came directly to Dioſpolis, where the Arabians (hauing notice of his intended warre againſt them) came out to meete him. In this place fought they a moſt cruell battell, wherein at the laſt the Iewes had the vpper hand. After this, a great army of Arabians aſſembled themſelues at Cana, a certaine place in Cœloſyria. Whereof when *Herod* was fore-aduertiſed, he marched foorth againſt them, accompanied with the greater part of his forces. As ſoone as he drew neere to Cana, he determined to incampe in that place, and after he had well fortified and entrenched his forces, to ſet on the enemy vpon the firſt opportunity: but whileſt hee imployed himſelfe in the execution hereof, all the armie of the Iewes cried out, requiring him without delay, to lead them forward againſt the Arabians. And thus highly were they incouraged, both in reſpect of the confidence they had in the good adminiſtration and ordering of their army, as in regard of their forwardnes, who had been actors in the former warre, and partakers of the victory; ſo that they ſcarce gaue their enemy leaſure to ſettle themſelues to their weapons. When as therefore *Herod* perceiued that the heat and forwardnes of the ſoldier could hardly be appeaſed; he thought good to make vſe of the readines of his army, and arming himſelfe he marched formoſt, being ſeconded by his ſouldiers in battell ray, with a ſoldier-like march. This ſodaine approach of his wonderfully abaſhed the Arabians: For although for a while they made head againſt them; yet perceiuing their enemies full of heart, and themſelues vnable to reſiſt them, diuers of them retreated and betooke themſelues to flight; ſo that all of them had beene vtterly defeated, had not *Athenio* endomaged *Herod*, and the Iewes. For hee hauing the command of that army which *Cleopatra* had in that place; and beſides that, bearing a priuy grudge towards *Herod*, diſpoſed his army in a readines, and expecting the euent of the battell, reſolued with himſelfe to containe his forces if the Arabians ouercame the Iewes; and if ſo be they had the worſt (as indeed it came to paſſe) to ſet vpon the Iewes, who ſhould be ſpent by that time; and ſurpriſing them at vnawares euen in the height of their hope of good happe, to maſſacre and ſlaughter them with his freſh ſupplies. When as therefore the Iewes had ſpent all their ſtrength againſt their profeſſed enemies, and expected nothing leſſe then the aſſurance of the victory, he charged and ouercame them who had retreated into certaine rough and difficult places (whereunto their enemies were better accuſtomed then themſelues (where being grieuouſly wounded and ill intreated by the Arabians, who returned backe and ſet vpon them, diuers

H

Herod leuieth an army to aſſiſt Antonius againſt Octauian.

Herod is incited by letters to the Arabian warre.

I

Herods battels and conqueſts.

The yeere of the world, 3934. before Christs Natiuity, 30.

K

L

Cleopatras chieftaine ouerthroweth Herod.

M

The Arabians returning to the battell kill thoſe that flie and take the campe.

A diuers of them that fled were ſlaine, and died ſundry kinds of death; and of thoſe that eſcaped, few of them recouered the campe. *Herod* loſing the hope of this battell, poſted on horſebacke as faſt as he might, to bring on freſh ſupplies: but notwithſtanding all his expedition and diligence; yet could he not recouer the place in due time, but that the campe of the Iewes was taken and ſacked, and the Arabians obtained no ſmall good hap beyond their expectation, becomming Lords of that victory which was wholly vnexpected by them, and wherein they ſlew a great number of their enemies. From that time forward, *Herod* began to make certaine incurſions and roades into Arabia, preying the countrey, and doing them much miſchiefe: He incamped himſelfe likewiſe vpon the mountaines, forbearing to draw his whole forces into the field; notwithſtanding by his diligence and induſtry in trauell, his labours were not fruitleſſe; but that preuailing in ſome exploits, he ſought out all means to aboliſh and put away the ignominy of his former diſcomfiture.

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B

CHAP. VII.

Of the Earthquake that hapned in Iewrie.

AT ſuch time as *Cæſar* and *Anthony* made triall of their titles in the Actian warre, and in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of King *Herod*, there hapned ſuch an earthquake in the countrey of Iudæa, that neuer the like was ſeene in any other place: ſo that diuers beaſts were ſlaine thereby, and many men were ouerwhelmed with the ruines of their houſes, and periſhed to the number of ten thouſand. Onely the men of warre receiued no domage, becauſe they encamped in the open field. The Arabians hearing tidings hereof (which were farre greater by report, then they were in effect, by ſuch, who in fauour of the Arabians and hate of the Iewes, reported the ſame) waxed proud: yea ſo much was their courage increaſed hereof, as if all the Cities of Iewry had beene already ouerthrowne, and the men thereof extinguiſhed; and as if they had no aduerſaries remaining aliue to contradict them. For which cauſe laying hold of thoſe Embaſſadours of the Iewes, who came vnto them to intreat of peace in their deſperate eſtates, they ſlew them, and afterwards in the heate of their ſpleene, ſet vpon their enemies campe. But the Iewes not daring to expect or preuent their aſſault, for their preſent miſeries had deiected their minds, ſeemed to neglect their common-weale, and in manner to deſpaire of their ſafetie. Theſe thus affected did the King incourage, and called vnto him their captaines, and (as much as in him lay) awaking and reuiuing their drouping ſpirits; and when hee had reſtored thoſe of better hope, to more ſucceſſefull good hap, at length he attempted to ſpeake vnto all the armie, who in the former ouerthrowes, would yeeld no reſpect or allowance to perſwaſion. Theſe did he both to comfort and exhort in ſuch manner, as followeth;

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 6. An earthquake in Iudæa killeth ten thouſand men.

C

The Arabians kill the Embaſſadours of the Iewes.

D

Herod comforteth the Iewes that were out of heart for their former loſſes.

CHAP. VIII.

HERODS *Oration to his armie.*

E FRIENDS and fellow ſouldiers, there is not one of you but knoweth at this time, there are ſo many preſent and impendent misfortunes attending our eſtates, as are able to weary and amaze thoſe men, that are of the greateſt reſolution. But ſith wee muſt needly fight, and that all thoſe things that haue befallen vs vnto this preſent, are of that kinde, that by your owne vertue and magnanitie they may be recouered; I haue reſolued to informe, and confirme you in thoſe meanes, whereby you may retaine and continue your accuſtomed valour and noble courage. Firſt of all therefore I will approoue vnto you (as touching our warre) that it conſiſteth on iuſt grounds, for that we are enforced thereunto thorow the outrage of our enemies: the knowledge whereof ſhould chiefely make you recouer your courage. Secondly, I will apparently approoue vnto you, that our eſtates are not ſo deſperate, but that we haue great and aſſured hopes to obtaine the victorie. Firſt of all therefore, I will diſcourſe of that which formerly I propoſed, and will make your ſelues Iudges of thoſe things which I will diſcourſe vpon. For your

F ſelues are priuie to the Arabians vniuſtice, and how perfidious they are to their friends, and impious and barbarous towards all men; but in eſpeciall, they haue alwaies troubled vs, prouoking vs thorow their extreame auarice and malignant enuie, with perpetuall iniuries. And yet to let ſlip all other our benefits to that nation, who is hee that deliuered them from their imminent perill and thraldome, that was hazzarded by *Cleopatras* meanes, but our ſelues? For the friendſhip I had with *Anthony*, and his beneuolence towards me, was the cauſe that their burthen of miſerie

Herod comforteth and exhorteth his ſouldiers.

The cauſe of warre againſt the Arabians

was

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was ſo lightned; for that *Anthony* forbore to commit any thing that might draw vs to ſuſpicion. G
Beſides, after ſhee had wrought him by her ſollicitation to cut off certaine portions of the two kingdomes to be giuen vnto her, the matter was ſo handled by me, that by diuers preſents particularly beſtowed vpon him by my hands, I haue obtained ſecuritie for vs both, and by disburſing
" two hundreth talents of mine owne, and giuing my word for two hundreth more for others, for
" the reuenewes of that very land which in times paſt was ours, and theſe now poſſeſſe and enioy.
" Notwithſtanding, reaſon it were in my opinion, that we that are Iewes ſhould not be tributaries,
" or giue any portion of our countrey to any man; and if we moſt needly doe it, it ill becommeth vs
" to pay it for theſe, who enioy their liues by our meanes. It ſhould not be reaſonable for the Ara-
" bians, who after they had confeſſed with many plauſible proteſtations and thankeſgiuings, that
" they enioy their libertie by our benefit, to haue depriued and thruſt vs from our owne, and to
" haue vniuſtly dealt with vs; yea euen with vs, I ſay, who were not their enemies, but rather on H
" the contrarie ſide their chiefeſt friends in the time of peace. And if fidelitie ſhould bee reſpected
" euen amongſt thoſe that are our moſt hated enemies, much more neceſſarily ought it to be ob-
" ſerued by thoſe that are friends. But theſe men ſet light thereby, who thinke nothing honeſt, but
" that which is annexed with Lucre; and thinke no wrong vnexcuſable, nor impunitie iniurie that
" hath but a ſhew of profit. Is there any queſtion then, whether wee ſhould chaſtice theſe vniuſt
" men by a iuſt warre? ſith both God commandeth no leſſe, and enioyneth vs alwaies to hate out-
" rage, and reuenge iniuſtice, eſpecially in that warre, which is not onely iuſt, but neceſſary. For that
" which both in the confeſſion of the Græcians, and opinion of the Barbarians is moſt hatefull and
" hainous, this haue they perpetrated in murthering our Embaſſadours. For the Greekes ſay, that
Legates inuiolable. Embaſſadors are ſacred and inuiolable, and we our ſelues haue receiued our moſt wholeſome and I
" holieſt precepts of the law of God by Angels, that is, from his Herauls and meſſengers: for this
" name can both bring God to mans knowledge, and reconcile enemy to enemy.
" What impietie therefore is more vnpardonable, then to put thoſe Embaſſadours to death,
" who bring tidings of right and iuſtice? or what proſperitie can they expect either in their wars,
" or felicitie in their whole liues, after ſo hainous a crime? Truly I cannot imagine any: But per-
" haps ſome man will ſay, that right and equitie is on our ſide; but that the greater number of men
With whomſoeuer iuſtice is, there is God alſo. and meanes are with them: but this their ſpeech is vnworthy of my followers. For with thoſe, with whom iuſtice is, with thoſe alſo is God: and where God is, there neither wanteth multitude nor fortitude. But let vs wade further, and weigh our owne forces by themſelues. In the firſt
" battell we had the victorie: in the ſecond, vpon the firſt charge we put them to flight, and found
" them vnable to make their partie good againſt vs. Afterwards, when the victorie was ours, be- K
" hold *Athenio*, not by lawfull warre, but by ſubtill treacherie aſſaulted vs. But ſhall this be called
" their fortitude, or rather their fraud and ſecond iniquitie? why therefore ſhould wee haue leſſe
" courage, who ought to haue the greater confidence? or why ſhould we feare them, who are al-
" waies inferiours, if they fight openly, and without fraud; and when they ſeeme to ouercome,
" they doe it by vniuſtice?
" Moreouer, if any man ſuppoſe them to bee valiant, this ſhould the rather incite them more
" and more vnto vertue; for it is no honour for a generous and noble mind to ouercome his inferi-
" our, but to haue meanes and might to conquer his ſuperiour. And if any one be terrified by our
" domeſtick and homebred miſeries, and by our late earthquake, firſt of all let him thinke with him-
" ſelf, that he erreth in that which deceiueth the Arabians, by ſuppoſing the ſame to be more grie- L
" uous and terrible then indeed it was. And afterwards let him thinke, that it becommeth them not
" to draw matter of feare from thence, whence the other tooke occaſion of courage. For as tou-
" ching themſelues, they conceiue not any hope thorow any good that is in themſelues, but onely
" in the truſt they haue that we are already deiected by our calamities. But when they ſhall ſee vs
" march forth againſt them, their courage will be weakned, and our confidence by this means ſhall
" be awakened, for that we are not at this time to encounter with deſperate men: For neither are
" wee ouermuch afflicted; neither (as ſome thinke) hath this miſerie befallen vs thorow Gods diſ-
" pleaſure, but theſe are the caſualties of fortune. And if by the will of God theſe things are come
" to paſſe, it is maruell if by the ſame will our calamitie ceaſe not; and that our puniſhment ſhould
" not ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. But that this preſent war is approued by him for iuſt, he himſelfe hath M
" euidently declared. For whereas diuers thorow the whole region, haue beene oppreſſed by the
" earthquake, none of you that beare armes haue incurred any miſchiefe; but all of you haue beene
" preſerued, which is a manifeſt token of the will of God; and if your children and wiues had ge-
nerally followed the warres as you doe, none of you ſhould haue beene wanting. When as there-
fore

A fore you ſhall haue bethought your ſelues of theſe things, and moreouer in regard that God hath at all times an eſpeciall care ouer you: faile not to purſue this iniurious nation with a iuſt war, that neither reſpecteth the lawes of friendſhip, nor keepeth the league of couenant; valiant in murthering ſacred Embaſſadors; and abiect and villanous, where things are to be attempted by valour. *The yeare of the world, 3925 before Chriſts Natiuitie. 29.*

These perſwaſions of his did not a little encourage the Iewes to the battell, and made them more forward then before. As for *Herod*, after he had offered ſacrifice, according to the cuſtome, he drew his army foorth, and led them with great confidence againſt the Arabians, and paſſing Iordan he encamped neere vnto the enemy, with an intent to ſurpriſe a fort ſituate between them both: making this account that it would further him much, either if vpon the preſent hee ſhould be drawne forth to fight, or if it concerned him to march onward, for that this place ſhould ſerue him to encampe in with more ſecurity. The ſame reſolution alſo had the Arabians, for which The Arabians are ouercome by Herod.

B cauſe they fell to skirmiſh in that place, wherein the firſt on both ſides that gaue the charge, and afterwards ſome other followers were ſlaine: ſo that thoſe of the Arabians ſide being ouercome, betooke them to retreat. This ſucceſſe of theirs bred no little hope in the Iewes, who ſeeing the enemies army addreſſed to attempt any thing rather then to fight, waxed the more hardy to aſſaile the Arabian in his trenches, and beate him from his campe. They beeing forced by theſe aſſaults, drew forward to their defence in great diſorder, bringing neither courage nor hope of victory with them: yet notwithſtanding they defended themſelues, both in regard of their great number, as alſo in reſpect of that neceſſitie wherunto they were inforced by the Iewes. The skirmiſh on both ſides was hot, and diuers on either party were put to the ſword: but in the end, the Arabians being put to the worſt, turned their backs. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that they not

C onely periſhed by their enemies ſwords, but they themſelues alſo murthered one another in the preaſe, and diſorderly flight, in which they were troden vnder foot, and lay ſlaughtered in a manner by their owne weapons. So that in that diſcomfiture there died ſome fiue thouſand: the reſt haſtily fled on the other ſide of the rampire: but being ouerpreſſed with want of victuals, and in eſpeciall with lack of water, they had not any ground or aſſurance to eſcape. After them poſted the Iewes, and being vnable to recouer the fortreſſe with them, they begirt the campe with a ſiege, and ſhut vp all the paſſages that no ſuccour could come vnto them, and tooke from them all opportunitie to eſcape, although they ſhould affect flight.

When as therefore they ſaw themſelues reduced into ſuch extremity, they ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Herod*, firſt of all to demand a truce: and afterwards for that they were oppreſſed with thirſt

D to craue ſome remedy for their preſent neceſſities. But he neither reſpected the Embaſſadours, neither the proffered ranſome for the captiues, nor any other whatſoeuer reaſonable demand, deſiring earneſtly to reuenge himſelfe of thoſe iniurious treacheries they had practiſed againſt his Embaſſadours. Being therefore inforced by thirſt (which amongſt other plagues moſt grieuouſly afflicted them) many of them forſooke their trenches, and offered themſelues to bonds, and to be led away captiues; ſo that within fiue daies ſpace foure thouſand of them yeelded themſelues priſoners. On the ſixt day, all the reſt determined to ſally out, and aſſaile the enemy; rather making choice of aſſured death, then thus lingeringly and ignominiouſly to pine away. When as therfore they had all concluded hereupon, they incontinently brake out of their trenches, but like vnapt ſouldiers for a skirmiſh, decaied not onely in body but in mind; reputing their death for aduan-

E tage, to eſcape thereby their extreame misfortunes. For which cauſe vpon the firſt onſet, about ſome ſeauen thouſand of them were ſlaine, and thus the fierceneſſe of this nation being alaied by this ouerthrow, they ſubmitted themſelues to *Herod*, whom to their owne ſorrow they had approoued to be a valiant ſouldier. The Arabians enforced by thirſt, require truce at Herods hands.

CHAP. IX.

HEROD *conſtrained to repaire vnto* AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, *putteth* HIRCANVS *to death.*

F HEROD puffed vp with his ſucceſſull good fortune, returned backe into his owne countrey, hauing obtained great eſtimation and reputation by his valour and vertue. But at ſuch time as he ſuppoſed his ſtate to be moſt aſſured, he grew in danger both to loſe his dignitie and life, by reaſon of that victory that *Cæſar* obtained againſt *Antony* in the Actian war. For at that time he not onely ſuppoſed himſelfe to be vtterly ouerthrowne, but both his friends and enemies that were round about him loſt their hopes, for that it was vnlikely that hee ſhould *Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap 7.* Herod diſmaied at Antonies ouerthrow.

eſcape

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escape vnpunished, who had been so inwardly vnited in friendshippe with *Anthony*. Wherby it came to passe, that his friends in no sort concealed their despaire, and his enemies vnder their colourable and dissembled griefes, couered their ioy, promising themselues thereafter a better and more pleasing administration of the common-weale. Heereupon *Herode* perceiuing, that except *Hircanus*, there was not any one of the bloud roiall aliue, determined to cut him off, resoluing with himselfe, that if he hapned to escape the danger, that a man who at that time was more worthier the kingdome then himselfe, should not entermeddle amongst his affaires: and if any misfortune should behold him in regard of *Cæsar*, he desired to dispossesse *Hircanus* of the kingdome, in regard of the enuy which he bare him, for that he was the onely man who deserued to be aduanced to that dignitie. Whilst thus he was tormented and trauelled in his thoughts, he had an occasion offered him by *Hircanus* owne followers to execute his intention. For *Hircanus* being of a mild and gentle nature, during all his life time forbare to entermeddle with state affaires, committing all things to fortune, and contenting himselfe with whatsoeuer condition it pleased her to allot him.

Herode determineth to make away Hircanus.

But *Alexandra* being an ambitious woman, and vnable to conceale with modestie the hope she conceiued of change, sollicited her father that he should not any longer endure the subiection of *Herode*, who was the very scourge of their familie, but rather that he should stand vpon his owne guard, and reserue himselfe to his better hoped fortunes. She furthermore gaue him counsaile to write vnto *Malchus*, who had the gouernment of Arabia, requesting him to grant him both protection and entertainment; for that if *Herode* should chance to be cut off by *Cæsars* displeasure, doubtlesse the kingdome would returne vnto him, both in regard of his nobilitie, as also of the peoples fauour. These persuasions of hers *Hircanus* at the first repulsed, but afterwards being ouercome by the importunitie of the woman, who ceased not day and night to sing the same song of future hope, and of *Herods* treasons, he gaue certaine letters to a friend of his, written to the Arabian, wherin he required him to send him certaine horsemen, who might conduct him to the Asphaltite lake, which lieth distant from the confines of Ierusalem some three hundred furlongs. And therefore especially committed he these letters to *Dositheus* trust, both for that he fauoured *Hircanus* and his daughter, and seemed likely for diuers causes to hate *Herod*: for he was *Iosephs* kinsman, who was slaine by *Herod*; and not long before, certaine of his brothers were slaine amongst others at Tire by *Anthonies* command: yet for none of these occasions continued hee faithful to *Hircanus*. For he setting more by the present fauour of the king that then raigned, then the rest, discouered the letter vnto the king: who first of all giuing him thanks, required one office of friendship more at his hands; which was, that folding vp the letter, and sealing it, hee should conueigh and deliuer the same to *Malchus*, and returne his answere, for that it meerely concerned him, if he knew his resolution also. Which when *Dositheus* had diligently performed, the Arabian returned this answer, that he was ready to entertaine both himselfe and his whole family, and all those Iewes likewise which were of his faction, promising to send him a band of souldiers, who should be able to conduct him safely thither, & should be obedient to his command in all things. Now as soone as *Herod* was seized of these letters, he called for *Hircanus*, and demanded of him whether he had any confederacie with *Malchus*: who denied the same. But *Herod* protesting and bringing forth his letter in an open assembly, commanded him afterwards to bee put to death. Thus are these matters registred in *Herods* commentaries: for by some are they deliuered otherwise, namely, that he was executed, not for this crime which hee had committed, but for some treasons against the king. For they write to this effect, that *Herod* at a certaine banquet (dissembling his suspicion) demanded of *Hircanus*, whether he had receiued any letters from *Malchus*: and that he answered, that he had receiued letters, but such as contained nothing else but officious salutations. Further, that another asked him, whether he had receiued any present therewithall: and when he had answered, that hee had receiued nothing but foure coursers for his saddle, the King wrested this to a capitall offence of corruption and treason: and commanded him presently to be led to death. Now that he died guiltles, they alledge this for a most approued argument; namely, his gentle disposition, who euen in his youthfull yeeres neuer gaue signe or appearance of rashnesse, or pride, or signification of audaciousnesse, no not euen then when hee had the roiall gouernment in his hands, but in that freedome of authoritie, disposed the most things by *Antipaters* aduise. But at that time he was more then fourescore yeeres old, and knew that *Herods* estate was secured: and passing Euphrates also, and liuing on the other side of the riuer, he left such as held him in great honour, and returned home into his owne countrey, to the end hee might liue vnder *Herods* gouernment. Whereby it is lesse likely, that he would attempt any alteration

Alexandra sollicitеth Hircanus her father to require assistance at Malchus hands.

Three hundred furlongs containe nine Germaine miles.

Hircanus by Herods commaund is put to death.

Hircanus dieth guiltlesse. Hircanus life.

so

A ſo farre different from his nature; ſo that all theſe things ſeeme to be fained by *Herod*.

Thus ended *Hircanus* life, after his variable and aduerſe fortune, wherewith during all his life time he was afflicted. For at ſuch time as his mother *Alexandra* liued, he was created high Prieſt of the Iewes, and obtained that honour for the ſpace of nine yeeres: and after his mothers death, he had ſcarcely gouerned the kingdome for the ſpace of three moneths, but that he was expulſed by his brother *Ariſtobulus*; and afterwards reſtored by *Pompeys* aſſiſtance, and receiuing all his former honours, hee liued in full poſſeſſion of them for the ſpace of forty yeeres. After this, hee was once more diſtaſted by *Antigonus*; and being maimed in his body, liued certaine yeeres in captiuity among the Parthians: from whence not long after he returned home; and though hee had many things promiſed him by *Herod*, yet after ſo many alterations of fortune, he obtained
B nothing at his hands, and that which amongſt all the reſt is moſt of all to be lamented, as we haue ſaid, he was vniuſtly put to death an innocent, and in his old age. For he was a louer of iuſtice, and an obſeruer of perpetuall modeſtie: and gouerned his kingdome for the moſt part by other mens direction, being onely guilty in himſelfe of ignorance and the loue of idleneſſe. Truely, *Antipater* and *Herod* by this mans goodneſſe obtained their ſo great riches: for which deſerts of his, againſt all law, and right, he was cruelly put to death.

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But *Herod* after *Hircanus* death addreſſed himſelfe to performe his iourney towards *Cæſar*: and hauing little hope of any good fortune, in regard of his friendſhip with *Antonius*, he grew deſperately iealous of *Alexandra*, for feare leaſt ſhe taking opportunity of the time, ſhould incite the people to rebell, and fill the kingdome with domeſticall ſedition: for which cauſe, committing
C the gouernment of the eſtate to his brother *Pheroras*, he left his mother *Cypros*, his ſiſter, and all his kinred in the Caſtle of Maſada, and commanded his brother, that if any misfortune ſhould befall him, hee ſhould retaine the kingdome in his owne hands and maintaine it. As for his wife *Mariamme*, for that by reaſon of certaine diſlikes betwixt her, his mother, and ſiſter, they might not liue together, he left her with her mother *Alexandra* in the Caſtle of Alexandrian, and committed them to the cuſtody of his Treaſurer *Ioſeph*, and *Sohemus* the Iturian, and with her the keeping of his Caſtles, both which had alwaies beene his faithfull friends, and to whom in way of honour, hee committed the cuſtody of theſe princely Ladies. But hee gaue them alſo this commandement, that if they ſhould be certified that any ſiniſter miſhap had befallen him, they ſhould preſently kill them both, and to the vtmoſt of their power, continue the kingdome in his children,
D and his brother *Pheroras*.

Herods diſpoſition of his affaires before he repaired to Cæſar.

CHAP. X.

How HEROD *obtained the kingdome of Iudæa at* CÆSARS *hands.*

AFTER he had in this ſort giuen order for all his affaires, hee withdrew himſelfe vnto Rhodes, intending there to meet with *Cæſar*. And as ſoone as hee arriued in that city, hee tooke the Diademe from his head, and laide it apart, but as for his other princely
E ornaments, hee changed them in no ſort; and beeing admitted to *Cæſars* preſence, hee at that time gaue a more ample teſtimony of the greatneſſe of his magnanimitie and courage: for neither addreſſed he his ſpeech to intreat his fauour (according to the cuſtome of ſuppliants) neither preſented he any requeſt, as if he had in any ſort offended him, but gaue account of all that which he had done, without concealing or miſtruſting any thing. For he freely confeſſed before *Cæſar*, that he had intirely loued *Antonius* and that to the vtmoſt of his power he had done him ſeruice, to the end that he might obtaine the ſoueraignty and monarchy; not by annexing his forces vnto his, in that he was otherwiſe imploied in the Arabian warre; but in furniſhing him both with wheat and money, and that this was the leaſt office which it behooued him to performe towards *Antonius*; for that being once his profeſſed friend, it behooued him not onely to imploy his beſt endeuours on his ſo princely benefactor, but alſo to hazard both his head and happines to
F deliuer him from perils. All which (ſaid he) I haue not performed according as I ought to haue done; yet notwithſtanding I know, that at ſuch time as he was ouercome in the Actian battell, I did not alter my affection with his fortune: neither did I reſtraine my ſelfe: for although I befriended not *Antonius* with my preſence and aſſiſtance in his Actian war, yet at leaſtwiſe I aſſiſted him with my counſaile, certifying him that he had but one onely means left him for his ſecurity, and preuention of his vtter ruine, which was to put *Cleopatra* to death, for that by cutting her off, he

Herod commeth to Cæſar and declareth vnto him what pleaſures he had done Antony, promiſing him no leſſe duty and loue, if ſo be he might be receiued into his fauor.

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might enioy her estate, and might more easily obtain his peace, and pacifie thy displeasure against him. And for that he gaue but slender regard to these mine admonitions by his owne sottishnesse and indiscretion, he hath hurt himselfe and profited you, because, as I said, he did not follow my counsaile. Now therefore (O *Cæsar*) in regard of the hate which you beare vnto *Anthony*, you condemne my friendship also. I will not deny that which I haue done; neither am I affraid freely » and publikely to protest how much I haue loued him: but if without regard of persons, you con- » sider how kindly I am affected towards my benefactors, and how resolute and constant a friend I » am, and how mindfull of kindnesse, the effect of that which I haue done, may make me knowne » vnto thee. For if the name be onely changed, the friendship notwithstanding may remaine, and » deserue a due praise. G

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Cæsar confirmeth Herods authority.

By these words (which were manifest testimonies of his resolute and noble courage) he so inwardly indeered himselfe vnto *Cæsar*, who was a magnificent and worthy Monarch, that he conuerted this his accusation into an occasion to win and work him to be his friend: for which cause *Cæsar* in setting the diademe vpon his head, exhorted him that he should no les respect his friendship, then he had in former time *Anthonies*: and withall, did him much honour; certifying him moreouer, that *Capidius* had written vnto him, how much *Herod* had assisted him in his wars that hee had with the Monarches of Syria. H

Herod conducteth Cæsar toward Egypt, and presenteth him with many sumptuous gifts.

Herod seeing that he was thus entertained, and that contrary to his expectation, the kingdome was more surely confirmed vnto him, then before time, both by *Cæsars* bounty, and also by the decree of the Senate, which he had practised to obtaine for his greater assurance, accompanied *Cæsar* as farre as Egypt, presenting both himselfe and his friends with many rich gifts, beyond the proportion of his estate: endeauouring by these meanes both to win their fauours, and to shew also the greatnesse of his courage; requiring moreouer at *Cæsars* hands, that *Alexander*, who was one of *Anthonies* deerest friends, might not bee sought out to be punished: yet notwithstanding he could not obtaine the same, by reason of an oath that *Cæsar* had past before he sollicited him. I

Herod entertaineth both Cæsar & his army very heroically.

That done, hee returned backe againe into Iewry, with more greater honour and assurance, then before; whereby hee strooke them with wonderfull amazement, who expected his contrary successe, as if by Gods especiall prouidence he alwaies ouerwent his dangers, to his great honour. Incontinently therefore, hee prepared himselfe to entertaine *Cæsar*, who returned out of Syria to take his iourney into Ægypt, and receiued him at Ptolemais, with all royall honour, and gaue his army presents with all abundance of munition: so that he was accounted for one of *Cæsars* most affectionate friends, and rode about with him, at such time as hee tooke the view of his army: hee entertained him also and his friends with one hundreth and fiftie men, adorned with most rich and sumptuous apparell. K

Herod giueth Cæsar eight hundreth talents.

And for that they were to passe thorow a countrey, wherein there was great scarcity of water, hee furnished them both with water and wine; so that they needed neither of them. Hee gaue *Cæsar* also eight hundreth talents, and so royally satisfied he all men, that they confessed themselues to haue had farre greater entertainment, then the reuenues and profits of his kingdome could affoord them. By which meanes he gaue the more ample testimony of his forward friendship, and free affection to deserue well: and making vse of the opportunitie of the time, he obtained the reputation of a prince of an heroicke and noble spirit; so that he was held inferiour vnto no man, for the good entertainement that he gaue to the chiefest Romans in their returne out of Egypt. L

CHAP. IX.

HEROD *being incensed by false accusations, putteth his wife* MARIAMME *to death.*

Mariamme & Alexandra displeased with Herod.

BVT as soone as he returned into his kingdome, hee found all his household troubled, and both his wife *Mariamme* and her mother *Alexandra* grieuously displeased with him. For they supposed (and not without cause) that they were not shutte vp in that Castle for their securities sake, but as it were in a prison; so that, in as much as they neither might make vse of other mens, nor enioy their own goods, they were highly discontented. M *Mariamme* also supposed that her husband did but dissemble his loue, rather for his owne profit and commodity, then for any intire affection he bare towards her. But nothing more grieued her, then that she had not any hope to liue after him, if so be he should happen to die, especially for the order he had left concerning her: neither could she euer forget what commandement before that time he had left with *Ioseph*; so that by all meanes possible, she laboured to winne the affections of those that had the

A the charge of her, and especially *Sohemus*, knowing very well that her safety depended wholly on his hands. Who in the beginning behaued himselfe very wisely and faithfully, containing himselfe very circumspectly within the bounds of his commission; but after these Ladies had with pretty presents and feminine flatteries mollified and wrought him by little and little, at last hee blabbed out all that which the King had commanded him; especially, for that hee hoped not that hee should returne with the same power and authoritie, which before he had: and for that cause he thought thus in himselfe, that without incurring any danger in regard of *Herod*, he might greatly gratifie the Ladies; who in all likelihood should not be depriued of that dignity wherein they were at that time; but would returne them the like kindnesse when *Mariamme* should bee Queene, or next vnto the King. Furthermore, he hoped that if *Herod* also should returne with all

B things answerable to his desires, that he would performe nothing without his wiues consent; or vpbraid him with the act, if shee contradicted: for he knew too well that the King loued her in such sort, as it was impossible to equall or expresse his affections; and for these causes he disclosed the trust that was committed vnto him. But *Mariamme* was very sore displeased to heare that there was no end of her miseries, but they were altogether vnited and tyed to the dangers of *Herod*; and shee oftentimes wished that hee might neuer more returne againe in safety, supposing that her life with him should bee very intolerable: all which shee afterwards dissembled not, but openly confessed that which afflicted her with discontent. For when as *Herod* beyond all expectation arriued in his countrey, beeing adorned with mighty fortune, hee first of all, as it became him certified his wife of his good tidings and happy successe, whom onely amongst all other his

C friends and wiues, hee embraced and saluted, for the pleasing conuersation and affection that was in her. But she, whilest he repeated vnto her these fortunate euents of his affaires, rather entertained the same with a displeasant attention, then applauding ioy: and these affections of hers likewise she could not conceale. For at such time as he folded his armes about her necke, she vnfolded her sorrow in her sighes; so simple and vnfained were her affections; and seemed rather to be displeased then appeased by his narrations. Whereupon *Herod* was sore troubled, perceiuing these things not onely suspected, but also fully manifest: but aboue all things hee was distracted, when he considered the incredible and apparant hatred that his wife had conceiued against him, which in such sort incensed him that hee could not resist the loue that had attainted him; so that he neither could continue in wrath, nor listen long to peace; and being vnresolued in himselfe, he

D now was attempted by this; straight distracted by a contrary affection: so much was his minde trauailed betweene loue and hatred, that when as oftentimes hee desired to punish the womans pride, his heart by loues mediation failed him in the enterprise. For nothing did more torment him then this feare, least executing his displeasure against her, hee should by this meanes more grieuously wound himselfe, through the desire he bare vnto his deceased delight. Whilest thus hee was sweltered and deuoured in his passions, and conceiued sinister opinions against *Mariamme* his wife; *Salome* his sister and his mother hauing an inkling of his discontents, thought that they had gotten a fit opportunitie to expresse and execute their hatred towards *Mariamme*: for which cause they conferred with *Herod*, and whetted his spleene and displeasure with variety of

E slanders, sufficient at one assault to engender hatred, and kindle his iealousie against her. To these reproches of theirs, he lent no vnwilling eares; yet had he not the heart to attempt any thing against his wife, or to giue free credit to their report; notwithstanding his displeasure increased, and was inflamed more and more against her, for that neither shee could colour her cares and discontents, nor hee containe himselfe from exchanging his loue into hatred: and perhaps at that time he had published some fatall doome against her, had not a happy messenger brought him word, that *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* beeing dead, *Cæsar* was become Lord of Ægypt: for which cause hasting forward to meete and entertaine him, hee left his family in that present estate. Vpon his departure he recommended *Mariamme* to *Sohemus*, giuing him great thanks for the care he had had of her, and granted him in way of gratuitie a part of Iewry to gouerne.

When *Herod* was arriued in Ægypt, and had friendly and familiarly conferred with *Cæsar*, he

F was highly honoured by him: for *Cæsar* gaue him those foure hundreth Frenchmen that were of *Cleopatras* guard; and restored that part of his countrey vnto him againe, which was taken away and spoyled by her. Hee annexed also vnto his kingdome Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, and on the sea coasts the Cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Ioppe, with the tower of Straton: which when he had obtained, he grew more mighty then before: and after hee had accompanied *Cæsar* as farre as Antioch, he returned into his owne countrey. Vpon his arriuall, he found that fortune which was fauourable vnto him abroad, too forward at home, especially in regard of his wife, in whose

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Sohemus discouereth the Kings secrets.

Herod but coldly entertained by his wife Mariamme.

Herods sorrowes to see his wiues affections distracted and changed.

Herods sister and his mother incense the King by slanderous reports against Mariamme.

Antony and Cleopatra slaine.

Cæsar Lord of Ægypt.

Sohemus honoured by Herod with dignities.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap 9.

Cæsar enlargeth Herods dominions.

affection before time he ſeemed to be moſt happy. For he was as inwardly touched with the law- G
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full loue of *Mariamme*, as any other of whom the Hiſtories make report: and as touching her, ſhe was both chaſt and faithfull vnto him; yet had ſhee a certaine womanly imperfection and naturall frowardneſſe, which was the cauſe that ſhee preſumed too much vpon the intire affection wherewith her husband was intangled; ſo that without regard of his perſon, who had power and authority ouer others, ſhee entertained him oftentimes very outragiouſly: All which he endured patiently, without any ſhew of diſcontent. But *Mariamme* vpbraided and publikely reproached both the Kings mother and ſiſter, telling them that they were but abiectly and baſely borne.

Mariamme a froward woman.

Whereupon there grew a great enmity and vnrecouerable hatred betweene the Ladies; and from thence alſo there aroſe an occaſion of greater accuſations and calumniation then before. Theſe ſuſpicions were nouriſhed amongſt them, for the ſpace of one whole yeere after *Herods* H returne from *Cæſar*; and finally this long contriued and fore-imagined hatred at laſt brake out violently vpon this occaſion that enſueth. When as about mid-day the King had withdrawne himſelfe into his chamber to take his reſt, hee called *Mariamme* vnto him to ſport with her, being incited thereunto by the great affection that hee bare vnto her. Vpon this his command ſhee came in vnto him; yet would ſhe not lie with him, nor entertaine his courtings with friendly acceptance, but vpbraided him bitterly with her fathers and brothers death. The King tooke theſe reproachfull words in very euill part, and was almoſt ready to ſtrike her: but his ſiſter hearing a greater ſtir and noiſe within then was vſuall, ſent in the Butler, who long before that time was ſuborned by her, whom ſhe commanded to tell the king, that *Mariamme* had prepared a drinke for him to incite and quicken him vnto loue; willing him that if the King ſhould be mooued thereat, I and ſhould demand what hee meant, hee ſhould certifie him, that *Mariamme* hauing prepared a poiſon for his grace, had dealt with him to deliuer it to his Maieſtie. Charging him moreouer, that if the King in hearing him ſpeake of this potion, ſhould ſeeme to be mooued therewith, that then he ſhould proceede no further in his diſcourſe. He therefore (being in this manner before hand inſtructed what hee ought to doe) at that very inſtant was ſent to diſcouer his treachery vnto the King; for which cauſe with a ſober and ſtaied countenance hee entred in vnto him, being ſeriouſly and well prepared to diſcourſe, and told him that *Mariamme* had bribed him to preſent his Maieſtie with an amorous cup of drinke. Now when hee perceiued that the King was troubled with theſe words, hee proſecuted his diſcourſe, alleadging that the potion was a certaine medicine which *Mariamme* had giuen him, the vertue whereof he knew not, which he had receiued according as hee had tolde him, knowing that it concerned both his owne ſecurity, and K the Kings ſafety.

Herod who before this was highly diſpleaſed, hearing theſe word, was ſo much the more incenſed: for which cauſe he preſently commanded *Mariammes* moſt faithfull ſeruant to be examined by torments, as concerning the poiſon, ſuppoſing that it was impoſſible for her to vndertake any thing whatſoeuer, without his priuity. He being tried and tormented after this cruel manner, confeſſed nothing of that for which he was tortured; but declared vnto the King that the hatred which his wife had conceiued againſt him, proceeded from certaine words that *Sohemus* had told her. Scarcely had he finiſhed theſe words, but that the King cried out with a loud voice, ſaying, that *Sohemus*, who before time had beene moſt faithfull both to him and his kingdome, would not haue declared theſe his priuy commands, except there had been ſome more inward familiaritie and ſecrecy betwixt him and *Mariamme*: for which cauſe he preſently commanded his mi- L
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Sohemus ſuſpected by Herod, in Mariammes behalf is put to death

niſters to lay hands on *Sohemus*, and to put him to death. As for his wife, he drew her to her triall, and to this effect he aſſembled his moſt familiar friends, before whom he began to accuſe her with great ſpight and ſpleene, as touching theſe potions and poiſons aforeſaid; wherein he vſed intemperate and vnſeemely ſpeeches, and ſuch as for their bitterneſſe did ill become him in cauſe of iuſtice; ſo that in the end, the aſſiſtants, ſeeing the butte and bent of his deſire, pronounced ſentence of death againſt her: which being paſt, both he, and all other the aſſiſtants were of this opinion, that ſhee ſhould not ſo ſpeedily be executed, but that ſhee ſhould be kept cloſe priſoner in ſome ſure place of the Palace. But by *Salomes* ſolicitations *Herod* was incited to haſten her death,

Mariamme is accuſed by Herod, and condemned, and impriſoned.

for that ſhee alleadged that the King ought to feare, leaſt ſome ſedition ſhould be raiſed amongſt M

Mariamme by Salomes inſtigations is led to execution.

the people, if hee ſhould keepe her aliue in priſon. And by this meanes *Mariamme* was led vnto her death.

Alexandra her mother conſidering the eſtate of the time, and fearing no leſſe miſchiefe from *Herods* hands, then her daughter was aſſured of; ſhee vndecently changed her minde, and abiectedly laid aſide her former courage, and magnanimitie. For intending to make it knowne, that

ſhee

A she was neither partie nor priuie to those crimes, wherewith *Mariamme* was charged, she went out to meete her daughter, and entertained her iniuriously, protesting publikely that shee was a wicked woman, and vngratefull towards her husband; & that she well deserued the punishment that was adiudged her, for that she durst be so bold to attempt so hainous a fact, neglecting to requite her husbands entire loue, with her vnfained loyaltie. Whilest thus dishonestly she counterfaited her displeasure, and was ready to pull *Mariamme* by the haire, the assistants according to her desert, condemned her generally for her shamefull hypocrisie: but she that was led to be punished, conuicted her by her milde behauiour. For first of all, she gaue her no answere; neither was any waies altered by her reproches; neither would so much as cast her eye vpon her; making it appeare, that she discreetly concealed & couered her mothers imperfections, & was aggrieued
B that she had so openly shewed so great indignitie: expressing for her owne part a constant behauiour; and going to her death without change of colour, so that those that beheld her, perceiued in her a kind of manifest courage and nobility, euen in her vtmost extreamitie. Thus died *Mariamme*, hauing bin a woman that excelled both in continence and courage: notwithstanding that she defaulted somewhat in affabilitie and impatience of nature: for the rest of her parts, shee was of an admirable and pleasing beautie, and of such a carriage in those companies wherein shee was intertained, that it was impossible to expresse the same, in that she surpassed all those of her time which was the principall cause that she liued not gratiously and contentedly with the King. For being entertained by him, who intirely loued her, and from whom shee receiued nothing that might discontent her, she presumed vpon a great and intemperate libertie in her discourse. Shee digested also the losse of her friends very hardly, according as in open tearmes shee made it
C knowne vnto the King: whereby also it came to passe, that both *Herods* mother, and sister, and himselfe likewise grew at ods with her, and in especiall her husband, from whom onely shee expected no hard measure.

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Alexandra vndecently striueth to acquite her selfe of Mariammes treason.

After her death the King began more powerfully to be inflamed in his affections; who before times, as we haue declared, was already miserably distracted. For neither did he loue after the common manner of married folke: but whereas almost euen vnto madnes he nourished this his desire, he could not be induced by the too vnbridled manners of his wife to alay the heat of his affection, but that daily more and more by doting on her, hee increased the same. And all that time especially he supposed that God was displeased with him, for the death of *Mariamme* his
D wife. Oftentimes did he inuocate her name, and more often vndecently lamented hee her. And notwithstanding he deuised all kinde of delights and sports that might bee imagined, by preparing banquets, and inuiting guests with princely hospitalitie, to passe away the time; yet all those profited him nothing. For which cause he gaue ouer the charge and administration of his kingdome. And in such sort was he ouerwhelmed with griefe, that oftentimes hee commanded his ministers to call his wife *Mariamme*, as if as yet she had beene aliue. Whilest thus hee was affected; there befell a pestilence within the citie, that consumed a great sort of the people, and the better part of the nobilitie, and each man interpreted that this punishment was inflicted by God vpon men, for the vniust death of the Queene. Thus the Kings discontents being by this meanes increased, he at last hid himselfe in a solitarie wildernes, vnder pretext of hunting; where afflicting
E himselfe incessantly, at last he fell into a most grieuous sickenesse. This disease of his was an inflamation or paine in the necke: he seemed also in some sort to raue and waxe mad; neither could any remedies relieue him of his agonie; but when as the sickenesse seemed rather to increase, all men at last grew almost desperate of his recouery. For which cause his Physitian, partly in respect of the contumacie of his disease, partly, becaus in so great a danger there was not any free election of diet, they gaue him leaue to taste whatsoeuer best pleased his appetite, committing the vncertaine euent of his health to the hands of fortune.

Herods miserable estate, and moane after the death of his wife.

A plague inuadeth Ierusalem.

Herod falleth grieuously sicke.

Whilest thus hee soiourned in Samaria, which now is called Sebaste, *Alexandra* inhabiting at that time in Ierusalem, hauing notice of this his estate, sought to reduce all the strong fortresses that were within the City, vnder her subiection: the one of which abutted vpon
F the Temple; the other was situate within the City: for they that are Lords of these, keepe all the rest of the nation vnder their awe; becaus that without these, neyther the vsuall and dayly sacrifices may be performed, neither may the Iews liue without such sacrifices and oblations, who had rather lose their liues then contemne their religion. She therfore laboured those that had the gouernment thereof, to surrender them vp to her and *Herods* children begotten of her daughter *Mariamme*, for feare least he being dead, they should be seized by others: and if it should fortune him to recouer his health, in the meane while they might be kept and held by no man more

Alexandra in Herods absence seeketh to get the possession of the castles.

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Herods councellors certifie him of Alexandras intent.

Alexandra put to death.

Costabarus, whom Herod had matched with his sister Salome, vsurped in Idumæa.

securely, then such as were his domesticall friends. This suite and solicitation of hers was but coldly conceited of: and the captaines who at other times shewed themselues alwaies faithfull, at that time were the rather farre more constant in their dutie, both for that they hated *Alexandra*, as also for that they thought it a great offence to despaire of the health of their Prince. For these were the Kings old friends, and one of them was *Herods* owne nephew, whose name was *Achiabus*. For which cause they sent present messengers vnto him, to certifie him of *Alexandras* intent: who hauing heard these newes, presently commanded her to be slaine: and at length ouercomming his sicknes, he grew so badly affected both in body and mind, that he waxed hateful vnto all men; so that all those who offended him for how little cause soeuer, were readily sought for to be punished. In this his intemperance he imbrued his hands in the blood of diuers of his inward friends, as *Costabarus*, *Lysimachus*, *Antipater* surnamed *Gadias*, and *Dositheus*, for this occasion that ensueth. *Costabarus* was an Idumæan, and one of the greatest account amongst his country- H men, who was descended from the Priests of *Cozas*, whom the Idumæans esteeme for a God. Now after that *Hircanus* had drawen the policie of the Idumæans to the reformed customes of the Iewes, *Herod* was made King of the Iewes, and appointed *Costabarus* to be gouernour in Idumæa and Gaza, giuing him *Salome* his sister to wife, after he had put *Ioseph* to death, to whom she had bin maried before time, as we haue heretofore declared. *Costabarus* seeing himselfe in this estate beyond his expectation, grew more elate and proud then his good fortune required, and in a little time forgot himselfe so farre, that he thought himselfe dishonoured, if he should performe that which *Herod* commanded him, and scorned that the Idumæans should bee vnder the Iewes subiection, notwithstanding they had receiued their maner of gouernment from them. He ther- I fore sent messengers vnto *Cleopatra*, giuing her to vnderstand, that Idumæa had alwaies beene vnder her ancestors subiection; and for that cause she ought vpon iust cause to demand and beg that countrie at *Antonius* hands, and that in respect of himselfe he was readie to become her seruant. All which he practised, not to gratifie *Cleopatra* in any sort whatsoeuer, but to the intent, that if *Herods* fortunes should be any waies weakned, he might more easily by this meanes both inlarge and obtaine the kingdome of Idumæa. And with these fooliſh hopes was he transported, in regard of his birth and riches, which he had heaped together, by such dishonest meanes, as he continually practised, as he that intended no small matters. But notwithstanding *Cleopatras* often and earnest petition to obtaine this soueraignitie; yet could shee not obtaine it at *Antonius* hands. When *Herod* had notice of these couert and cunning practises, he was readie to kill *Costabarus*. But vpon the earnest supplications of his sister and her mother, he dismissed and pardoned him; yet held him alwaies in suspicion, by reason of this his practise. Not long after it happened, that *Salome* fell at debate with *Costabarus*, for which cause shee sent a libell of diuorce to her husband, notwithstanding it were against the lawes and ordinary customes of the Iewes. For according to our ordinances, it is onely lawfull for the husband to do the same; and as touching the wife, notwithstanding she were separated, yet is it not lawfull for her to marry againe, except her husband first giue her licence. But *Salome* without respect of the lawes of the countrey, grounding her selfe too much vpon her owne authoritie, forsooke her husband, saying, that she separated her selfe from her husband, by reason of the great friendship which she bare vnto her brother for that she had receiued some notice that *Costabarus* practised some innouation with *Antipater*, L *Lysimachus* and *Dositheus*. And this accusation of hers confirmed she by *Babas* children, whom he had alreadie kept with him in all securitie for the space of twelue yeares. All which was true, and at that time beyond all mens expectation wonderfully troubled *Herod*, as soone as he heard it. For as touching *Babas* sonnes, he had heretofore resolued to cut them off, for that they had been alwaies badlie affected towards him and all his enterprises; but all that time he had let them passe, because by continuance they were growen out of his remembrance. Now the cause of this enmitie and hatred which he bare towards them, was gathered from this ground. At such time as *Antigonus* enioyed the soueraignty, and *Herod* besieged the citie of Ierusalem with an armie: now those incommodities and necessities that ordinarily happen vnto those that are besieged, were the cause that diuers acknowledged *Herod*, and fixed their hopes vpon him. But *Babas* sons M beeing in authoritie, and besides that, attended by a great number of men, perseuered in their faithfull obseruation of *Antigonus*, and blamed *Herod* continually, encouraging the inhabitants to continue the kingdome in those to whom it appertained by descent: and they themselues followed that course, which in their opinion was most profitable for the common-weale. But after that the citie was surprised by *Herod*, and he grew master of the estate, *Costabarus*, who was appointed to keepe the citie gates, and to lie in wait that none of those who were accused to haue

Costabarus preserued by his wiues intercession.

Costabarus, Lysimachus, Antipater and Dositheus accused before Herod.

Babas sonnes preserued by Costabarus.

forsaken

A forſaken the kings ſide, ſhould eſcape, knowing that the ſonnes of *Babas* were greatly eſteemed and honoured among the people, and foreſeeing that their ſafety might be no ſmall furtherance to himſelfe, if at any time there might befortune any alteration; hee diſcharged, and hid them within his owne poſſeſſions: and notwithſtanding that at that time he had proteſted to *Herod* by an oath, that he knew not what was become of them; yet though ſuſpected of periury, he concealed them. And afterwards when the king had by proclamation promiſed a reward to him that ſhould diſcouer them, and ſought for them by all meanes, neither then alſo would he confeſſe the fact. For being affraid leaſt he ſhould be puniſhed for his firſt deniall, he continued thorow concealement, being not onely now driuen thereunto by friendſhip, but alſo by neceſſitie.

The yeere of the world, 3936 before Chriſts Nativity, 28.

Now when the King had notice hereof by his ſiſters report, hee ſent certaine meſſengers to the place where they were hidden, and ſlew them, and all thoſe that were partakers of the ſame
B crime: ſo that no one of *Hircanus* kinred was now left aliue; but all of them being ſlaine, who excelled in nobility and dignitie, hee did what himſelfe liſted without any contradiction or controulement: for which cauſe he by little and little forſooke the ceremonies and ordinanies of his countrey, and corrupted the decrees and inſtitutions of their anceſtors, which he ought to haue kept inuiolable, by his new and ſtrange inuentions. In whoſe time there was a very great change and alteration of the ancient and good manner of liuing; for all fell from bad to worſe: and the politike order, whereby the people ought to be gouerned and kept within compaſſe of their duty, went to decay. For firſt of all, he ordained certaine wreſtlings from fiue yeeres to fiue yeeres, in honour of *Cæſar*; and builded a Theater for that purpoſe within Ieruſalem. He erected alſo a moſt huge Amphitheater within the Plaine, which were two piles worthy the regard and behol-
C ding, by reaſon of the ſumptuouſnes therof; but wholly eſtranged from the faſhions of the Iewes. For neither the vſe, nor the preſentation of theſe ſpectacles hath euer been practiſed or taught by our anceſtors: yet was it his pleaſure to ennoble this aſſembly, to the end it might be continued from fiue to fiue yeeres, and this proclaimed he publikely in the countries round about him, and to this ſpectacle aſſembled he all the Nations. The wraſtlers alſo, and all that which concerned their exerciſe, were ſought out from all corners of the world, vnder the hope to obtaine the propoſed palme and victorie; and all the moſt excellent in thoſe exerciſes that were to bee found, were inuited to that aſſembly. For he propoſed moſt huge rewards, not onely to thoſe that exerciſed wraſtling, but alſo vnto thoſe who are called Muſitians, and to all ſorts of plaiers on inſtruments; labouring to his vtmoſt power, that all the moſt famous in thoſe profeſſions ſhould bee
D aſſiſtant in thoſe paſtimes. Hee appointed alſo a reward of great value for ſuch as ranne vpon chariots of three, foure or of one horſe; and all that which was both ſumptuous and magnificent to behold, for euery one was moſt carefully prouided, in that he ſtroue to haue the honour of a moſt magnificent preparation for his games. The Theater was hung all about with *Cæſars* titles, and the trophees of thoſe nations, which were ouercome by him, altogether ſet out and ſhining with gold and ſiluer. As for the inſtruments thereof, there wanted neither furniture, coſtly veſtments, or precious ſtones. Thither alſo were drawne certaine ſauage beaſts, as Lyons and other wilde beaſts, which were worthy to be placed in this famous ſhew, beeing admirable both for their force and rareneſſe of nature, who fought the one with the other, and againſt ſuch men likewiſe who were condemned to die: whereby the ſtrangers conceiued, together with the
E admiration of his expence, an vncomparable and vnaccuſtomed pleaſure. But his countrymen interpreted this thing for a manifeſt corruption of thoſe diſciplines and manners which before time they had entertained, and honoured amongſt them. For it was an act moſt manifeſtly impious, to hazzard men againſt wilde beaſts, to delight the eyes of other men: It was alſo a matter as impious, to change and prophane the ordinances of the country, for forraine exerciſes: But the moſt hated of all theſe, were the Trophees: for in that they were certaine Images attired in armour, the vſe and veneration whereof were forbidden by our lawes, this diſpleaſed and grieued them more then any thing whatſoeuer: neither was *Herod* ignorant of thoſe troubles, which they procured. But hee thought it to bee a matter of danger to attempt the ſame for the preſent by
F force; and for that cauſe he familiarly debated the ſame with ſome few of them, and diſcourſed vnto them his occaſions, to the end to ridde them of their ſuperſtition, although herein he profited nothing. For all of them with one conſent, cried out againſt the indignitie which they ſaw him commit: telling him, that although all other things were to bee tolerated; yet the Trophees, which were images of men, were vnſupportable, becauſe they were vnuſuall in their countrey. *Herod* perceiuing that they were diſcontented, and that they would not eaſily bee wrought vpon, except they had ſome contentment, hee called the moſt worthieſt men amongſt

Babas ſonnes and others are accuſed before Herod and ſlaine. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10

Herod introduceth diuers forraine cuſtomes.

The yeere of the world, 3939. before Chriſts Nativity, 25.

The theater, & the wraſtling places.

Herod obtained no ſmall honour by theſe expences.

The Iewes ſuppoſe that the Trophees couered with armes were Images.

The yeere of the world, 3939. before Christs Nativity, 25

them, and led them into the Theater, demanding of them what they thought these Trophees were: and when they cried out that they were images of men: he incontinently caused all the ornaments to be taken off from them, letting them see that they were nought els but naked stocks of wood; so that sodainly their displeasure was turned into a laughter, and their doubts were pleasantly discussed. Thus appeased he the people, and moderated the fury of their mislikes: so that diuers of them changed their opinions, & were no more displeased. Notwithstanding, there were some of these that persisted in the indignity they conceiued in those vnaccustomed exercises, supposing that the corruption of their ancient discipline was an inducement to their grieuous calamities; and they imagined that it rather concerned them to vndertake all dangers, then to endure any alteration in their policy, by permitting that *Herod* should introduce new and extraordinary fashions, who onely in word was their king, but in effect an enemy of their whole nation. For this cause there were ten men amongst them, who bound themselues by oath to hazard all extreamities, and to this intent they hid certaine short swords vnder their garments: amongst these there was one that was blind, who vrged and egged on by the strangenesse of those things which he had heard, not for that he was of ability to execute any thing with his hand, but to testifie that he was ready to suffer with the rest, if any misfortune should befall them, by his example the rest of them were not a little confirmed. These hauing mutually vndertaken this their resolution, repaired to the Theater vnder hope that *Herod* should not escape them, for that they intended to assaile him vnawares: at leastwise if they failed of him, their hope was to fall foule on some of his fauourites and followers, accounting this to be some solace in their expected death, if in regard of their violated religion they might bring the King in hatred with the common people. And these intending to offer themselues as chiefetaines and leaders vnto the rest, resolued to execute these things. But one of those intelligencers that *Herod* had sent abroad to pry and search into such like actions, hauing discouered all this their conspiracy, signified the same vnto the king, at such time as he was ready to enter into the Theater. Hee knowing full well what hatred was continually hatched against him, betooke himselfe to his palace, and sent for the conspirators by their names: who being apprehended in the fact, and knowing that there was no way for them to escape, resolued to endure their present misfortunes with a valiant courage: for being no waies dismaide, with a constant countenance they drew out their weapons, protesting that their conspiracy was honest and holy, not attempted by them for priuate affection, or their owne profit sake, but in the behalfe of their publike discipline, which no good man would either see or suffer to be violated, no though it cost him his life.

G

Ten men conspire against Herod.

H

Herod hath intelligence of the conspiracie.

I

K

Now when with great confidence they had alleadged these things for their iustification, they were led away by the kings ministers to be slaughtered by diuers sorts of torments. Not long after this, that intelligencer who had betraied them, growing hatefull in all mens eies, was slaine by certaine men, and chopt in pieces with their swords, and afterwards cast vnto the dogs in sight and presence of many men. Yet did no man discouer this act, vntill after long and wearisome inquisitions made by *Herod*, it was wrought out of certaine poore women (who were priuy to the fact) with diuers torments. Then were all the actors of that murther punished, with their whole families: and notwithstanding all this, the common people was in no sort dismaide, but were ready to defend their lawes, except they were restrained by some greater power. Which when the king perceiued, he resisted their indeuors with all diligence, least happely thorow these alterations in affaires, the people should be drawne to an open rebellion. Whereas therefore he had two strong castles within the City, one wherein his palace was, another called Antonia, that adioyned neere vnto the temple, fortified by him; he thought good to strengthen a third called Samaria, the name whereof he changed, and called it Sebaste (which was distant from Ierusalem some daies iourney) to containe those of the common sort that were abroad, vnder his obedience, and very fit to bridle any vproares that might be raised in the City and fields. And for the whole nation he builded a fort, which in times past was called Straton, and afterwards he named it Cæsarea. He builded also a fort in Galilee, which was called Gabala, in a large Plaine, where by course he kept his horsemen. Besides these, he builded the fort of Esthmonites in the countrey of Peræa on the other side Iordan.

The ten men are executed, and the intelligencer is cut in peeces.

L

Herod fortifieth two castles within Ierusalem. Antonia, Samaria or Sebaste.

Stratos tower or Cæsarea. Gabala.

M

Now when he had fitly disposed all these Castles thorow his whole countrey, for the security and safety of his kingdome, the matter of rebellion was taken from the common people, who vpon euery light cause are subiect to commotions, in that hee had prepared a remedy against all priuy conspiracies, by planting such forces alwaies neere at hand, who might preuent and pacifie all alterations vpon their originall. After this, betaking himselfe to encompasse Samaria with a wall,

Herod planteth garrisons in the fortresses to withstand conspiracies.

A wall,he brought to paſſe that diuers of thoſe,who had born armes with him againſt his enemies, and diuers of the people likewiſe that dwelt round about, came to inhabite it, both in regard of the Temple,which he intended to build in that place,as alſo for that he fortified the ſame for his owne ſecurity (although that before time it was not in the number of famous Cities.) He therefore changed the name thereof, and called it Sebaſte, and diſtributed the lands that confined the Citie among the inhabitants of the ſame (which was by nature a fruitfull and goodly countrey) to the intent that within a little ſpace they might inrich themſelues. He inuironed the Citie alſo with a ſtrong wall,being aſſiſted by the naturall ſtrength and ſteepineſſe of the place: and beſides the whole circuit, hee included ſo much ground, that it was no waies inferiour to any of the famous Cities; for it contained the circuit of twenty furlongs or ſtadia. And in the midſt thereof
B there was a ſacred place, containing a furlong and a halfe, wonderfully adorned; in which there was a Temple builded, famous both for beauty and bigneſſe. And as for the other parts of the Citie,he decked them with all ſorts of ornaments. And ſeeing how neerely it concerned him to prouide for the ſecuritie of his perſon in this walled Citie, hee erected a fortreſſe for himſelfe. And as touching the beauty thereof,his intent was that it ſhould remaine for a monument to poſterity,of his magnificence and liberalitie.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 22.

CHAP. XII.

A famine inuaded the land of Iudæa.

C THAT very yeere,which was the thirteenth yeere of *Herods* raigne,very great calamities hapned in that countrey (either through Gods diſpleaſure, or for that the reuolution of time would haue it ſo.) For firſt of all,there were ſuch continuall droughts, that by reaſon thereof the earth grew barren,and produced not thoſe fruits,which of it ſelfe it was accuſtomed to beare. And after this,the ordinarie courſe of mens diets beeing altered by reaſon of the want of corne, the want of ſuſtenance was accompanied with a bodily ſickneſſe (for that by cuſtome theſe two plagues doe ordinarily entertaine one another:) For this made the plague and ſickneſſe more vehement,for that the ſicke in this great penury,could neither haue care of themſelues as was expedient,nor get conuenient nouriſhment for preſeruation of life: And many died daily; and thoſe alſo that remained aliue were in deſpaire, becauſe they could not relieue their want and neceſſities,what diligence ſoeuer they vſed. For which cauſe,after the old fruits of that
D yeere were wholly conſumed, and all the reſt of their ſtore was vtterly ſpent, there appeared not any meanes whereupon they might hope, namely, for that the miſery increaſed more then was expected; yea and extended it ſelfe beyond that yeere: ſo that they had nothing remaining by them,and the ſeeds they ſowed at that time mouldred away,and the earth for all their labours afforded them no intereſt. The neceſſitie therefore being thus great,conſtrained men to ſearch out many new inuentions to maintaine their life: and the King likewiſe was in no leſſe perplexitie,in that he was depriued of thoſe ordinarie reuenues which he receiued by the fruits of the earth;and the rather, for that he had ſpent his mony in repairing his cities,according as before this we haue declared: and in ſuch ſort were all things waſted by diuers calamities, that a man could conceiue no hope of remedy.Beſides this,the people grew in hatred of their king,for that it is their cuſtom
E ordinarily to accuſe their gouernors,as if they were the authors of all their euils. Yet did the king bethink himſelfe how he might remedy theſe inconueniences,but hardly could he find the means, for that their neighbours had no meanes to ſell them victuals,becauſe they were no leſſe afflicted then themſelues:and although he might haue recouered ſome little meanes for a great ſumme of money,yet wanted he it alſo to defray the charges: notwithſtanding in that he knew,that it behooued him to imploy his vttermoſt indeauours in yeelding a generall remedy to ſuch and ſo violent an oppreſſion, he molted downe all thoſe moueables he had either of gold or ſiluer within his palace, and ſpared nothing either for the matter, the excellencie, or the faſhion; no not ſo much as the veſſels wherein hee was ordinarily ſerued. This money ſent he into Ægypt, where at that time vnder *Cæſar*, *Petronius* held the gouernment. This man being *Herods* friend,in that he
F deſired the ſafetie of his ſubiects, at ſuch time as diuers of them retired themſelues vnto him, by reaſon of that their neceſſitie,he permitted them to buy vp corne; and aſſiſted them in all things, both in their bargaines,and in their carriages;ſo that the greater or the whole ſumme of their ſuccours was attributed to him. But after their returne, *Herod* wrought ſo much, that the care that was taken by him did not onely change the affections of thoſe, which before time were his enemies, but beſide all this, hee purchaſed great praiſe and commendation for his liberalitie and ſingular prouidence. For firſt of all hee diſtributed a certaine quantitie of corne to all thoſe, who were

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap 11. al.10.

A daily drought and ſterilitie in Iudæa.

The want of victuals breedeth the plague.

Herod makeſh money of all his rich ornaments and houſhold ſtuffe of gold and ſiluer, and baieth corne.

Herod diſtributeth the corne he had bought amõg the people.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Christs Natiuitie, 22.

were not able of themselues to supply their owne wants, vsing herein both great care and diligence. After this, for that there were a great number of such, who in regard of their age, or some other infirmitie, were vnable to prepare their victuals, he tooke order for their reliefe, and appointed them certaine bakers, who should furnish them with bread, both sufficient and meet for their sustenance. Hee gaue order also, that they should not passe the winter disfurnished of cloathing, but prouided for such as were naked sufficient raiment, considering that the sheepe were partly dead, and partly deuoured, and that there was no wooll to set them awork, or other stuffe to make garments of. Now after he had furnished his subiects with these things, he thought good also to shew kindnesse to the neighbouring cities, and stored the Syrians with seede-corne to sowe their lands; which yeelded him no little profit: for the earth incontinently gaue him a large and plentifull tribute for that she had receiued; so that all of them had aboundance of victuals: and as soone as the harueſt was ready, he sent fiftie thousand men into that countrey which hee had relieued: and by this meanes hee with all diligence restored his afflicted kingdome: and comforted his neighbours, who were oppressed with the like calamity. For there was not any man in necessity, that according to his qualitie was not assisted and succoured. G H

The villages likewise and the cities, and those of the common sort who entertained great households, and were in want, hauing their recourse vnto him, receiued that which they had neede of; so that to reckon vp all the corne which he gaue vnto those, who were not his subiects, it appeareth that hee imployed ten thousand Cores of wheate: now the Core containeth ten Athenian bushels: and within the compasse of his Realme he imploied eighty thousand: which care of his, and discreetly imployed fauour, wrought so much in the hearts of the Iewes, and was so highly renowned amongst other nations, that the ancient hatred which they had conceiued against him, for that he had altered certaine customes of their kingdome, was wholly forgotten, and hee was supposed by them to haue made a sufficient recompence, by the diligence hee had shewed in assisting them in their necessities; and no lesse either grace or glory obtained he among strangers: so that by these miseries the Kings honour was not a little magnified, and whatsoeuer damage hee receiued at home, so much honour and reputation atchieued he abroad. For whereas in strangers necessities he had shewed himselfe so full of magnanimitie, each man did not respect what hee had beene before, but such as they lately found him to be. I

The Iewes fauour Herod for his bounty

About the same time also he sent *Cæsar* certaine supplies, namely, fiue hundreth chosen men of his guard, whom *Elius Gallus* led into the wars in Arabia, and had often vse of them in his most dangerous attempts. When as therefore his kingdome was restored to his former felicitie, hee builded a roiall palace in the higher part of the citie, furnished with many large buildings, & decked with gold and marble seates; so as they might receiue a great number of men: hee named also each roome of the house according to their seuerall names, & called on the lodging of *Cæsar*, and another of *Agrippa*. After this, being intangled with loue, he married a wife, least he should be distracted by vaine desires, and the cause of this his new mariage was this. There was amongst those that dwelt in Ierusalem, a certaine citizen called *Simon*, the son of *Bœthas* the Alexandrine, who was a Priest, and one of the chiefest in nobility amongst them: this man had a daughter, the faireſt and comliest creature of that age, whose beauty renowned by the common voice, it came to passe, that with her fame *Herod* at one time entertained a good affection towards her, and afterwards obtaining the sight of her, he grew in loue with her; yet would not vse his authoritie, least hee should seeme to behaue himselfe tyrannically, but chose rather to accept her for his betrothed wife. Whereas therefore *Simon* seemed vnworthy his affinitie, and yet too worthy to be blasted by contempt, he made election of a conuenient meanes to obtaine the fulnesse of his desire, which was, to raise both *Simon* and his to higher dignities. For which cause he presently deposed the high Priest *Iesus* the sonne of *Phabetes*, and established *Simon* in his place; and that done, he contracted affinitie with him. After the marriage was consummate, he builded a new castle in that place wherein he had ouercome the Iewes, vpon the time and incontinently after the ouerthrow of *Antigonus*, and when he had taken vpon him the gouernment. K L

Herod sendeth Cæsar fiue hundreth of his guard.

The Palace built in Ierusalem.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap 12.

Herod remoueth Iesus frō his priesthood and placeth Simon in his roome, and marrieth his daughter.

This place is distant from Ierusalem some sixtie furlongs or stades, strong by nature, and fit for defence and good fortification. For neere vnto the same there is a certen steepy hill made by art, after the manner of a round dugge, enuironed with round towers, with a steepy ascent of two hundreth steppes cut out of hewed stone. Within the same there are diuers places, builded with great and sumptuous workmanship, made both for defence & delight. At the foot of this hil there are two houses worthy the sight, for diuers their singularities, and namely, by reason of those conduits of water, which although they spring not in that place, yet notwithstāding are they brought M

from

A from far with great coſt and expence. The Plaine that adioyneth vpon it, is all full of buildings after the manner of a city, and the top of the caſtle commandeth all the Plaine. As ſoone as therefore he had diſpoſed all his affaires, according to his hearts deſire, he poſſeſſed the kingdome in great quietnes, for that he made his ſubiects obedient vnto him, both by feare, in ſhewing himſelfe inexorable when it concerned him to puniſh; and by liberality, wherby he prouided for their publike neceſſities: he therefore tooke an eſpeciall care of himſelfe, as if the life and ſafety of his perſon had been the ſecurity of his people. He behaued himſelfe officiouſly and fauourably towards all forraine cities: he entertained the Princes by preſents, which according to his occaſions he ſent vnto them, to inſinuate himſelfe into their fauours, being in his owne nature magnificent and fit to gouerne: ſo that all his fortunes increaſed, and all things fell out happily according to his hearts
B deſire. True it is, that the care which he imployed in honouring *Cæſar*, and other mighty magiſtrates of Rome, cauſed him to outſtrip his cuſtomes, and to falſifie diuers ordinances of his countrey, in building cities, and erecting temples in honour of them, although he builded them not in the land of Iury: for the Iewes would not haue endured it, becauſe we are forbidden to honour Images and figures, formed according to the likeneſſe of a man, as the Greekes are accuſtomed to doe, but he did this in the countrey and forraine cities, and excuſed himſelfe to the Iewes, ſaying, that he did it not of his owne head, but performed that according to the charge and commandement which he had from others, who were greater then himſelfe: and in the meane while gratified *Cæſar* and the Romans, in that he reſpected their honour more then he did the ordinances of his countrey; although in all things he had reſpect to his particular aduantage, and determined
C with himſelfe to leaue behind him after his death large and ample teſtimonies of his power and greatneſſe: which was the cauſe that he builded cities with great charge and expence.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 22.

Herod beſtowed great diligence and no leſſe coſts in his buildings.

CHAP. XIII.

The building of the citie of CÆSAREA.

WHEN as therefore he had found out a fit and conuenient place vpon the ſea coaſt, to build a city on, which of long time had bin called the tower of Straton, he both magnificently deſigned and ſet downe the module and forme thereof, and made many
D ſumptuous buildings, both of royall places, and of other priuate lodgings, not builded after a ſlight manner, or of weake and fading matter, but of marble ſtone. But the greateſt and buſieſt worke of all, was the hauen which he made exempt and free from ſtormes and tempeſts, that in greatneſſe reſembled that of *Piræus*, and was ſo ſpacious that it was able to receiue many great ſhips into the road, and had diuers roomes and warehouſes to lay vp the merchandize therin. And the more admirable was this pile, becauſe the ſtuffe that was fit to finiſh this ſo great worke, was not gathered or gotten in that place, but muſt needly be brought from another place, vpon great charge and expence. This city is ſeated in Phœnicia vpon the coaſt, in the way to Egypt, between Ioppa and Dora, certaine villages ſituate vpon the ſea coaſts, vnfit either for landing or harbour, by reaſon of the Affricke wind, that driuing the ſand of the ſea vpon the ſhore, giueth not any
E quiet road vnto the ſhips, but that the Merchants are enforced for a long time to ride at anchor. To correct this incommodity of the place, he made the circuit round about the port ſo ſpacious, that it was able to receiue a great fleet: and he caſt down to the bottome therof, which was about ſome twenty fathoms deepe, certen huge ſtones, that for the moſt part were fiftie foot long, eight foot broad, and nine foot high, ſome more and ſome leſſe. The pile that was erected vpon this to affront the ſea, was a pane of two hundreth foot, the halfe wherof was oppoſed againſt the waues to breake the furie of the ſtreame, and for this cauſe was called in the Greek tongue *Procymation*, that is to ſay, Before floud: The other halfe ſerued as a foundation to beare vp a wall of ſtone fortified with diuers towers, the chiefeſt wherof was a faire pile or building, which was called Druſus, in memory of *Druſus*, *Cæſars* ſonne in law, who died very young: it had alſo diuers retreates or hoſtries in the ſame, into which the mariners were receiued and lodged.

F The deſcent being hard by, encompaſſed all the port like a round platforme, that ſerued for a pleaſant walking place for whomſoeuer liſted. The entrance and mouth of the hauen was toward the north, which is a wind that of al other moſt purifieth and cleanſeth. The ſupporter & ſtrength of all the circuit on the left hand vpon the entrance to the port, was an ample and huge tower to faſten it the more ſtrongly; and on the right hand, were two huge pillars of ſtone, more higher then the tower that ſtood oppoſite againſt them, erected and faſtned together. All round about the

The tower of Straton otherwiſe called Cæſuria, builded by Herod.

Piræus the port of Athens.

Dora & Ioppa ill harbors.

The port of Cæſarea.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Christs Natiuitie, 22.

the hauen there were certaine buildings, abutting one vpon another of poliſhed marble, and in G the midſt there was a little hillocke, on which there was a certaine monument placed in honour of *Cæſar*, which preſented it ſelfe to their ſight who ſailed to the port, in which there were the figures of the Citie of Rome and of *Cæſar*. This Citie alſo was called Cæſarea, as much to be wondred at for the matter whereof it was built, as for the arte whereby it was erected : and no leſſe cunning was there ſhewed in the vaults and conduits vnder ground, then in thoſe buildings that were about them ; ſome of them were conuaied toward the port, and diſcharged themſelues into the ſea by certaine compaſſed ſpaces : but there was one that went athwarts, that comprehended all the reſt, to the end that thereby the raine-water, and the cleanſings of the Citie might be conuaied into the ſea, and that when the ſea ſhould flow, it might waſh and cleanſe all the Citie.

The Theater and Amphitheater.

Hee erected alſo a Theater of ſtone, and behind the ſame to the Southward, an Amphitheater, H that was able to receiue a great number of men ; and ſo pleaſantly and fitly ſituated, that from the ſame a man might diſcouer the ſea. This Citie was finiſhed at the end of 12. yeeres ; during which time, the King was neither wearied by intending the worke, nor negligent in furniſhing the neceſſary charges. After this, perceiuing that the Citie of Sebaſta was already inhabited alſo, he reſolued to ſend his two ſonnes *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* to Rome, to preſent them vnto the Emperour *Cæſar* ; who no ſooner reſorted thither but they were lodged in *Pollios* houſe, who amongſt all the reſt was an intire friend of *Herods*. They might haue lien alſo at *Cæſars* houſe, who entertained them with as great familiaritie and kindneſſe, as might be poſſible : and gaue *Herod* licence in like manner to confirme the kingdome in one of his children, which ſoeuer beſt liked him, annexing to his gouernment, the countries of Trachona, Baranea, and Auranita for the occaſion which enſueth. A certaine man called *Zenodorus* had hired *Lyſanias* demaines or Lordſhip : and I not contenting himſelfe with thoſe reuenewes which hee gathered, but deſirous to gather more, he liued vpon ſpoiles and robberies in Trachona, which is a countrey, the inhabitants whereof commonly liue by pillage and ſpoile, which they purchaſe from the Citizens and Merchants of Damaſco. And ſo farre was *Zenodorus* from prohibiting theſe robberies, that hee himſelfe alſo was partaker of the booty ; ſo that the nations neighbouring round about, ſeeing themſelues thus abuſed, ſought for remedy at *Varus* hands, who was their gouernour, requiring him to certifie *Cæſar*, of *Zenodorus* wrongs and outrages. Which when he vnderſtood, he commanded that ſuch lawleſſe rioters ſhould be puniſhed, and that the countrey ſhould bee added vnto the iuriſdiction of *Herod*, to the intent, that by his vigilancy the inhabitants of Trachona ſhould no more moleſt their neighbours. For it was hard to reſtraine them, conſidering that they were accuſtomed and K traded in ſuch theft, and could not liue otherwaies. For they neither had townes nor lands, neither heritages nor any poſſeſſions, but onely certaine retraits and caues vnder ground, and liued pell mell like beaſts : and hauing made abundant prouiſion of water and victuals, they might eaſily endure warre a long time, and maintaine themſelues in their caues, when their enemies aſſailed them without.

Herod ſendeth his ſonnes Alexander and Ariſtobulus to Rome vnto Cæſar.

Cæſar giueth Herod the dominions of the Trachonites of Baranea and Auranita.

Zenodorus liueth by ſpoile.

The doores of theſe dennes were ſo narrow, that they could be entred but by one at once ; but within it was incredible ſpacious and large : the vpper part thereof was not ſteepie, but plaine, and in forme of a ſmooth earth : for the whole place naturally conſiſteth of a ſharpe and ragged rock, with a hard and difficult paſſage thereon, vnleſſe a man be guided thorow the paths. For the way L was not direct and ſtraight, but full of windles and many turnings. At ſuch time as they wanted opportunitie to ſpoile their neighbors, they robbed one another ; and omitted no kind of wickedneſſe. *Herod* hauing receiued the gift of this countrey at *Cæſars* hands, reſorted thither vnder the conduct of certaine guides that knew the waies, and hauing brought their power and prolling to an end, he left the neighbour nations in aſſured peace. But *Zenodorus* being partly whetted on with enuie, partly incited by the griefe which he conceiued thorow the loſſe of his poſſeſſions, reſorted to Rome to accuſe *Herod* ; yet could effect nothing of that which he intended.

Herod puniſheth the robbers Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13

Agrippa is ſent into Aſia.

Agrippa ſendeth the Gadareans bound vnto Herod, who came to accuſe him.

Zenodorus ſignorie ſold to the Auranites, and beſtowed on Herod by Cæſar, is the cauſe of the warres.

When *Agrippa* was ſent into Aſia by *Cæſar* to gouerne the prouinces beyond the ſeas, *Herod*, becauſe he was his very friend and familiar, went to ſalute him at Mitylene where hee wintered, for that he was one of his inward friends, and afterwards returned into Iewry. But M certaine Gadareans came vnto *Agrippa* with an intent to accuſe *Herod* : but he ſent them bound vnto the king, and vouchſafed them no audience. On the other ſide, the Auranites, who of long time hated *Herods* gouernment, ſtirred vp commotions, and laboured to draw the countrey into rebellion, and that vpon a iuſt ground, as it ſeemed, at that time : for *Zenodorus* deſpairing of his affaires, went and ſold them a certaine part of the Lordſhip in Auranita (which was comprehended within *Cæſars* donation to *Herod*) for the ſum of fiftie talents of yeerely reuenue, where-

with

A with they grew discontented, for that they were vniustly depriued of their estates: and hereupon they made often incursions, indeuouring themselues sometimes to recouer the same by force; and otherwhile contending for the right of their possession by course of iustice. They drew also vnto them certaine needy souldiers; who according to the custome of wretched men, expected their better fortunes by change and innouation: which though *Herod* knew, and could haue prouidently preuented them, yet exhorted hee them to maintaine their titles rather by good meanes then open violence, being loath to giue any occasion of new trouble or disquiet. At length in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, *Cæsar* came into Syria: vpon whose arriuall diuers of the Gadareans beganne to exclaime against *Herod*, accusing him of his seuerity and tyranny: which accusation they the rather attempted, because they were chiefely incited therunto by the instigations B and false suggestions of *Zenodorus*, who bound himselfe by an oath, that he would neuer giue ouer vntill that deliuering them from *Herods* tyranny, they were reduced vnder *Cæsars* protection. The Gadareans, perswaded by these his protestations, began to continue their exclamations, and that somewhat the more audaciously, for that they perceiued that they liued as yet vnpunished whom *Agrippa* had deliuered into *Herods* hands: for *Herod* had set them at liberty without any punishment, notwithstanding that in regard of his owne subiects he was inexorable, as euer man was; and most patient in induring those iniuries that were offered him by strangers, whom he alwaies dismissed without reuenge. When as therefore they accused him of violence and rapine, and for violating and rasing downe their temples, *Herod* beeing nothing dismaide thereat, presented himselfe before the Emperour to iustifie his actions. But *Cæsar* entertained him very C kindly, and diminished nothing of the good affection which he bare vnto him, notwithstanding all the vprores and insolent tumults of the people. Thus was the first day spent in audience of their complaints, and in those daies that followed there were no further obiections to bee heard of: for the Gadareans perceiuing both *Cæsars* disposition and the inclination of his councell, and fearing (as it was most likely) to be deliuered into *Herods* hands, the next night after some of them slew themselues; othersome for feare of torments brake thir owne necks; and some of them also drowned themselues in the riuer. And thus whereas they seemed to fore-iudge themselues, *Cæsar* presently absolued *Herod*.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Christs Natiuitie, 22.

Cæsar commeth into Syria: before him the Gadareans accuse Herod, and afterwards murther themselues.

The yeere of the world, 3946. before Christs Natiuitie, 18.

And this felicity of his, was seconded with another of no small consequence. For *Zenodorus* hauing his bowels broken through an extreame fluxe of blood, finished his life at Antioch in Sy- D ria. Whereupon *Cæsar* gaue *Herod* his countrey, which was a large and ample signory, and was situate betweene Trachonita and Galillee, containing Vlatha, Paneas, and the countries thereabouts. Hee made him one of the gouernours of Syria also, commanding them to execute nothing without his aduise. At this time attained he to the height of all worldly felicity: For whereas within the huge and ample Romane Empire, all things were disposed by *Cæsar*, and *Agrippa*, *Cæsar* honoured no man more then *Herod* next to *Agrippa*; and *Agrippa* respected him aboue all men next to *Cæsar*. Whereupon he grew to be so confident, that he begged a Tetrarchie at *Cæsars* hands: for his brother *Phæroras*, on whom he bestowed one hundreth talents of his reuenue out of his owne kingdome, to the intent that if he should happen to die, *Phæroras* estate might be assured and left no waies subiect vnto his children.

Vlatha, Paneas, and other regions are giuen to Herod.

Herod highly esteemed by Cæsar and Cæsar maketh Pheroras a Tetrarch.

E As soone as therefore he had conducted *Cæsar* as farre as the sea, vpon his returne he builded a goodly temple of white marble in honour of his name, in the countrey which belonged to *Zenodorus*, neere to a place which is called Panion, which is a goodly caue in the hart of a mountaine, and a place of great pleasure, vnder which there is a wide poole of immeasurable depth, which is full of standing water, and the vpper part of the mountaine is very high. From vnder this caue spring the fountaine heads of the floud Iordan. This place of it selfe so famous and delightful, was chosen out by *Herod*, and adorned also with a temple which he built in honour of *Cæsar*. At that time also he released the third part of those tributes which his subiects paid vnto him, to the end (as he said) that he might relieue his subiects after the penury they had endured. But the truth of his intention was, that he did it to that end to win their fauours, who were sinisterly affected to- F wards him. For they had conceiued an hatred against him, because all piety was in a manner abolished, & the ordinances of the country in a sort disanulled by the means of those temples, which he had built, & each man priuily muttered with bitternes against him; so that welny they were addressed to mutiny. But *Herod* with great discretion preuented the same, and cut off al occasions of insurrection, commanding euery one to intend his labour; forbidding them to make any assemblies in the city, or to talk one with another vnder colour of walking abroad for pleasure or feasts sake. Moreouer, hee had sent out certaine Intelligencers to discouer all that which was done, appointing

Herod buildeth a temple neere vnto Panion.

Herod remitteth the third part of his tribute.

The yeere of the world, 3946. *before Christs Natiuitie*, 18. pointing grieuous punishments for those that misliked, or maligned his gouernment. For diuers of them were led vnto the Castle of Hircania, some openly, some priuately; where they were no sooner imprisoned, but they were put to death; and both in the city and in the country; there were certaine men appointed to take note of all such that vsed any assemblies vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. And so inwardly was he tormented with their dislikes, that as it is reported of him, he took vpon him the habite of a priuate man, and thrust himselfe in the night time into the company of the people, to vnderstand and gather what they thought of his gouernment; and those whom he found to be vntractable and obstinate, and would not be conformed to his will, he dispatched them by one meanes or other, binding the rest of the people by an oath to serue him faithfully, and constrained them to keepe the oath they had sworne, and to acknowledge his soueraignty: whereunto diuers thorow the feare they conceiued, easily condescended. But they who had a more greater courage, and were discontented to see themselues constrained, hee cut them short by all the meanes that he might. He required also an oath of diuers of those sectaries, who followed the Pharisees *Pollio* and *Sameas*: and notwithstanding they denied to take the oath, yet did he not punish them as he did the other for their refusall, in respect and reuerence of *Pollio* their master. From this rigour also were they exempt, who amongst vs are called Esseans, which is a sort of men that liue after that manner that *Pythagoras* did among the Græcians, of whom I haue more expresly discourssed in another place.

Herod bindeth the people by an oath.

Herod excuseth the Pharises from swearing for Polias and Sameas sakes.

The Esseans not much vnlike the Pythagorists.

At this present I thinke it not a matter to be ouerslipt, neither estranged from the aime of my history, to report for what cause the king had so religious an opinion of those men. There was a certaine Essean called *Manahem*, who in his sect was accounted an vpright and iust man, and one that had obtained from God the knowledge of things to come. He seeing *Herod* one day at such time as he was very young and went to schoole, saluted him and called him king of the Iewes. *Herod* supposing that *Manahem* knew him not, or that he mocked him, reprooued him sharpely for this his speech, saying, that he acknowledged himselfe to be one of the common sort. *Manahem* smiling, hit him gently with his hand vpon the backe, and said vnto him, Thou shalt be king, and shalt haue a happy raigne. For such is Gods pleasure; and at that time remember thy selfe of the words that *Manahem* spake vnto thee, which shall serue for a testimony to put thee in mind of thy mutable estate. For it becommeth thee nothing more, then by iustice, piety, and equity, to winne the hearts of thy subiects: yet know I by reuelation from God, that thou wilt not follow
» these instructions; for thou shalt forget and neglect both diuine and humane lawes: though in o-
» ther respects thou shalt be most fortunate and purchase eternall glory. Yet shalt thou not escape
» Gods hands: for he shall chastise thee in the latter time of thy life, with a grieuous punishment.
» At that time *Herod* gaue small regard to those his words, in that he had no hope that any such
» thing should happen: but not long after, as soon as he had obtained the kingdome to the fulnes of
his felicity, he in the greatnes of his power sent for *Manahem*, and asked him how long he should raigne. But he returned him a doubtfull answer. Which when *Herod* perceiued, he asked him anew if he should raigne ten yeeres. Wherunto *Manahem* answered, and twenty, and thirty, without setting him down any prefixed terme. *Herod* contenting himselfe herewith, embraced *Manahem*, and gaue him licence to depart, and continued his affections towards the Esseans for his sake. I haue thought good to register these things, notwithstanding they may seeme vncredible, to declare that diuers of our nation haue had communication with GOD by reason of their holines.

Manahem foretelleth Herods gouernment.

Herod questioneth with Manahem about the continuance of his kingdome, and loueth the Esseans for his sake.

CHAP. XIIII.

HEROD *buildeth a new Temple in Ierusalem, after he had pulled downe the old.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14 al. 11.

IN the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, *Herod*, after he had finished these many and admirable actions, conceited in his mind no meane, but a mighty proiect, which was to reedifie Gods Temple of greater bignesse and answerable height, hoping that this worke which was the most admirable of all those he had vndertaken (as indeed it was (in being finished, would eternize his memory. But fearing least the people in regard of the greatnes of the enterprise, would bee hardly drawne thereunto, he determined to sound their intents by his discourse, and for that cause assembling them together, he spake after this manner;

Herod intendeth to reedifie Gods temple.

Herod certifieth the people that he will reedifie the temple.

Men and brethren, I hold it to be a matter both vaine & superfluous, to recount vnto you what things I haue performed, during the time of my gouernment. For they haue beene of that nature,

that

A that they haue returned me but little honour; and your ſelfe great profit and ſecurity. For you your ſelues know that in thoſe aduerſities that haue befallen you, I haue bin no waies negligent in that which concerned your profit; and in thoſe buildings I haue erected by Gods aſſiſtance, I haue not ſo much regarded my ſelfe, as that which concerneth you all: and my hope is by the will of God that I haue brought the eſtate of the Iewes to that degree of felicity, that they neuer had or expected before this time. As for that which I haue particularly exploited in the heart of the country, & in the cities which I haue augmented, as well with ornament & beauty, as with a number of inhabitants; ſince you your ſelues know, I think it a ridiculous matter to reduce them to your memory. But I muſt at this time aſſure you that the deſign which I will preſently enterpriſe, is far more holy & more excellent, then may be performed by vs. For our pre-

B deceſſors after they were returned from the captiuity of Babylon, builded a temple in honour of our great and mighty God, which in height wanted ſixty cubits of that which *Salomon* firſt built: yet ought we not to obiect as a blame, or aſcribe this action to any impiety in our anceſtors. For the temple was not at their diſpoſition, but the meaſure of their building was ſet them down by *Cyrus* and *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, to whom & their ſucceſſors they haue firſt of all been ſlaues, as after their time they haue been vnder the ſubiection of the Macedonians: ſo that they had not the meanes & opportunity, to raiſe this religious monument, according to his firſt pattern, to that requiſite and conuenient height. But ſince at this preſent by Gods permiſſion, I haue obtained the kingdom; and that for a long time hitherto we haue enioyed a happy peace; and that neither mony nor great reuenewes are wanting; and that which is our greateſt

C good, we are made happy by the fauor of the Romans, who in a ſort are the Lords of the whole world, and in effect are our entire friends: I will enforce my ſelfe to repaire that defect, which hapned in times paſt thorow the miſeries, and weak means of our noble predeceſſors, reſoluing with my ſelfe to perfect that which is requiſite for the ſeruice of God, in acknowledgement of the benefits which I haue receiued from him, by whoſe mercy and meanes I haue obtained my kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 3947. before Chriſts Nativity, 17.

This ſudden and vnexpected ſpeech of *Herods*, filled all mens eares with wonder, and hearts with expectation, in that he ſeemed to promiſe ſuch a thing, as was beyond their hope, & as they thought far greater then his power: and that which moſt diſtracted them was, for that they had conceiued a feare, leaſt after he had pulled down the old; he ſhould not be of ability to erect a

D new. For which cauſe his counſell ſeemed to be dangerous, and attempt ouer difficult. But the King perceiuing with what doubts they were detained, encouraged them, promiſing in no ſort to deface the old temple, before all that was prepared & poliſhed which was requiſite for the building of the new. And in this he kept his word. For hee appointed a thouſand chariots to draw ſtones vnto the place, & choſe out amongſt the reſt ten thouſand cunning & expert workmen. Hee apparelled alſo at his owne charge one thouſand Prieſts in their accuſtomed veſtments, whereof ſome gaue the maſons inſtructions how they ſhould worke, and the reſt aſſiſted the carpenters. This done, after he had fitly & readily performed & prepared all things requiſite, he cauſed them to fall to their building. As ſoon as therefore the former foundations were taken away, & other meer new were planted in their place, the temple was erected vpon them,

E in length one hundreth cubits, and twenty cubits in height aboue thoſe hundreth cubits which the former contained, which twenty cubits were in ſome ſort ſcantled after that by ſucceſſion of time the foundations began to bee ſettled, and during *Neroes* raigne our countrimen had thought to haue raiſed it to the firſt height. The building was of white & ſtrong marble ſtones, which were each of them twenty and fiue cubits long, eight cubits high, & about ſom twelue cubits broad. All the ſtructure of the ſame was made after the manner of a princely palace on all ſides, & the middle part thereof was higher then the reſt: ſo that it might eaſily be diſcouered by the inhabitants of the country many furlongs off; and eſpecially it was moſt apparant & ſubiect to their ſight, who dwelt oppoſit againſt it, or repaired vnto the citie. The doores thereof and their tranſomes were correſpondent to the reſt of the magnificence of the temple, gar-

F niſhed with diuers tapeſtries, and azured flowers, which inueſted & adorned the pillers: vnder whoſe chapters a golden vine ſpread it ſelf on each ſide, repleniſhed with many goodly cluſters of grapes hanging down; which was an admirable work to behold, both in reſpect of the greatneſſe, as alſo for the workemanſhip and matter whereof it was made. Hee encompaſſed all the temple with moſt goodly galleries, & porches correſpondent to the magnificence of the ſame, and ſurpaſſing thoſe in times paſt for the coſt; ſo that neuer any man before him ſo magnificently adorned the temple. Two of which were vnder-propped with very ſtrong wals, whoſe

The Iewes fearing leaſt Herod ſhould pull downe the old temple before he had prepared matter for the new he promiſeth the contrary. Conuenient ſtuffe is gathered for the building of the temple.

How the temple was builded by Herod.

The yeare of the world, 3947, before Christs birth 17.

workmanship was so exquisite as it is incredible to be reported amongst men. There was a ston- G
ny rising or hillocke, and very streight & high, the top whereof towards the eastermost part of
the city was somewhat smooth & vpright. The first that incompassed it with a wall was *Salomon*
our King, who by Gods fauour & the mediation and labour of diuers workmen, did first of all
build the higher part: *Herod* also inuested the lower part therof with another wall; vnder which
to the southward there lieth a most deep valley. This wall was made of huge stones, close fast-
ned the one vnto the other with lead; shutting all within his enclosure, & extending it self very
deep; so that the greatnes & height of this foure square building was an incredible thing to be
imagined. The greatnes of the stones appeared in the front, but on the inside they were fastned
together with clasps of iron, which fortified & strengthned the building for euer against al in-
iuries of times. This worke hauing been thus continued to the top, & the void space between H
the wall & the rising hillocke filling vp the floore aboue, was made plaine & equall. The whole
circuit of the tower contained about foure stades or furlongs, a stade or furlong in length to e-
uery pane from angle to angle. On the inside and neer vnto the top there was another wall of
stone extended along the easterne side; hauing a double porch of equall greatnes with that of
the wall, & placed in the midst of the temple, and openeth right vpon the gates thereof, which
the kings before time had adorned. Round about the temple were planted those spoiles which
were taken frō the Barbarians, which King *Herod* had placed there, with all those spoiles which
he had taken from the Arabians. In a corner on the north side there stood a very strong & de-
fenced fortresse, builded by the Asmonians, who were *Herods* predecessors, and had been both
Kings & high Priests, and had imposed a name on that tower which was Baris, in which they I
kept the priestly vesture, wherewith the high Priest was wont to be adorned at that time onely
when he was to offer sacrifice. King *Herod* kept the same in that place, & there remained it after
his death vntill the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*: vnder whon *Vitellius* gouernour of Syria came vnto
Ierusalem; where he was entertained by all the people with as great magnificence as was possi-
ble: and being desirous to acknowledge the fauours that he had receiued at their hands, being
requested by them that they might haue the keeping of the high Priests ornaments, he wrote
vnto *Tiberius Cæsar* to grant then that fauor, & till the death of King *Agrippa* the Iewes had the
same in their possession. But after that *Agrippa* was dead, *Cassius Longinus* that gouerned Syria, &
Cuspius Fadus Lieutenant of Iudæa, cōmanded the Iewes to returne the same into the fortresse K
Antonia, saying that the Romans ought to be Lords thereof, as they had bin in times past. For
which cause the Iewes sent Embassadors to *Claudius Cæsar*, to request his fauour therein, who
arriuing at Rome found the youg King *Agrippa* there, who besought the Emperor that it might
be lawfull for him to haue the keeping of the habit: who cōmanded *Vitellius* the gouernour of
Syria, to deliuer it vnto his hands. Before time it was kept vnder the seale of the high Priest, &
the custody of the Treasurers, & on the eeue of a certain solemn feast the Treasurers went vp
to the captain, who kept the fortresse for the Romans, & after they had opened their seale they
took the habit: and after the feast was past, they returned it back againe vnto the same place, &
shut it vp vnder the same seale in the presence of the captain. All which we haue thought good
to lay open, to make the diuersity knowne that was vsed in that care. L

The place where the high Priests stole was kept. Vnder whose custody the stole was.

After that *Herod* had in this sort builded this strong tower for the security and guard of the
temple, he called it Antonia, for the loue of *Antonius* his friend, and one of the chiefest men in
Rome. In the westerne part of this porch, there were foure gates, whereof the one opened vp-
on the Kings palace, to which there was a direct way through the midst of the valley; the two
others led vnto the suburbes: and the fourth opened vpon the rest of the city, and gaue open
passage vnto the same, by the meanes of a number of staires, by which men might descend to
the foot of the valley; and from thence there was an ascent by other staires to ascend vpwards.
For the citie was situate neere vnto the temple, after the manner of a theater; and was bended
to the southward by a deep valley. As touching the fourth side turned toward the south, it had
likewise certaine gates in the midst thereof; and vpon the same there was a triple gallery very M
royall and princely, the length whereof extended from the orientall valley as farre as the we-
sterne. For it was impossible to extend it any further. This worke was one of the most famous
peeces that was euer seen vnder the sunne: For the depth of the valley was so great, that it was
impossible for a man to see the bottom, if he looked downward from the higher part: and not-
withstanding on the same he erected this porch of so great a height, that but to looke from the
top therof, & to cōsider the depth as wel of the valley as the height of the porch, it would make
a man giddy, & his eye could not pearce vnto the immesurable bottome of the same. It had in
length

The Tower of Antonia.

The porch builded aloft aboue the valley.

A length foure ranks of pillars oppoſed the one right ouer againſt the other (for the fourth pane of the wall was fortified with a wall of hewen ſtone) the thickneſſe of the pillars was ſuch, that it was as much as three men could fadom holding one another by the hand, and the length was of twenty and ſeuen foot, with a double baſe at the bottome. The whole number of them was one hundreth, ſixty and two, and they had Chapters engrauen and damaskt with Corinthian worke. All this building was ſo huge, that it moued admiration in thoſe that beheld the ſame. Betwixt theſe foure ranks there were three porches, whereof two were on either ſide, containing in breadth each of them thirty foot, & in length a ſtade or furlong: & more then fifty foot in height. That in the midſt was in breadth once and a halfe as much as theſe two; and in height twice as much. For it ſurpaſſed the reſt by farre. The floore was made of goodly planks, engra-
B uen with diuers figures; and the roofe therof was farre higher then any of the reſt, in which certaine huge beames were morteiſed, on which there were certain pillars builded, vnited and annexed ſo fitly together, that it is a matter incredible to thoſe that haue not ſeen the ſame, & admirable to him that beholdeth it. Such was the faſhion of the circuit of the firſt porch. In the midſt, and not farre off from the other, ſtood the ſecond; whereunto there was an aſcent made with few ſteps. It was incloſed with a ſeparation of ſtone, with an inſcription, forbidding any ſtranger to enter the ſame vpon paine of death. This inward porch both to the ſouthward and the northward had three gates, in rank equidiſtant the one from the other; and toward the eaſtward had one great gate, by which thoſe men entred who were cleanſed with their wiues. For beyond that place it was not lawfull for the women to haue acceſſe. But the third inward ſpace
C was only acceſſible by the Prieſts. In it was the Temple, & before the ſame the Altar; on which they were wont to offer burnt ſacrifices vnto God. But *Herod* durſt not enter the interiour ſanctuary, from whence profane men were excluded by the lawe: but by the mediation of the Prieſts he intended the ſtructure and building of the inward porch, and finiſhing in eight yeares ſpace the reſt of the edifice, at length alſo he finiſhed the Temple it ſelfe, by the endeuours of the ſame Prieſts, within the terme of one yeare and ſix moneths. By which meanes the people were repleniſhed with the fulneſſe of ioy, and euery one gaue thankes vnto God for that the whole worke was finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, and wiſhed all happineſſe to the King for his coſt and diligence in the execution and finiſhing thereof: and they celebrated a great feaſt in honor of the
D reſtauration of the Temple. Then did the King offer vp three hundreth oxen vnto God, & the reſt of them each one according to his ability offered ſo many ſacrifices, as that ſcarcely they may be comprehended in number, for that their multitude exceedeth their eſtimate.

About the very time of the celebration of this feaſt in the honour of the reedification of the Temple, the Kings day of coronation fell out, which hee was wont to ſolemnize euery yeare with great ioy: and for this twofold occaſion the ſolemnity and ioy was farre more ſumptuous and compleat. The King alſo cauſed a conduit of water to be made, and conuayed by pipes vnder ground, drawing it from the Caſtle Antonia vnto the Orientall gate of the Temple;
E neer to which he builded another Tower alſo, to the end, that by the conduits he might aſcend priuily vnto the Temple, if happely the people ſhould practiſe any inſurrections againſt his royalty. It is reported, that during the building of this temple, it neuer rained by day time, but only by night, to the intent the work might not be interrupted: and our predeceſſors haue teſtified no leſſe vnto vs. Neither is this thing vncredible if we attentiuely conſider thoſe other effects of Gods prouidence. Hitherto concerning the reedification of the Temple.

The yeare of the world, 3955. before Chriſts Nativity, 9.

The inward court, into which and no further the Iewes might enter.

The dedication of the temple.

A conduit vnder ground from the caſtle Antonia.

During the building of the temple it neuer rained by day.

F

G

THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

H

The Contents of the Chapters of the 16. Booke.

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3 *How* Herod *ſayled vnto* Agrippa.
4 *The Iewes of Ionia accuſed the men of that countrey before* Agrippa, *for endeauouring to take away their priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romans.*
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7 *How* Antipater *being at Rome,* Herod *brought* Alexander *and his brother, and accuſed them before* Cæſar.
8 *Of the defence of* Alexander, *and how he was reconciled vnto his father.*
9 *How* Herod *did celebrate euery fiue yeares certaine ſports, for hauing finiſhed Cæſarea.*
10 *The Embaſſage of the Cyrenian and Aſian Iewes vnto* Cæſar.
11 *How* Herod, *needing money, entred into* Dauids *Sepulchre.*
12 *How* Archelaus *King of Cappadocia did reconcile* Alexander *vnto his father.*
13 *How the Trachonites reuolted.*
14 *Of* Herods *expedition into Arabia.*
15 *How* Syllæus *accuſed* Herod *vnto* Cæſar.
16 *Of* Eurycles *his calumniations againſt* Herods *ſonnes.*
17 *How* Herods *ſonnes were condemned in a councell at Berytum.*

I

K

CHAP. I.

How Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *being returned vnto their father, were aſſailed and calumniated by* Salome *and* Pheroras.

The yeare of the world, 3955. before Chriſts birth, 9.

AMongſt the reſt of the affaires of the Common-wealth, the King thought it behooued him to redreſſe and hinder priuate iniuries, both in the citie & country: for the which purpoſe he made a new law vnlike to the former, that it ſhould be lawful for ſuch as were wal-breakers, to be ſold for ſlaues out of the limits of his kingdom: which law did not ſeem ſo much to intend the puniſhment of malefactors, as the diſſolution of his owne countrey cuſtomes. For to ſerue forraine nations, who liued not after the manner of the Iewes, and to do whatſoeuer they commanded them, was more preiudiciall vnto religion then vnto the parties conuicted of that fact. Wherefore it was ſufficiently already in the old ancient lawes prouided for the puniſhment of ſuch people, to wit, that a theefe ſhould reſtore foure times as much as he ſtole: which if he was not able to do, that then he was to be ſold, not vnto ſtrangers, nor into perpetuall bondage, but only for ſeuen yeares: at which time he ſhould again be ſet free. So that the common people did interpret this new law to ſet downe an vniuſt puniſhment, and rather to ſauour of tyranny, then of princely dignity, and to be enacted not without contempt of their ancient lawes: ſo that for this cauſe all men ſpake very ill of the King.

L

M

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Herod made a new law that wal-breakers ſhould be ſold into bondage out of the kingdome. The puniſhment of theft according to the law of Moſes. *Exod.* 1.22. *Deut.* 12.15

At the ſame time *Herod* ſayled into Italy to ſalute *Cæſar*, and to ſee his children liuing at Rome. Where, *Cæſar* receiuing him very curteouſly, permitted him to take his ſons home with him, as being now ſufficiently inſtructed in the liberall arts. Who returning into their country were ioyfully receiued of all their countrimen, both for that they were of comely ſtature, and

Herod ſailed into Italy, and brought home his ſons from Rome.

of

A of curteous conditions; and in their very behauiour did ſhew that they came of kingly linage. Which things mooued *Salome* & the reſt, by whoſe falſe accuſations their mother *Mariam* was oppreſſed; to enuy them; feating their puiſſance, and verily perſwading themſelues that they would be reuengers of their mothers iniuries. So taking hereby occaſion, they began alſo falſly to accuſe them, as miſliking their father, who had cauſed their mother to be ſlain; & as though they had an auerſion frō him, whoſe hands were imbrued in their mothers blood. For they wel perceiued that by ſuch calumniations they might draw them into hatred, & auert their fathers good will from them. Yet did they not carry theſe their inuentions to the Kings eares, but contented themſelues to bruite them abroad amongſt the cōmon people; which ſo in the end comming to his hearing, would cauſe in him ſuch enmity and hatred againſt his ſonnes, as that it
B would ouercome in him all naturall affection.

The yeare of the world 3955. before Chriſts Nativity, 9.

Salome and others falſely accuſed Herods ſonnes & made their father hate them

CHAP. II.

How Herod *gaue wiues vnto* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.

BVt the King as yet miſtruſting nothing, moued with a fatherly care ouer thē, had them in ſuch eſtimation as reaſon did require, & for that they were now come vnto mans eſtate he married them both: and vnto *Ariſtobulus* he gaue *Bernice* the daughter of *Salome*; and vnto *Alexander*, *Graphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. Which done, vnderſtanding that *Marcus Agrippa* was returned out of Italy into Aſia, hee went vnto him thi-
C ther, & inuited him into his kingdome, requeſting him to accept of his friends entertainment. Which *Agrippa* yeelding vnto, *Herod* omitted nothing that might delight him: for hee receiued him in his Cities newly built, ſhewing him the faire houſes and goodly edifices, entertaining him and the reſt of his friends and followers with all ſorts of delights, pompe and magnificence, as well at Sebaſte, as at the hauen of Cæſarea, and in the Caſtles he built, to wit, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hircania. He alſo brought him to Ieruſalem, where all the people met him apparelled in ſuch goodly and braue attire, as they were accuſtomed to adorne themſelues withall whenas they celebrated their feſtiuals, & with many ioyfull acclamations receiued & ſaluted him. *Agrippa* offered a hundreth head of fat oxen to God, and feaſted all the people;
D & although he would willingly haue made a longer abode there, yet winter drawing nigh, fearing tempeſtuous weather, he was forced to ſaile away with all ſpeed into Ionia, both he & his friends being honoured with very great preſents.

Herod maried his ſonne Ariſtobulus to Bernice Salomes daughter, & Alexander to Graphyra the daughter of the King of Cappadocia. Hegio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Herod caried Marcus Agrippa all about his kingdome.

Agrippa offerd a hundreth beaſts at Ieruſalem.

CHAP. III.

How Herod *ſayled vnto* Agrippa.

HErod hauing paſt the winter at home, and hearing that *Agrippa* was now with an army minded to go to Boſphorus, the ſpring time being now at hand, hee ſailed vnto him againe, & taking his courſe by Rhodes & Cous, he came towards Lesbus, thinking there to find *Agrippa*: but by a contrary wind he was driuen from thence, & forced a while to ſtay at
E Chius; where many priuately coming to ſalute him, he rewarded them with princely rewards: & perceiuing that the citie gate, deſtroied in the wars againſt *Mithridates*, was not yet repaired, but lay ſtill ruinated for want of money to repaire it, hee gaue them ſo much mony as largely ſufficed to reſtore it to the former beauty & bigneſſe; exhorting them with all expedition to reedifie & adorne the City as it was in times paſt. At laſt the winde changing, hee ſailed firſt to Mitylene, & then to Byzantium; and there vnderſtanding that *Agrippa* had already paſt the rocks of Cyanes, he followed him with all ſpeed, & ouertook him at Synope a City of Pontus: who contrary to *Agrippas* expectation arriued there with his nauy: *Herods* comming was very gratefull vnto *Agrippa*, & with eſpeciall affection they embraced one another. It was an euident ſigne of friendſhip, that the King omitting his own priuate buſines, would now com vnto
F him in ſo conuenient a time. Wherfore *Herod* ſtill abode with him in the army, alwaies preſent either to aſſiſt him with counſell, or to beare part of the labour with him. Hee was alſo preſent with him at ſuch times as he meant to be merry, being his only counſellor in difficult matters, for the beneuolence he bare vnto him; & alſo in all his mirth, as being one whom he honored. *Agrippa* hauing diſpatcht the buſines in Pontus for which he came, it pleaſed him not to return by ſea, but to go by Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, and ſo they came by land to Epheſus: and there taking ſhip they came to Samos. And in all that whole iourney,

Herod ſayled vnto Agrippa to Chius, and gaue a great ſumme of money to reedifie the porch.

Herod found Agrippa at Synope a citie of Pontus, and was by him honourably entertained.

Herod ſtill preſent with Agrippa in ſports & ſerious affaires.

Agrippa went by land to Epheſus.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Christs birth, 8.

almoſt in euery city he gratified *Herod*, at his intreaty relieuing many of their neceſſities. And *Herod* did in the way help many with mony that wanted, and ſpent much vpon his gueſts: and moreouer if any one had any ſuit vnto *Agrippa*, *Herod* was the onely man that might obtaine his ſuit for him. And although *Agrippa* alſo was both nobly minded and eaſily entreated to grant all ſuch things as were not preiudiciall to any man; yet was it a matter of no ſmall moment and importance in King *Herode*, to incite him to vſe beneficence, being euen of his owne accord forward enough to put the ſame in practice. For firſt of all he reconciled *Agrippa* being angry againſt the Ilienſians, and himſelfe paid the money that the people of Chius were indebted vnto *Cæſars* receiuers, obtaining for them an immunity: and hee alſo aſſiſted and pleaſured others in whatſoeuer they needed. G

Herod helped many in the way with money.

Herod was a mediator for many to Agrippa.

The citizēs of Ilia are reconciled to Agrippa, and they of Chius obtaine a priuiledge.

CHAP. IIII. H

How the Iewes of Ionia accuſed thoſe countrimen for offering to take from them their priuiledges, granted vnto them by the Romans.

The Iewes of Ionia complaine vnto Agrippa of the iniuries offred them by thoſe countrimen.

WHen they came into Ionia, a great multitude of Iewes inhabiting that countrey being gathered together, expected him to ſpeak vnto him; and finding opportunity, they complained vnto him of the wrongs that thoſe countrimen offered them, not permitting them to liue according vnto their lawes; and that vpon feſtiuall daies they pulled & haled them before their tribunall: and that they would not permit them to ſend ſacred money vnto Ieruſalem, & that they compelled them to do publike buſines, and to ſpend the holy mony in thoſe affaires, contrary to the priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romans. *Herod* laboured to haue the Iewes complaints heard by *Agrippa*, and willed one of his friends & followers called *Nicholaus*, to plead the Iewes cauſe: who made a ſpeech vnto *Agrippa*, ſitting with the reſt of the Romane nobility, and other Kings and Princes, in their behalfe after this manner: Moſt I

Nicholaus did make a ſpeech vnto Agrippa in the behalfe of the Iewes

» worthy *Agrippa*, true it is that all men that ſuffer iniury are conſtrained to fly for redreſſe to the
» higher powers, and we, ouer and aboue, hope to obtaine our ſuit. For we aske nothing but that
» which your beneficence hath already granted, and that which they endeauour to take from vs
» that are, as wee alſo are, your ſubiects. And although that your benefit beſtowed vpon vs was
» great, yet are we worthy ſtill to enioy it, onely for that you your ſelfe iudged vs worthy there- K
» of. And ſuppoſe it was a ſmall matter, it is a diſcredit for you not to grant ſo ſmal a trifle. Wher-
» fore it is euident, that the iniury done vnto vs, doth alſo redound vnto you, whoſe decrees thoſe
» that haue iniuried vs, feare not to contemne, & to diſannull your beneficence towards vs. For if
» any one ſhould aske any of them whether they had rather loſe their liues, then be depriued of
» their country lawes, rites, ſacrifices, & feſtiuities, wherewith they honor their gods; I know wel
» they would rather endure any calamity, then to be forced to forſake their coūtry cuſtoms. For
» many wars ariſe only for defence of religion: & the greateſt reward & content that we reap by
» this happy peace, which through your means we enioy, is this, that we are euery one permitted
» to liue according to the cuſtome of his country, & to continue in piety. Wherefore they ende-
» uour to take from others that, which by no meanes they would permit to be taken from them- L
» ſelues; as who would ſay, it was not as great an offence to hinder other mens piety & deuotion,
» as neglect their owne. Let vs cōſider whether there be any city or nation, that doth not account
» their felicity to be ſituate in your dominion, & the power of the Romanes? or is there any that
» deſireth your honor & power to decay & be of no force? Truly none that is wiſe: for there is
» none, whom either publikely or priuately it concerneth not: but theſe people endeuouring to
» take from vs your liberty, do alſo as it were depriue themſelues of all benefits which they haue
» receiued at your hands, which are infinit. For what a benefit is it, that whereas other nations li-
» uing vnder the dominiō of rigorous Kings cōſtituted ouer thē; theſe do only obey the Romans,
» & liue in happy peace & tranquillity? But as for our affaires, were no man troubleſom vnto vs,
» yet are they not ſuch as deſerue to be enuied. For enioying the common felicity, which others M
» your ſubiects do, we deſire nothing of high eſtimate or worth, but only requeſt that we may liue
» according to the religion of our coūtry, which of it ſelf is not to be enuied at, but may be pro-
» fitable for them that permit it. For God doth alwaies loue them, who honor him, & them who
» do not hinder his honor. What is there in our religion offenſiue to any man? nay, what is there
» that is not according to all piety & iuſtice: whereby all things continue & are preſerued? For
» neither doe we conceale what life we follow, nor the labours & exerciſe we vſe, but reſting the

ſeuenth

A seuenth day from all labors, we spend that day in learning our religion, & the lawes & customs thereof, esteeming this custome not to be of small force to correct and amend our manners. These our customs hauing in them nothing that any that searcheth them, can iustly reprehend, they are now also, though many are perswaded the contrary, consecrated & cõfirmed by their antiquity: So that we must needs make a conscience of it to forsake our lawes, that haue endured so many ages. These are the iniuries that these people by violence offer vs; they sacrilegiously take frõ vs the mony dedicated to God: they impose tributes vpon vs, who are free: they vpon festiual daies force vs to their tribunals, to law & other profane businesse, without any necessity, but only in contumely & disgrace of our religion, which they knowe well in the meane while that they persecute with vniust & vnlawfull hatred. For your Empire, equally prouiding B for the good of all your subiects, doth not onely nourish the mutuall concord of them all, but also resisteth hatred and malice. These are the iniuries, most worthy *Agrippa*, whereof we seeke redresse at thy hands, requesting thee that hereafter we may liue according to our religion as before times, & that our aduersaries may haue no more authority ouer vs then wé ouer them: which is not only iustice & equity, but already also granted by your clemency. And there are yet extant to be seen in the Capitoll many decrees & ordinances of the Senate concerning this matter, engrauen in brasse, which are read vnto this day: doubtlesse for our truth and fidelity so oftentimes tried: or at least, though we not deseruing it, yet holy and inuiolate. For you do not only not withdraw from vs & all other nations your former benefites granted vnto vs, but you do rather euery day beside all hope and expectation increase them: all which, time wil not C suffer me to recount. And that we may not seem vainely to boast of our duties & officiousnesse towards you, and also omitting other things that are past; our King now sitting with you can sufficiently testifie it so to be. For what kind of loue & good will hath he omitted to shew vnto your nation? where was he not proued trusty? what hath he not deuised to honor you? where stood you in need, when he was not the first man to help you? Why therefore should not we receiue some fauour for his deserts? I will not omit to put you in mind of the fortitude of his father *Antipater*, who came with two thousand souldiers to assist *Cæsar* in the Egyptian warres, wherein he so valiantly behaued himselfe, thar neither by sea nor land any one in those warres deserued more commendations then himselfe. I will not at this time recount how much good D he did *Cæsar* in those warres, and what & how great rewards he therefore receiued: but rather I should first of all put you in remembrance of the letters that the Emperour writ vnto the Senate concerning this matter, wherewith he obtained for *Antipater* the honours and priuiledges of the City. For this onely argument had been sufficient to haue declared that we did not obtaine such fauour without desert, and request thee now to confirme the same, of whom wee might iustly hope for new benefits, seeing such friendship & familiarity between thee and our King. For we haue vnderstood by our nation that dwell in Iudæa, how many offerings thou didst there sacrifice vnto our God, & with what vowes thou honoredst him: how thou feastedst the people, & wast delighted in that mutuall hospitality. All which are as it were an argument of the frienship confirmed between so great a Romane Prince, & the nation of the Iewes, euen in *Herods* house. By all these, we humbly request in the presence of the King nothing but this E onely, that thou wouldest not permit vs deceitfully to bee defrauded of that, which you your selues haue already granted vnto the nation of the Iewes.

The yeare of the world 3956. before christs Nativity 8.

Now no one of the Greeks offered to oppose himself against that which *Nicholaus* did speak: for this was no contention to a Iudge concerning their right, but onely a deprecation & supplication to auoid iniury. Neither did they deny it: onely thus they excused themselues, that the Iewes dwelling amongst them were troublesome vnto them. But the Iewes shewed thẽselues to be free citizens, & to liue according to their religion & lawes of their countrey without any mans molestation or iniury. Wherfore *Agrippa* vnderstanding that they were wronged, answered thus; that he would not ouly gratifie them for his friend *Herods* sake, but also for that they seemed to him to demand a reasonable matter. Wherefore though they had demanded a great F ter thing of him, he would haue granted them whatsoeuer he might, without preiudicing the people of Rome. And now seeing they onely demand of him that which already the Romanes had granted vnto them, he would ratifie & confirme vnto them the benefit which they had already receiued at the Romanes hands, & prouide that henceforth no man should molest them for liuing according to the institution & ordinances of their countrey. Hauing thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly. Then *Herod* arising, thanked him in all their names. And then after mutuall embracing one another, they departed, taking their leaues, from Lesbus.

Agrippa confirmeth the Iewes priuiledge.

Agrippa departed from Lesbus.

CHAP.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Christs birth, 8.

CHAP. V.

How Herod *returned into Iudæa.*

Herod returned to Ierusalem & made a speech vnto the people, & let them vnderstand the cause of his iniury, and remitted the fourth part of his tribute.

THe King hauing a prosperous winde, within a few daies after arriued at Cæsarea; and from thence he went to Ierusalem; and calling together all the people, as well the citizens as also the countrey people then present, there he told them the cause of his iourney, & how he had obtained immunities for the Iewes liuing in Asia, that they might conuerse there among the Gentiles, without any molestation. Then he recounted vnto them, what felitie they had receiued & enioyed by his raigne, seeing that his greatest care was so to prouide for his subiects, that they might want nothing. And to gratifie them the more, he told them, that H he would freely remit the fourth part of the taxes & tribute they were to pay for the yeer past. The people greatly comforted as well with the Kings speech vnto them, as with his liberality, departed ioyfully, wishing the King all happinesse.

CHAP. 6.

Of the discord in Herods *house, betweene him and his sonnes.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. al. 7.

Salome persecuteth Mariammes children with naturall hatred.

IN the meane time, the discord of his house was daily increased; for *Salome* greatly maligned the two yong men, as hauing an hereditary hatred rooted in her heart; and presumed by reason of her good successe in her exploit practised against their mother, to I labour all waies possible not to leaue any aliue, that might reuenge her death, who died, not deseruing it. And she wanted no occasion, for that it seemed the yong men were not very wel affected toward their father, partly for the memory of their mothers death, & partly also for that they desired the kingdome. So that they vpbraiding *Salome* and *Pheroras* did renew their olde hatred against them, who daily practised, by all meanes they could, to ouerthrow them: the yong men also hated them, but not with like hatred that they were hated of them. For they for their ingenuous manners & noble race dissembled not their anger, but with lauish tongues declared their mindes. But *Salome* & *Pheroras* contrariwise enuiously and craftily prepared themselues a way by calumniations, alwaies prouoking the magnanimous spirits of these yong men, whose fiercenesse might soon bring them into suspicion with their father, to the intent that he K might gather hereby, that they wanted not will to reuenge their mothers death, yea euen with their owne hands, for asmuch as they were not ashamed to be the children of such a mother, & would contend that she was vniustly put to death. And now all the whole city talked of them, euery one pitying the yong mens simplicity: *Salome* not ceasing to gather by their owne speeches probable arguments of suspicion, that they did not only take their mothers death impatiently, but also raging like young men, did both bewaile her death, & their owne case, who were cõpeld to liue with the murtherers of their infortunate mother, & as it were cõtaminate themselues with liuing amongst them. And the absence of the King greatly increased this their dissension; who being returned & hauing made a speech vnto the people, he presently was admonished both by *Pheroras* and *Salome* his sister, that he was in great danger, by reason of the two L yong men, who did openly boast that they would be reuẽged of them that killed their mother: feining moreouer, that they were incouraged, for that they hoped that *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia would help thẽ, to accuse their father vnto *Cæsar*. *Herod* hearing this, was greatly troubled; and so much the more, for that he heard the same also reported vnto him by others: And hereby he was put in memory of that which was past, how that for the dissension of his house he could not long enioy his friends and deerest wife. And as it were foreseeing by that that was past what would ensue, & fearing some greater calamity would befall him, he was altogether amazed. And truly as abroad he was most fortunate aboue al hope; so at home he was most vnhappy and infortunate beyond mens opinion: So that one may well doubt whether his fortunate successe abroad did counteruaile his misfortunes at home; or whether it had beene more M expedient for him to haue had neither the one nor the other, but to haue had onely a common and ordinary fauor at fortunes hands. Deliberating thus with himself, he thought it good to call vnto the court another sonne of his, whom he begat when he was a priuate man, and to grace him with honours, & to oppose him against the other two brethren, to the end, to bring downe and represse their fierce & hauty mindes: (this sonne of his was called *Antipater*) not minded (which after ouercome by affection hee did) to make him sole heire of all, but thinking

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4. al. 8.

Pheroras and Salome accuse Alexander & Aristobulus before Herod.

Alexander & Aristobulus being by Salome and Pheroras drawen into badde words are by them accused to their father Herod.

Herod was fortunate abroad, and vnfortunate at home.

Herod aduanceth Antipater to bridle the arrogancy of his sonnes.

A ing hereby to bridle *Mariammes* children, and to diminish their arrogancy by letting them see that it was not needfull to keep the inheritance of so flourishing a kingdome onely for them: wherefore he introduced *Antipater* one opposed against them, that therby the yong men laying their pride aside, might shew themselues more tractable to their father: and so now he thought he had by this meanes prouided for the safety of these yong men. But it fell out far otherwise, then he expected; for the yong men esteemed this fact as an iniury done vnto them: And *Antipater* was of that nature, that hauing gotten promotion contrary to his expectation, he did endeuour all waies possible to be in greater account with his father then the two yong men; who was now through false accusations alienated from them, and euery day (as he also desired) ready to beleeue any thing that might incense him against them.

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Antipater inciteth his father against his brothers.

B Wherefore this was all his labour: yet had he an especiall care not to be thought an accuser of his brethren, but he vsed others of his accomplices, whom the King nothing suspected; who for the trust the king put in them, might also haue better credit giuen vnto their words. For now this man had many followers and fauourers, as it were gaping after preferment by his meanes, who with a kinde of counterfeit good will made a shew of loue and good will towards *Herod*. And being many in number and trusty one to another, the young men were euery day entrapped more and more: for many times they shed teares for very griefe of the contumelies and iniuries that they suffered; and many times they mentioned their mother, and complained vnto those who they thought to be their friends, of their father, as one that dealt not wel with them: all which *Antipaters* partakers maliciously noting, and adding thereunto something of their own C inuention, they did presently tell it vnto *Herod*; and so did nourish the dissension of his house. For the King being moued hereat, and purposing to humble *Mariammes* children, did daily encrease and augment *Antipaters* honors, and at his entreaties at last brought his mother into the court; and many times writing secretly vnto *Cæsar* in fauour of *Antipater*, he especially cõmended him in particular vnto him: and being to sayle to salute *Agrippa*, who was now to depart out of Asia, hauing gouerned that prouince ten yeares, he only tooke with him *Antipater* of all his sonnes, whom also he committed vnto *Agrippa* with many gifts, to go with him to Rome, and to be brought into fauour with *Cæsar*; so that now all things seemed to bee done, as it were by this mans beck, and the young men to be already disinherited.

Herod brought Antipaters mother into his palace.

Herod deliuereth Antipater to Agrippa, to be caried to Rome.

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CHAP. VII.

How Antipater *liuing at Rome*, Herod *brought* Alexander *and his brothers thither, and accused them before* Cæsar.

THis iourney did greatly aduantage *Antipater*, and increase his honour, and preeminence aboue his brethren: for he became famous at Rome, being by his fathers letters commended vnto all his friends there: yet this was a great griefe vnto him, that hee could not daily calumniate his brethren; for he feared least his fathers mind should change, and so he should affect *Mariammes* children most. This was his daily cogitation: but though he were absent, yet he ceased not by letters to incite his father against them, as hauing care of his safety; E but in deed for that he thereby through his bad practices hoped to obtain the kingdom: so that hee so increased *Herods* wrath against them, that he now was become a deadly enemy vnto the young men. But indeuouring to resist this affection, and fearing rashly in his anger to commit any thing to preiudice them, he determined to saile againe to Rome, and there accuse his sons before *Cæsar*, least he being led away thorow indignation and displeasure conceiued against the young men, should seem to cast off all loue and fatherly affection towards them. And repairing to Rome, & not finding *Cæsar* there, he followed him vnto Aquileia: and comming to speech of him, and requesting him to take notice of his misfortunes, he presented his two sonnes, and accused them before *Cæsar* of insolency, and for hauing attempted to poyson him, complaining their hatred to be gone so farre, that now by any wicked and execrable way whatsoeuer they F sought their fathers kingdom; notwithstanding that *Cæsar* had giuen him full power & liberty to leaue the kingdome to him, whom he found most dutifull and obedient vnto him. And that they, though therby they might not gain the kingdom, yet they could be contented with their fathers death, and that they sought it with danger of their own liues, and that this horrible and detestable hatred was now rooted in their hearts. And that hee hauing long endured this calamity, was now forced to open it vnto *Cæsar*, and trouble his eares with these complaints. And spake after this manner: Haue I deserued this at their hands? what wrong haue I done them? or

Antipater was honoured at Rome.

Antipater whē he was present incited his father against his brethren by lyes, & being absent he did the same by letters.

Herod sailed to Rome, and followed Cæsar to Aquileia.

Herod accused his sons before Cæsar.

how

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how can they think it reason, that I who haue exposed my selfe to so many dangers, and vnder- G
gone so difficult labours for a long time to obtain the kingdom, should not peaceably enioy the same, and suffer me to be Lord of mine own dominion, & permit me the liberty to leaue it vnto him who shall deserue such honour in the best performance of a son-like duty? So that the beholders hereof seeing piety so rewarded, might hereby be the more incited thereunto, especially seeing that without violating the law of nature, it is not lawfull to think any such thought: for no man can affect his fathers kingdome, but he doth also desire his fathers death, seeing that it is not permitted men to succeed those in the kingdom who are yet aliue. He alleadged moreouer, that for his part he had had a care that they should want nothing conuenient for a kinde father to prouide for princely children, neither ornaments, nor followers, nor delights: that also he had prouided for them wiues of noble race, and had married one of them vnto his sisters H
daughter; and the other vnto *Archelaus* his daughter King of Cappadocia: and which was the greatest matter of all, he had not vsed the authority of a father against them after these their enterprises, but brought them vnto *Cæsar* their common benefactor; and that forsaking his owne right of a father, who had bin iniured, or of a King, against whom treason had been wrought, he was now content to debate his matter with them before such a Iudge, as well knew how to decide the thing in question according to right & equity: yet requested he him that that offence of theirs might not be left vnpunished, nor he forced to lead the rest of his life still in perpetuall fear: seeing that it was expedient that they should neuer see light againe after such haynous offences, and to escape vnpunished after the violating of all lawes of God & nature. *Herod* hauing with a vehement voyce obiected these accusations against his sons before *Cæsar*; the yong men I
were not able to abstain from teares whilest hee was yet speaking, and hauing ended his speech they wholly resolued into tears: not for that they were guilty of those impieties laid vnto their charge, but for that they were accused by their father, against whom it was not decent to speak freely for themselues; nor expedient to refuse to defend their owne cause. Wherein they remained doubtfull what to doe, mouing the auditors to pitie them by their teares & lamentations, and carefull withall least it should be thought that their guilty conscience did so trouble them, that they were not able to speake in their owne defence, seeing that indeed is was their want of skill and tender yeares, by reason whereof they were so amazed. Which also *Cæsar* wel perceiued, & all that were present were so moued to compassion, that neither their father who was their accuser could long refraine from being moued hereat to compassion. K

Alias, chap. 9. Alexander & Aristobulus moue all that were present, euen their father and accuser to teares & compassion.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Alexanders *defence, and how the two brethren were reconciled vnto their father* Herod.

WHen the young men perceiuing both their father and *Cæsar* to relent, and the rest that were present partly to pitie them, partly to shed tears of compassion: the one of them named *Alexander*, who was the elder, framing his speech vnto his father, began thus to purge himselfe of the crimes obiected against them. My father, how wel & friendly minded thou art towards vs, this present iudgement declareth: for hadst thou determined a- L
ny heauy sentence against vs, thou wouldst not haue brought vs before him, who is the preseruer of vs all: for thou mightest being a King, or for thy authority ouer vs as a father, haue punished vs for our offence according to thy power; but in that thou hast brought vs to Rome, and made *Cæsar* our iudge, it is an argument that thou seekest to saue vs: for no man brings any one to the temple whō he purposeth to destroy: which greatly aggrauateth our cause, who do censure our selues vnworthy to liue, rather then to incurre an opinion of impiety cōmitted against thee such a father. How farre more expedient is it to die guiltlesse, then to liue suspected of such offences. Wherefore, if truth be our patrone, we shall be happy either by thy own iudgement, or for that we haue escaped danger: but if calumniations do preuaile against vs, it is superfluous and to no purpose that we liue. For what good would it doe vs, if we liue in continuall suspici- M
on? It is a probable accusation to accuse our yeares, as hauing affected the kingdome; and our vnfortunate mothers calamity maketh it seeme more probable. But consider I beseech thee, if the same crime may not as well be framed against any one whomsoeuer, as against vs. For any King hauing children by a wife that is now dead, may if it please him suspect them, as practising treason against him their father. But suspicion is not sufficient to proue a man impious and guiltie: wherefore bring any one forth that can tell any argument of this crime by vs to haue been attemp-

Alexander speaketh in his owne and his brothers defence.

A attempted,which may adde credit to this calumniatiō;Can any man ſhew that poiſon was prepared by vs for you;or that we conſpired with any;or that we corrupted any ſeruants with mony and gifts; or that we writ any letters againſt thee? yet may calumniation faine euery one of theſe vpon no occaſion.It is a grieuous matter for diſcord to be in a princes court; and the hope of dominion, which your maieſty affirmed to be the reward of piety, doth often impell mens minds vnto hainous offences. But although it be moſt certaine that we cannot be conuicted of any crime; yet how can we cleare our ſelues from accuſations forged againſt vs before them that wil not heare vs? But did we ſpeak ſome inſolent words;yet were they not againſt thee,O my father(for that had been impiety)but againſt them who tell all they heare. We bewayled our mothers misfortunes. It is true: but not becauſe ſhe is dead,but becauſe after her death ſhe
B is euill ſpoken of by thoſe, who ought not to doe it. We affect the kingdome of our father,he being yet aliue. Wherein? Is not that purpoſe of ours vaine and friuolous, we hauing alreadie beene graced with kingly honours? And ſuppoſe we were not; yet might we hope for them. But could we expect them by killing of thee,whom both earth and ſeas would diſdaine after ſo execrable an offence? Or could we haue expected that the loyalty of thy ſubiects,and the laws of our nation would haue permitted vs,hauing gotten the kingdom by murthering our father, to haue enioied the ſame,and entred into the holy temple,which thou didſt repair? Or ſuppoſe we deſpiſed them all;yet could any one that murthered thee eſcape, *Cæſar* being liuing? Thy children by thee begotten are not ſo impious nor fooliſh,though more infortunate then thy eſtate requireth. And ſeeing thou haſt nothing to accuſe vs of, or nothing to proue any accuſa-
C tion laid vnto our charge, how canſt thou be perſwaded that wee are guilty of ſuch inhumane actes? Is it becauſe our mother was put to death? But her death ought rather to haue made vs more wary then inſolent and raſh. We could ſpeak more in our owne defence, then this; but what need is it to excuſe that which was neuer done? Wherfore we beſeech *Cæſar* (who is Lord of all,and now our Iudge) only this, that if thou canſt, O my father, put away out of thy mind all ſuſpicion of vs,to ſuffer vs to liue hereafter,how vnhappy and vnfortunate ſoeuer: for what is more miſerable than to be raſhly accuſed without cauſe? But if thou canſt not,we liuing,liue without feare of vs, let vs dye condemned by our owne cenſure. For our liues are not ſo deare vnto vs, that we deſire to keepe them to his moleſtation that beſtowed them vpon vs.

Cæſar with theſe words, though before not greatly crediting ſuch accuſations and ſlanders
D laid againſt them, was now more moued to beleeue that they were guiltleſſe; and the rather, for that fixing his eyes vpon *Herod*, he perceiued him alſo to be much moued, and all that were preſent were ſorrowfull for the young men: ſo that all courtiers preſent thought hardly of the king, for the abſurd & friuolous accuſation framed againſt them; and the flower of their age, wherin they were now indangered,moued all mens minds what they could to aſſiſt them: And much more were they incited,after that *Alexander* had ingenuouſly refuted his fathers accuſations,the accuſed remaining ſtill in the ſame habit and place,and for griefe fixing their eyes vpon the ground. At laſt ſome hope appeared,ſo that the king himſelfe ſeemed to need ſome excuſe,for hauing ſo raſhly accuſed his ſonnes,without any certaine proofe of his accuſations. At laſt,*Cæſar* hauing a while deliberated with himſelf, pronounced that the young men were inno-
E cent,and guiltleſſe of the crimes laid vnto their charge: yet herein they were culpable,in that they had ſo behaued themſelues, that they gaue their father occaſion herein to ſuſpect them. And as for *Herod* he requeſted him to lay aſide all ſuſpicion, and to be reconciled vnto his children. For it was vniuſtly done of him to beleeue ſuch forged accuſations againſt thoſe whom he had begotten, and that one might recompence another in time to come for their former offences, and renew the good will betweene them in times paſt, if to aboliſh all ſuſpicions either did hereafter ſhew himſelfe more friendly to other then before. *Cæſar* hauing thus admoniſhed the yonng men, they prepared themſelues to intreat their fathers wonted fauour: he not expecting ſo long, came and embraced each of them one after another, they weeping exceedingly; and all thoſe that were preſent, both ſeruants and others did the like.

F Then giuing humble thanks vnto *Cæſar*, they departed together;and *Antipater* with them, counterfaiting himſelf to congratulate their good hap,for that they were now reconciled vnto his father. Within a few daies after, *Herod* gaue *Cæſar* three hundred talents, who was now beſtowing his gifts & preſents at Rome,and exerciſing his liberality vpon the people. And *Cæſar* againe beſtowed vpon him halfe of the reuenues out of the mines of the metall in Cyprus; and the other halfe vnto the ouerſeer thereof, and gracing him otherwiſe alſo, he gaue him leaue to chuſe which of his ſonnes he pleaſed for to ſucceed him in his kingdome; or if he had rather,

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All men doe pity the young men.

Cæſar pronounceth the young men herein to haue offended, that they gaue occaſion of ſuſpicion, and he exhorteth the father to be reconciled to his children.

Herod is reconciled to his children.

Antipater friendly doth congratulate his brethren returned into his fathers fauour.

Herod did giue Cæſar 300 talents.

to

The yeare of the world,3956,before Christs birth 8.

to distribute it amongst them all: which *Herod* presently would haue done, but *Cæsar* would not G permit him, affirming, that during his life he should keepe it all whole and vndiuided, and his sonnes should be subiect vnto him.

Cæsar gaue Herod halfe his reuenues out of the mines of Cyprus.

After this, *Herod* returned againe into Iudæa, in whose absence the Trachonites that were no small part of his kingdome, were reuolted: yet by the industry of the captaines he left to ouersee all in his absence, they were conquered againe, and forced to do as they were commanded. As *Herod* and his sonnes were sailing towards home, arriuing at Eleusa a City of Cilicia, which is now called Sebaste, he found *Archelaus* there, who was king of Cappadocia. *Archelaus* did curteously entertain *Herod*, and was very ioifull that his sonnes and he were made friends, and that *Alexander* his son in law had so well cleered himselfe and his brother of the crimes laid vnto their charge. And so each one bestowing vpon the other princely gifts, they H departed, taking their leaue one of the other. After this, *Herod* being newly returned into Iudæa, and calling the people together into the temple, told them all that had past in his absence from them, and the courtesie of *Cæsar*: and told them also of other affaires that he thought meet for them to know; and turning the latter end of his speech vnto his sonnes, and exhorting the courtiers and common people to concord, he told them that his sonnes should raigne after him, and first of all *Antipater*: and after him his sonnes that he had by *Mariamne*, *Alexander* & *Aristobulus*; in the meane time euery one of them should honour him as King and Lord, notwithstanding his old age, which for long experience was the fitter to gouerne, seeing there was nothing in him wanting to keep both his subiects & children in their obedience; & that the soldiers also if they only respected him, should liue in all happinesse and felicitie without molestati- I on. Hauing thus spoken, he dismissed the people; some thinking he had spoken according to equity; others thinking cleane contrary: For hauing now as it were caused an emulation amongst his children, there was as it were already a shew of some mutation.

The yeare of the world,3957. before the birth of Christ,7.

Cæsarea is finished.

Quinquēnale certamen.

CHAP. IX.

How Herod *hauing finished Cæsarea, for ioy thereof did celebrate euery fift yeere certaine sports.*

ABout this time Cæsarea was finished, the tenth yeere after it was begun to be built, the 28. yeere of *Herods* raigne, in the 192. Olympiade. In the dedication heereof there K was great pompe and sumptuous preparations: for all musicians were brought hither to striue one with another, who was most excellent in their art; and champions that wrastled being naked and anointed with oyle: there was also a great many that fought with swords, and a great number of sauage beasts; and all things else that at such times were vsed, and in account, either at Rome or in other countries. These sports were also consecrated vnto *Cæsar*, and were to be renewed euery fift yeere. All this prouision the king at his owne cost and charges prouided to be brought from any place whatsoeuer, to shew the greatnesse of his magnificence. *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife also bestowed much of her owne to the furnishing hereof, and sent many precious things out of Italy; so that the worth of them all amounted vnto fiue hundred talents. And a great company being gathered together to behold these sports, he receiued all L Embassadours sent vnto him from other nations, to thanke him for the benefits he had bestowed on them; and he lodged, feasted and sported them: and being all day long amongst the people to see those sports, at night hee receiued them with banquets, and shewing them his magnificence; and gained great praise and commendations for a worthy king. For, he in all things so prouided, that the last was more pleasing and gratefull then the first, and caused him to be more admired. And it is reported, that *Cæsar* himselfe and *Agrippa* often did say, that *Herods* magnanimity was greater then his present reuenewes could beare, and that he well deserued an empire, as big as all Syria and Egypt. These sports being ended, he builded another towne in a field, called Capharsaba, chusing for it a watery soyle fit for plants: the citie was M compassed with a riuer; and hee also planted round about it a wood full of most goodly trees. This towne he called Antipatris, after his fathers name *Antipater*. After which he also builded a castle about Iericho, called after his mothers name, *Cypron*, which was very strongly defenced, and adorned within with rare and sumptuous edifices. And not forgetting his brother, he dedicated vnto him most goodly buildings: for first he built a tower as bigge as *Pharo* in the city, in remembrance of his dead brother, and called it by his name *Phasaelus*, which also was the strongest hold and defence in all the city. After this, he builded a towne neere vnto the vally of Iericho, as one goes toward the north, wherby the fields that before almost lay desert were now tilled

Cæsar & Agrippa commend Herods magnanimity.

Antipatris is built.

Cypron is built.

The tower & towne of Phasaelus is built.

A tilled & inhabited by the townſmen; ſo that of them it was named Phaſaelus field. It were hard to recount all his liberality in particular ſhewed both vnto the cities of Syria & Grecia, and all other places whereſoeuer he came: for he helped many either by building publike places; or if there were any new works begun, and not finiſhed for want of mony, by giuing them money to finiſh them: the chiefeſt amongſt all which were, that he builded at his his own coſt & charge the temple of *Apollo* at Rhodes; and gaue them many talents of ſiluer to build their ſhips. He alſo builded the greateſt part of the publike houſes & places in the City by Actium, which *Cæſar* built for the Nicopolitanes there inhabiting, and that with his owne proper coſts and charges. Hee alſo for the Antiochians inhabiting the greateſt Citie of Syria, builded porches on each ſide of the greater ſtreet, that goeth quite through the midſt of the Citie, and doth as it B were part it into two: and the ſtreet it ſelfe that lay open, he paued with poliſhed ſtone: which work was as great a commodity to the inhabitants, as a beauty vnto their City. He alſo helped to maintaine the ſports at Olympus with yearly reuenewes, that now for want of maintenance began to decay: ſo that by his meanes there were more ſolemne ſacrifices, and all things more ſumptuous to pleaſe them that came to behold them: for which his liberality he vvas declared perpetuall maſter & maintainer of thoſe ſports. It is admirable to ſee in one man ſuch diuerſity of mindes: for on the one ſide if we reſpect his liberality and beneficence towards all men, we muſt needs ſay, he was of a moſt free and bountifull nature; contrariwiſe, if we conſider the iniuries & crueltie he ſhewed againſt his ſubiects & deareſt friends, we muſt confeſſe him to haue been a hard man, and intractable, and who paſſed all bounds of modeſty; ſo that we would think C him to haue been of two contrary diſpoſitions. But I am otherwiſe perſwaded, and thinke that both theſe did proceed from one matter: for becauſe he thirſted after glory and honour, and wholly applyed himſelfe thereunto, he became liberall whereſoeuer he was, in hope either to reape preſent thankes for his labour, or a future remembrance. Wherefore ſpending aboue his reuenewes for this matter, he was forced to be chargeable vnto his ſubiects: for it was neceſſary that he that ſo laviſhly beſtowed ſuch huge ſummes of money vpon others, ſhould ſome where get it, though with euill means. Laſtly, ſeeing himſelfe for ſuch like iniuries hated of his ſubiects, he thought it a hard matter to get their good wils; which he could do no waies elſe, but by remitting the tribute they paid him. Wherefore he abuſed the hatred of his people for his D owne commodity: for if any one of them did not tolerate that ſlauery wherein they liued, or did endeuour to ſhake off the yoke of his dominion, againſt ſuch he vſed a meruailous cruelty; and outraged them no leſſe, then as if they had been his enemies, neither reſpecting friendſhip nor kinred; for that he deſired alone to be honoured of all men. And how greedy of honour he was, we may gheſſe by the honors he did vnto *Cæſar*, *Agrippa*, and others of their friends: for he deſired to be an example to his ſubiects, that as he himſelfe honoured men better then himſelfe; ſo they ſhould all honor him likewiſe: therby declaring what thing he did naturally moſt deſire. But the Iewes religion doth not permit them licence to honour Potentates, who of neceſſity ought to haue greater care and reſpect of right and equity, then of ſuch officiouſneſſe towards ſuperiors: for it was diſprofit enough vnto the Iewes that they could not with ſtatuaes and temples obtaine the Kings fauour, and with ſuch like flatteries ſatisfie the fond appetites of E a vaineglorious man. And this ſeemeth to me to be the reaſon that *Herod* was vniuſt, and hard towards his friends, and to thoſe whom he made partakers of his counſels and enterpriſes; and franke and bountifull towards ſtrangers.

The yeare of the world 3957. before Chriſts Nativity, 7.

Herod built the temple of Pythius.

The ſports of Olympus.

Why Herod was liberall to ſtrangers, and cruell to his owne nation.

Herod greedy of honour.

CHAP. X.

Of the Embaſſage of the Cyrenian and Aſian Iewes vnto Cæſar.

F THe Aſian & Cyrenian Iewes were greatly afflicted by the citizens of thoſe countries, who hauing had the ſame priuiledges granted vnto them by the ancient kings that the citizens had, were now grealy iniured by the Greeks: as though they carried money out of the country, and were preiudiciall vnto the reſt of the inhabitants. And the Greeks making no end of theſe their iniuries, they were conſtrained by Embaſſadors to complaine of them vnto *Cæſar*: who wrote vnto euery Prouince, that it was his pleaſure that the Iewes ſhould enioy like priuiledges with the other inhabitants of the countrey. The copy of which writing we haue here ſet downe, that it may the better appeare, how the Roman Emperours of ancient times were affected vnto our nation.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. The Iewes of Aſia and Cyrene being afflicted by the inhabitants there, ſend an embaſſage to Cæſar, and do obtain of him immunity.

The yeare of the world, 3957. before Christs birth, 7.

Cæſar Auguſtus Pont. Max. Trib. poteſtatis, thus decreeth. For as much as the nation of the Iewes G hath alwaies been truſty vnto the Rowans, not only at this day, but alſo in all former ages, and eſpecially in the time of our father *Cæſar* the Emperor, vnder *Hircanus* their high Prieſt: I haue ordained, that according to the common ſentence of the Senate, they ſhall liue after their countrey lawes, vnder which they liued in the time of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt of God: and that their temple ſhall retaine the right of a ſanctuary, and that it ſhall be lawfull for them to ſend votiue money vnto Ieruſalem by certaine perſons: and that they ſhall not be compelled to appeare before any Iudge vpon their Sabbath daies, or the day before their Sabbaths, after nine of the clocke vpon the preparation day. And if any one be knowne to ſteale the holy bookes, or holy mony laid vp in their places appointed for religion, he ſhal be guilty of ſacrilege: and his goods ſhall be confiſcate vnto the treaſury of the people of Rome. I alſo decree for the good will I H beare vnto all men, that their memorial or requeſt offered vnto me by *C. Marcus Cenſorinus*, ſhal together with this my edict be publiſhed in, that famous place, which all Aſia hath dedicated vnto my name, to wit, *Argyra*. And if any ſhall be ſo hardy as to doe contrary to our decree; he ſhall be puniſhed extraordinarily. This was engrauen in a pillar in *Cæſars* temple. *Cæſar* wiſheth health vnto *Norbanus Flaccus*: Let it be lawfull for all Iewes whereſoeuer liuing, to carry their ſacred money vnto Ieruſalem, according to their ancient cuſtome, and that no man ſhould forbid them ſo to do: and this did *Cæſar* write in fauour of the Iewes.

Agrippa writ vnto the rulers of Epheſus in the Iewes behalfe, and to Syllanus and the magiſtrats of Cyrenia.

Agrippa alſo wrote in the Iewes behalfe, as followeth: *Agrippa* wiſheth health vnto the magiſtrates, Senate, and people of Epheſus. I will that the Iewes liuing in Aſia keepe their ſacred money, which according to the cuſtome of their countrey, they are wont to ſend vnto Ieruſa- I lem: and if any one ſhall ſteale their holy money, that the ſame perſon if he flie to a ſanctuary, ſhall be violently taken away from thence, as a ſacrilegious perſon, and deliuered vnto the Iewes to be puniſhed. He alſo wrote vnto *Syllanus* the magiſtrate, that the Iewes might not be conſtrained vpon their Sabbaths to appeare before a Iudge. *M. Agrippa* wiſheth health to the Cyrenian magiſtrates and Senate. The Iewes inhabiting amongſt you, for whom *Auguſtus* hath already written vnto *Flauius* the preſident of Libya, and vnto other magiſtrates of that Prouince, are not to be hindred from ſending their holy money to Ieruſalem, as their cuſtome is: and they haue now complained vnto me, that they are moleſted by the falſe accuſations of ſome bad people, and forbiden to doe it vnder pretence of a certaine tribute, which notwithſtanding they are not to pay. Wherefore I command that they may be permitted to liue after K their cuſtome, and free from all ſuch matters: and if in any of your Cities any ſacred mony of theirs be intercepted, that by certaine perſons which you knowe to be fit for that purpoſe yee make choyce of them, to ſend it againe vnto the Iewes. Item C. *Norbanus Flaccus* proconſull, Health vnto the magiſtrates of Sardinia: *Cæſar* hath written vnto me, commanding that no man hinder the Iewes, according to their cuſtome, to ſend ſacred money vnto Ieruſalem: wherefore I alſo write vnto you of the ſame, that you may not be ignorant both of my will and *Cæſars* alſo. Moreouer, *Iulius Antonius* proconſull did alſo write to this effect; Health vnto the magiſtrates, Senate and people of Epheſus. The Iewes of Aſia in the Ides of February, I ſitting in the iudiciall ſeat at Epheſus, ſignified vnto me that *Cæſar Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* haue permitted them to vſe their countrey cuſtoms; and euery one, according as he thinketh good, to con- L tribute his firſt fruites for religion ſake, to be carryed without let or hinderance vnto the temple of the moſt mighty God: and they deſired me to ratifie by my conſent, that which they had already granted them by the aboue named Emperours. Wherefore I would haue you to know, that I alſo, according vnto *Cæſars* and *Agrippas* decrees and ordinances, do permit and grant them alſo to do all things they pleaſe, according vnto their countrey cuſtomes, forbidding any man to hinder them therein.

Caius Norbanus Flaccus writeth in the Iewes behalfe. Iulius Antonius proconſul.

I haue thought good to annex theſe decrees, for that I knowe that theſe my writings will come vnto the Grecians hands, that I may ſhew them that in former ages we were ſo eſteemed of the publike magiſtrates that none were permitted to hinder vs from vſing our coũtry rites & ceremonies; and that by their conſent we worſhipped God in our own religion: which I do in- M culcate the oftner, that I may moue ſtrange & foraine nations, and take away their hatred conceiued againſt vs, which is without al reaſonable cauſe. For no nation doth alwaies vſe the ſame cuſtoms, but almoſt whole townes amongſt them do ſomtimes alter & differ from the reſt; yet is iuſtice equally to be diſtributed vnto all men: which is moſt profitable, as well to the Greeks as to other barbarous nations, which is greatly obſerued in our lawes; which if we follow & violate not, are able to make all nations loue vs. Wherfore we requeſt al men not to deſpiſe vs for

that

A that we differ from them in religion, but fauour vs in that we follow vertue. For this is cõmon to all nations: and without this, mans life cannot ſtand. But I will now returne vnto my hiſtory.

The yeare of the world 3957. before Chriſts Nativity, 7.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, *hauing need of money, opened* Dauids *Sepulchre.*

HErõd ſpending lauiſhly much and many ſummes of money, both at home and abroad, hearing that *Hircanus* who raigned before him, opened *Dauids* Sepulchre, and took out of it three thouſand talents of ſiluer, and that there was left yet farre more, able to de-
B fray any great charges whatſoeuer, he long time purpoſed to doe the like. And at this time in the night ſeaſon accompanied only with his moſt truſty friends, being very wary that none of the people ſhould know of it, he entred into the Sepulchre: but he found no mony there, as *Hircanus* did; but he tooke from thence a great company of precious attires & ornaments of gold; wherby he was entiſed to make a more diligent ſearch: and he ſent two of his company for the nonce into the inner part of the Sepulcher, where the bodies of *Salomon* & *Dauid* were intombed; who were there loſt, and as it is reported, fire came out of thoſe ſecret places & conſumed them. Whereat *Herod* being terrified, departed out of it; and mooued with religion to make ſatisfaction, he builded a moſt ſumptuous monument of white marble, at the entrance into the Sepulchre: of which building *Nicholaus* alſo a writer of that time, maketh mention; but he ſpea-
C keth not how they went into the Sepulchre of *Dauid*, thinking that therein he ſhould not keep *decorum*, if he ſhould make mention thereof. Wherein he followed his accuſtomed order: for his writings were to come to the eares of the King yet liuing, wherein he did only curry fauor, mentioning only that, that might redound vnto the Kings credit: ſo that many of his open and wicked pranks, he doth either colour vnder ſom other pretence, or elſe all waies poſſible he endeuoureth to hide them. For he doth as it were tell a tale of *Herods* cruelty againſt *Mariamme*, & his ſonnes; as though he did thereby deſerue credit & praiſe, accuſing her of adultery, & them as traytors vnto their father: and this he doth cleane through his works, too much extolling the Kings good deeds, and too diligently excuſing his bad deeds and iniquities. But as I haue
D ſaid, we muſt pardon him, who did not ſo much write to leaue a memory of things done vnto after ages, as to gratifie and pleaſe his King. But I, who come of the linage of the Aſamonian Kings, and execute the office of a Prieſt, account it a ſhame to lie: and doe intend truely to recount the hiſtory of all things that were acted and done, yet with a reuerence of the poſterity of that King, who doe alſo now beare ſway and rule; yet with their pardon and leaue, hauing a greater care to the verity of our hiſtory, then to them.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. al. 7. 12.

The deſire of gold.

Herod loſt two of his men in Dauids Sepulchre.

Nicholaus the hiſtoriographer reproued.

Ioſeph came of the prieſtly line of the Aſamonians.

A diſcord in Herods houſe.

After the Sepulchre was thus violated, *Herods* houſe began to decay, whether reuenge lighting vpon that part which was already ſcarce ſound, or whether by meer chance ſuch calamity at that time befell him, as might iuſtly be thought the reward of impiety. For there was a diſcord in the court not vnlike vnto ciuill warres, euery one ſtriuing againſt other with hatred and forged accuſations: but eſpecially *Antipaters* politick practice againſt his brethren was to be no-
E ted, who intangling them by other mens forged accuſations, himſelf oftentimes ſeemed to take vpon him their defence, that making a ſhew of good will vnto them he might ſecretly oppreſs them the ſooner; and he did ſo craftily circumuent his father, that his father deemed him to be his onely conſeruer. Wherefore the King commended *Ptolomeus* his procurator vnto *Antipater* his ſonne, and did communicate all his ſecrets vnto his mother, ſo that all things were done according as they pleaſed, and they made him diſpleaſed with thoſe againſt whom they knew the Kings diſpleaſure might redound vnto their profit.

Antipaters crafty plotting againſt his brethren.

But *Mariammes* children did euery day ſtomack the matter more and more, diſdaining to giue place vnto their inferiour: and for their nobility not enduring to be remooued from their places, and not to keep their dignity alſo: their wiues did the like, and *Alexanders* wife *Glaphyra*,
F who was the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, did greatly enuy and diſdaine *Salome*; and ſhe alſo her againe, both for the loue that ſhe bare vnto her husband, and for that ſhee diſdained (as women are wont) that her daughter maried vnto *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be in equall honour with her. *Pheroras* alſo the Kings brother had a hand in this other contention about a priuate cauſe of ſuſpicion and hatred. For he fell ſo farre in loue with one of his maids, that he refuſed the Kings daughter offered vnto him, rather making choyce of his maide. *Herod* tooke this in very ill part, ſeeing his brother (who had receiued ſo many benefites at his hands, and

The women at diſcord and variance.

Pheroras refuſed the Kings daughter offered him to wife.

The yeare of the world, 2957. before Christs birth, 7.

was almost his fellow in his kingdom by his meanes) not to shew the like brotherly affection to him againe as he then ought, and himselfe to be an vnhappy brother. And seeing he could not dissuade him from that madnesse, hee maried his daughter vnto *Phasaelus* his sonne: and afterward thinking that now his brothers mind towards his maide was satisfied, he complaining of his iniurious dealing in repulsing his daughter, offered vnto him to wife, he now offered him another of his daughters named *Cypros*. Then *Ptolomeus* aduised *Pheroras* not still to contemne his brothers offer, and persist in such follly; telling him it was meere folly therefore to incurre the Kings displeasure and hatred, and losse of tranquillity. *Pheroras* vnderstanding this counsell profitable for him, hauing bin once before iniuriously accused, & obtained pardon at the Kings hands, sent away his maid, by whom he now had a son, and promised the King to mary this his other daughter, and appointed the thirtith day after to celebrate his mariage; making a solemn oth vnto the King, neuer after that time to vse the company of that woman whom he had put away. The time appointed being expired, he fell so farre in loue with the former woman, that he would not stand to his promise, but againe companied with his maid.

Then *Herod*, not able any longer to contain himself, vsed many speeches, whereby he euidently shewed his mind to be alienated from his brother. And there were many who taking hereat opportunity, did by forged calumniations encrease his alienation: so that now there was no day nor hower past, wherein he did not still heare some new alterations & stirs amongst his dearest friends; whom nature willed to combine themselues to maintain concord & amity. For *Salome* being now offended at *Mariammes* children, did not permit her daughter maried vnto *Aristobulus*, one of the yong men, to enioy mutuall loue & comfort of her husband, enticing her to bewray her husbands secret talke: and if she heard any small occasions of offence (as often it falleth out) she should the more aggrauate them with suspicions, wherby she also learned all their secrets, and made the yong woman hate her husband. And she to please her mother recounted how that often when her husband & *Alexander* were alone, that then they were wont to talk of *Mariamme* their mother, and vse reprochfull words against their father; and threatning, that if they euer did obtaine the kingdom, they would make the sonnes of the King, whom he had by other wiues, notaries and towne clerkes: and so they might reap profit of their learning which they now studied for: & whensoeuer they saw any of the Kings wiues weare any of *Mariammes* apparell, that then they vowed in steed of that attire, to cloath them with sackcloth, and shut them vp where they should neuer see Sun. *Salome* presently told all this to the King: who though he were much grieued hereat, yet he chose rather to seek to amend it, then to punish them: for he was greatly incited against them by suspicion, and euery day waxing worse and worse, at last he beleeued all the reports of any whomsoeuer. But he then contented only sharpely to chide his sonnes, and pacified with their excuses and answeres, he for that time was quiet.

Salome intised her daughter to bewray her husbands secrets.

But presently the mischief was againe set on foot: for *Pheroras* the Kings brother, meeting *Alexander*, who (as we haue said) was *Glaphyra* her husband, who was daughter to *Archelaus*: he told him that he heard by *Salome*, that *Herod* was far in loue with *Glaphyra*: so that he could not shake off this affection. The yong man hearing this, became iealous, and was in a great rage: and now what honor soeuer or gifts *Herod* for the loue of his son gaue her, *Alexander* did interpret it in the worst sense, being now made iealous by that which he had heard of *Pheroras*; and not able to put vp such iniuries, as he thought; he went vnto his father & with teares recounted vnto him what *Pheroras* had told him. But *Herod* was hereat the more enflamed, not enduring himselfe falsly to be accused of so shameful a fact, inueighing against the great malice of his friends, who for his great good turnes he did them, so rewarded him. And presently sending for *Pheroras*, very sharply he began to chide him, saying: O most impious that liueth amongst men! art thou become so vngratefull, either to speake or think such a matter of vs? Thinkest thou that I doe not perceiue thy drift, that thou spakest not these words vnto my sonne to discredit me, but also to the intent by this means thou mightest work some treason against me, and cause me to be poisoned? For who but a good sonne, as this is, would suffer his father, suspected for such a matter, to liue, and not to be reuenged of him for such offence? Whether dost thou think that thou didst put these speeches into his minde, or by them a sword into his hand to kill his father withall? or what was thy intent, seeing thou hatest both him & his brother; and only counterfeiting good will towards me, to belie me, & to report that of me, that without impiety could not be thought? get thee hence, thou wretched imp, seeing thou hast thus abused thy brother, who hath well deserued at thy hands; and do as thou wilt all thy lifetime, my selfwill endeuour to be better vnto my children, then I haue been; and neither will I punish them as they deserue, but

Herod greatly moued against Pheroras for affirming that he was in loue with Glaphyra

A but I will honor them aboue their merits. The King hauing diſcharged his choler againſt his brother *Pheroras*; and be being taken in a manifeſt fault, anſwered, that that report was firſt deuiſed by *Salome*, of whom he heard it: which ſhe (being then preſent) hearing, began to exclaim, ſaying, it was not her deuice, & that they all laboured to make the king hate her, & put her to death, being one who did eſpecially wiſh him well; and what in her lay, ſeeking his ſafety, & that now he was in danger of more treaſon then euer before: for (ſaid ſhe) I was the only cauſe that you did put away the woman, whom you ſo doated after, perſwading you to marry the Kings daughter: and this is the cauſe that you hate me. With theſe ſpeeches tearing her haire, & ſtriking her breſt, ſhe made a ſhew of innocency: but this her geſture was a colour to hide her bad entent. So *Pheroras* was left in great perplexity, not knowing what to ſay or do; and finding
B no pretence to excuſe his fact: for on the one ſide he confeſſed, that he told it vnto *Alexander*; & on the other, he could not make *Herod* beleeue, that he heard it of *Salome*. This contention endured a good while: at laſt the King being wearied ſent away his brother, and his ſiſter: and greatly commending his ſons moderate mind, and that he had giuen him intelligence of thoſe ſpeeches, very late in the night, he went to ſupper.

The yeare of the world, 3957. before Chriſts Nativity, 7.

Salome excuſeth her ſelfe.

After this contention, *Salome* was hardly thought of, becauſe ſhe was iudged to be the author of this ill report, & the kings wiues wiſhed euil vnto her, becauſe they knew her to be of ſtrange qualities & hard to pleaſe, and ſo variable, that according to the time, one while ſhe would profeſſe friendſhip, and preſently after hatred. Wherfore they ſtill had ſomthing to enforme *Herod* of againſt her, taking occaſion hapning by chance, which was this. There was a King of the A-
C rabians, named *Obodas*, a ſlothfull man, and one giuen to idleneſſe: and there was one *Syllæus* that did gouern all his affaires; this man was a crafty fellow, & in the prime of his youth, and very beautifull. This *Syllæus* comming vnto *Herod* about ſome buſineſſe, & viewing *Salome*, who then ſate at ſupper with him, began to ſet his mind vpon her: and finding ſhe was a widow, he entred into talke with her: and ſhe finding her brother now not ſo friendly vnto her as before he had been, & alſo entangled with the beauty of this young man, did not greatly deny to marry him; and many feaſts being made at that time, they ſhewed euident ſignes of their mutuall conſent, and loue one vnto another. The Kings wiues told the King of this in ſcoffing ſort: *Herod* herewith not contented, demanded of *Pheroras* how the matter ſtood, & willed him at ſupper time
D to note if he could eſpy any tokens of familiarity betwixt them: And *Pheroras* told him that by ſignes and mutuall viewing one another, they ſufficiently ſhewed their intents. After this the Arabian being ſuſpected, departed into his own country. But two or three moneths after he came againe into Iudæa, only for this purpoſe, & talked with *Herod* touching this matter, requeſting him to let *Salome* be his wife: affirming that that affinity would be profitable vnto him for the trafick between his people & the Arabians, whoſe Prince he was to be, and did already enioy a great part of the dominion. *Herod* tolde all this vnto his ſiſter, and asked her if ſhee would marry him: and ſhe anſwered, ſhe would. Then they requeſted that *Syllæus* ſhould become a Iew in religion, or elſe it was not lawful for him to marry her. He would not condeſcend hereunto, affirming that he ſhould be ſtoned to death by his people, if he did it; and ſo he departed without obtaining his purpoſe. From that time forth, *Pheroras*, and eſpecially the Kings wiues
E accuſed *Salome* of intemperancy, affirming that ſhe had had the company of the Arabian. Now *Herod* determined to marry his daughter vnto *Salomes* ſon, whom *Pheroras* refuſed for the loue of his maid, which ſon of *Salomes* was her eldeſt that ſhe had by *Coſtabarus*; and that to ſhew his good will toward *Salome* his ſiſter. But he was diſſwaded by *Pheroras*, who told him that the yong man would neuer loue ſuch a father in law, becauſe of his fathers death, perſwading him rather to marry her to his eldeſt ſon, who was to ſucceed him in his Tetrarchy: which he eaſily perſwaded the King vnto, & ſo obtained pardon for his former offence. Wherfore the ſpouſals being changed, the maid was maryed vnto the young man, who had an hundred talents in dowry with her, more then otherwiſe ſhould haue been giuen with her.

Syllæus the Arabian deſiring Salome to wife was denied.

Herod marryed his daughter to Pheroras ſonne.

But all this while the diſſenſion of *Herods* houſe did not ceaſe, but rather increaſed, he hauing
F a ſhamefull beginning, and comming to a ſorrowfull end. *Herod* had three Eunuches, whom he greatly eſteemed for their beauty: one of them was his butler, the other his cook, and the third his chamberlaine, whom alſo he was wont to employ in ſerious affaires of his kingdome. Some one or other enformed the King, that theſe three Eunuches were corrupted by his ſon *Alexander* with great ſummes of money, and being vpon tortures examined if they had accompanied with him, they cõfeſſed all: yet they affirmed that they knew no practice of his attẽpted againſt his father. But their torments being encreaſed by *Antipaters* fauourites, they were forced to

The ſons hatred towards their father is bewraied.

The yeare of the world, 3957. before Christs birth, 7.

confeſſe that *Alexander* ſecretly hated his father, and hee exhorted them to forſake *Herod*, who G
was now good for nothing; who diſſembled his age by painting his face to make himſelfe ſeem
younger then he was, and coulouring his head & beard black, which were already growen very
white through age: but rather ſet their mindes vpon him who would in deſpite of his father
enioy his kingdom due vnto him, and that then he would aduance them to the higheſt honours
of the kingdome: for he had not only title vnto it by his birth, but alſo was now prepared like-
wiſe to inuade it; and that he had many of the captaines, of the ſouldiers, and many of the Kings
friends on his ſide, who were prepared to do or endure any thing for his ſake.

Herod hearing this, feare and anger did inuade him, by reaſon that his ſonnes words ſeemed
both contumelious & threatning: and being for both theſe cauſes in a rage, he feared ſom great-
ter matter to be put in practice againſt him, which he could not ſuddenly, and hauing ſo little H
warning, auoid; and not daring to make open inquiry, he ſet ſecret ſpies awork, to tell him how
all matters ſtood, himſelfe now miſtruſting all men, and accounting it his ſecurity to miſtruſt
all, euen them that deſerued it not: and not moderating his ſuſpicious mind, now whoſoeuer
was the neareſt vnto him, was the more ſuſpected, as of moſt power to iniure him. As for others
that were but only named by his ſpies, he preſently eſteemed it his ſafety to put them to death.
Herod crediteth all tales, and ſo puteth many to death vniuſtly. Then they of his houſehold, euery one being carefull to ſaue himſelfe, were one turned againſt
another, euery one deeming it his owne ſafety to preuent others, by accuſing them vnto *Herod*:
which done, preſently they incited other mens enuy againſt them, and euery one of them to
deſire ſuch meaſure as they had meaſured vnto others: and thus they alſo reuenged their pri-
uate quarrels; and preſently after, they themſelues were taken, and did by other mens meanes I
ſuffer the like, being entrapped in the ſame trappe they ſet for their enemies. For the King did
quickly repent himſelfe, becauſe he had put very many to death, who were not conuicted: yet
for all that, hee was not hereby admoniſhed to beware of the like hereafter; but on his repen-
tance for their death, raged ſo farre, as to cauſe him to inflict the ſame puniſhment vpon their
accuſers, which he had done vpon them. So great trouble & feare then fell vpon all the whole
Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Herod denieth to be familiar with Andromachus and Gemellus. Court. Hee then commanded many of his deareſt friends, and them eſpecially whoſe fidelity
he had before times experienced, not to come in his ſight, nor within his court gates. For hee
did now ſhake off the friendſhip between *Andromachus* and *Gemellus* and himſelfe, who were
his ancient friends, and oftentimes had gone Embaſſadors for him, & alwaies been of his coun-
ſell, and had been tutors vnto his children, in whom he had alwaies repoſed more truſt then in K
any others: the one of them, for that his ſon *Demetrius* was familiar with *Alexander*; and *Gemel-*
Antipater the cauſe of all miſchief. *lus*, for that he knew him to wiſh well vnto *Alexander*: for he was one of them who had brought
him vp, and had aboad with him at his being at Rome. And no doubt but he had cenſured them
with ſome more heauy ſentence, had it not been that they were ſo eminent perſons. Wherfore
at that time he was contented to haue baniſhed them, and depriued them of all their authority,
to the end, that hauing now diſgraced theſe good men, he might the more freely play the Ty-
Many were tortured and examined for Alexanders cauſe. rant. *Antipater* was the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, who from the firſt time that he perceiued his
father to be fearefull and ſuſpicious, ſtil after that ioyned with him as counſellor, and as it were
increaſed his rage and cruelty; and then he gallantly played his part, endeuouring, that who-
ſoeuer would reſiſt him ſhould be made away. Wherfore *Andromachus* & the reſt of his friends L
being now baniſhed the court; the King preſently tortured all that he imagined any way to fa-
uour *Alexander*, to ſee if they were guilty; or if they knew of any treaſon to be practiced againſt
him: but they knowing nothing to inform him of, died amidſt their torments. Where he ſo much
more tortured others, for that cõtrary to his opinion, he found not ſo much as an euill thought
againſt him; *Antipater* craftily interpreting it, that they had rather in torments conceale the
truth, then to ſhew themſelues not truſty to their maſters and friends: wherefore many being
taken he cauſed them to be tortured to get ſome thing out of ſome of them. At laſt one amongſt
the reſt, not able to indure thoſe torments impoſed vpon him, ſaid; that he had often heard *A-*
lexander ſay, ſo often as any one commended his goodly ſtature, or skilfull ſhooting and the reſt
of his vertues, that theſe qualities nature beſtowed vpon him rather then other benefits, for his M
father for enuy hereat was offended: ſo that whē he talked with him, he did vpon purpoſe draw
his body together, leſt his father ſhould perceiue the taleneſs of his ſtature; and that when hee
went a hũting with him, he vpon purpoſe did miſſe the mark he could haue hit, becauſe he knew
his father could not endure that he ſhould be cõmended. And whilſt theſe his words were cõ-
ſidered, & pondred, & his torments intermitted; he again accuſed *Alexander* to haue conſpired
with his brother *Ariſtobulus* to kil his father whē he was hunting, & then to flie with ſpeed vnto

Rome,

A Rome, and beg the kingdome of *Cæsar*. There were also found some of this young mans letters written vnto his brother, complaining of the iniurious dealing of his father, who had giuen certaine grounds vnto *Antipater*, the yearly reuenues wherof amounted vnto two hundreth talents. Then *Herod* thinking himselfe to haue probability enough, his former suspicion was now confirmed, and so he tooke *Alexander* and cast him in prison: and againe he began to rage, notwithstanding that himself did scarcely beleeue the informations against him: neither could he himselfe deuise any cause wherfore they should seek to worke treason against him. And those complaints seemed childish: neither was it probable that hauing openly killed his father, he would afterwards haue gone to Rome. Wherefore endeuouring to finde some stronger argument of his sonnes impiety, and because he would not be thought rashly to haue committed his son to B prison, he caused the most noble & eminent of all *Alexanders* wel-willers to be torture, and they confessing no such matter as he expected, he put them to death.

The yeare of the world, 3957. before Christs Nativity, 7.

Alexander being in prison his friends were tortured. One accused Alexander to haue sent letters to Rome against his father.

Whilest thus all the court did resound with feare, torments, and contentions, a certaine man accused *Alexander* to haue sent letters to his friends at Rome, to entreat them to cause him to be sent for by *Cæsar* thither, that he might accuse his father of certaine conspiracies against *Cæsar*, & how he more esteemed the friendship of *Mithridates* King of the Parthians, then the friendship of the Romans: affirming also, that he had poison ready prepared at Ascalon. *Herod* hearing this, was comforted by the parasites about him, as hauing not done any thing rashly, and so he gaue now full credit vnto all: yet the poyson was diligently sought for, but could not be found. *Alexander* being now oppressed with this calamity, he yet took courage, and because he would C more incite his fathers displeasure against him, he did not deny it: perhaps meaning to make his father ashamed of himself, for giuing credit so easily vnto forged tales; or at least, if he could not effect that, entangle all the court & him too in calamity and misery: Which that he might the better do, he writ foure little bookes, and sent them vnto his father, telling him that it was needlesse to vse any more torments, for indeed treason was intended against him, and that *Pherorас* and his most trusty friends were herein conspirators: And that in the night time *Salome* came secretly vnto him, and as it were forced him to lie with her; and that all of them aymed at this mark, to haue him made away, that so they might enioy their wished liberty. He also accused *Ptolomeus* & *Sapinnius* of this conspiracy, who were more faithfull vnto their King, then all D others: so that now these men, who before were most friendly one to another, began like mad men to rage one against another: and punishment so hastily pursued euery one, that they had no leasure giuen them to speake in their owne defence: neither was their punishment deferred till their cause was tryed, and the truth knowen, that some were bound & imprisoned, other some presently put to death, other laughed in their sleeues to see that day, yet discontented for that any delay was vsed for their punishment: so that the Kings court was now greatly defaced with sorrow, and heauinesse, wherewith the wonted felicity thereof was destroyed. *Herod* himselfe amidst these calamities, could not but be weary of his life, who not daring trust himselfe in any bodies hand, he was tormented with a daily and hourely feare of some vntimely death, that would befall him: and many times perswaded himselfe, that he did see his sons before him with a drawen sword, ready to kill him; and this was his cogitation night and day, so that herewith E he almost ran mad.

Alexander confesseth the treason, and who had a hand in it.

Herod was so troubled with the contention in his house that hee was weary of his life.

CHAP. XII.

How Archelaus *King of Cappadocia reconciled* Alexander *vnto his father.*

WHilest *Herod* was thus troubled in his mind, *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia carefull for his daughter, and the young man his sonne in lawe, and pitying his friend *Herod* entangled in such calamities; hee thought it his duty to make a iourney vnto him. And finding him so affected as it was reported vnto him before his comming, he thought it an vnfit way F to argue him of too much credulity and rashnesse; perceiuing that thereby he would be rather exasperated, so much the more labouring to excuse himselfe. Wherefore *Archelaus* deuised another way to appease these troubles. Wherefore hee counterfeited indignation against the young man, approuing all the Kings actions for good; affirming that he would breake the band of wedlock between his daughter and *Alexander*, and that if she knew of the conspiracy, and did not informe the King thereof, himselfe would punish her. Then *Herod* contrary to his expectation, seeing *Archelaus* so angry for the offence commited against him, began to remit his anger:

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. 13. Archelaus the king of Cappadocia feineth displeasure against Alexander his son in law, and so reconciled Herod vnto him.

The yeare of the world,3957. before Christs birth,7.

anger: and now with iuſt conſideration waighing what he had done, by little & little, he began to haue a fatherly affection, & to be hereby moued to compaſſion; yet ſo oft as any one ſought to excuſe the yong man, he grew to be very angry thereat: but when *Archelaus* alſo began to accuſe him, then *Herods* heart relented, and he with tears beſought *Archelaus* not to yeeld too much to anger, nor for the yong mans offence breake off the marriage. Then *Archelaus* perceiuing him to relent, began to turn the matter againſt *Herods* friends, as the cauſers of all this miſchiefe, who had corrupted the yong man, who of himſelf was void of malice; and eſpecially he aggrauated the matter againſt *Pheroras* the kings brother. *Pheroras* hauing now incurd the kings diſpleaſure, perceiued that none could ſo ſoon reconcile him vnto the king, as *Archelaus*; wherefore cloathed in black, and making other ſignes as though he deſpaired of his life, he went vnto him; who did not deny to help him what he could: yet he told him that it was no eaſie matter for him to pacifie the King ſo highly offended, perſwading him rather himſelfe to go vnto the King his brother, and craue pardon of him, confeſſing himſelfe to haue beene cauſe of all this miſchief; by which confeſſion of his the Kings wrath would be greatly appeaſed, & ſo he alſo ſhould haue better occaſion to entreat for him. *Pheroras* followed his counſell, which fell out happily for them both: for the young man contrary to any ones expectation, was freed from all his troubles; & *Archelaus* made *Pheroras* & *Herod* friends; & he himſelf hauing now gotten great friendſhip of the king in thoſe his aduerſe and troublous times of his, he returned ioyfully into Cappadocia, being rewarded with rich gifts, and being accounted of as *Herods* chiefeſt friend. They alſo agreed amongſt themſelues, that *Herod* ſhould goe to Rome, becauſe he had already written vnto *Cæſar*, cõcerning this matter, & they both went together vnto Antiochia, & there *Herod* reconciled *Titus* the Preſident of Syria vnto *Archelaus*, and ſo he returned into Iudæa.

Achelaus laieth the fault of Alexãders offence vpon others, and eſpecially vpon Pheroras.

Pheroras confeſſed himſelfe to be author of all miſchiefe, and obtaineth pardon of his brother.

Herod accompanied Archelaus vnto Antioch.

CHAP. XIII.

How the Trachonites reuolted.

The yeare of the world,3958. before the birth of Christ,6.

WHileſt *Herod* going to Rome was abſent from his kingdom, the Arabian warres be[illegible] hereby taking an occaſion. The inhabitants of Trachon, whoſe country *Cæſar* ta[illegible]g from *Zenodorus* gaue it vnto *Herod*, being forbidden & hindred from ſtealing, were now forced to frame themſelues to liue like husbandmen in more ciuility, then before: but this kind of life pleaſed them not; neither did their countrey yeeld fruits worth their labours; yet at firſt *Herod* compelling them thereunto they abſtained from iniuring the inhabitants bordering vpon them, which did greatly redound vnto *Herods* credite, by whoſe diligence they were brought vnto it. But when *Herod* was ſayled into Italy to accuſe *Alexander*, and to commend *Antipater* vnto *Cæſar*; the Trachonites hearing a bruit of his death, reuolted and turned to their accuſtomed robberies: Yet were they at that time again ſubdued in the Kings abſence by the captains that he left at home; and forty of the chiefeſt of the theeues amongſt them being taken, the reſt terrified by their example left their own country, and fled into Arabia, where *Syllæus* receiued them in reuenge that he could not obtaine *Salome* for his wife; and receiuing of him a ſtrong hold to dwell in, they did not only make incurſions, and rob & ſpoile the borders of Iudæa, but alſo of Cœloſyria, and draue away the preies they got into the place allotted them, *Syllæus* protecting them and their villanies. *Herod* returning from Rome, found that his people were greatly endomaged by theſe theeues: and ſeeing hee could not ſubdue them by reaſon the Arabians did protect them, not enduring that iniury, and entring into Trachon, hee killed all their families: whereby they were ſo much the more enraged againſt his country; for they had a law amongſt them, whereby they were commanded to reuenge the death of their families, and ſo contemning all dangers they came and waſted all *Herods* countrey, with continuall incurſions. Then the King complained hereof vnto *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* then Preſidents ſent thither by *Cæſar*, requeſting that he might haue the theeues to puniſh them. They hearing this newes, with as much ſpeede as they might, gathered their forces together, and making themſelues ſtronger then they were before, with ſudden incurſions waſted all where they came, deſtroying both the fields & villages, and killing all they could finde; ſo that now this reſembled a war, rather then a robbery: for now they were a thouſand in number. Wherefore *Herod* required theſe theeues and robbers to be deliuered vnto him, and required the debt that *Obodas* ought him, for *Herod* had lent *Obodas* threeſcore talents, and ſent them vnto him by *Syllæus*, and now the time was expired wherein the money was to be repayed. But *Syllæus* who had taken all the rule from *Obodas*, and himſelfe now gouerned all, denyed that thoſe theeues were in Arabia,

The cauſe of the Arabian warre.

Cæſar gaue Trachonitis to Herod. Alias, chap.14.

Herods captaines ſubdue the rebels in Arabia.

The theeues taken and puniſhed.

Alias, chap.15.

Herod demanded the theeues to be deliuered vnto him, and the mony he had lent to be repaied.

A Arabia, and deferred the payment of the money: ſo that now this matter was debated on before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* then Preſidents of Syria. At laſt it was by them determined, that within 30. daies, the money due to *Herod* ſhould be repaied, and the runawaies of both countries deliuered each to other. But there was no one Arabian that either had fled vnto *Herod* for any offence committed nor for any other cauſe: but the Arabians were conuicted to receiue the theeues that fled from *Herod*.

The yeare of the world, 3958. before Chriſts Natiuity, 6.

Saturninus & Volumnius the rulers of Syria, do reconcile Herod and the Arabians.

CHAP. XIIII.

How Herod *went into Arabia with an army.*

B WHen the day was come that was appointed, *Syllæus* not minded to ſtand vnto the agreement made, went in the mean time to Rome: But *Herod* exacted his mony, and the theeues to be reſtored vnto him, *Saturninus* & *Volumnius* permitting him with force of armes to perſecute thoſe obſtinate people: ſo he leuying an army, went into Arabia, in three daies ſpace going as far as ordinarily men are wont to march in ſeuen, and comming vnto the caſtle wherein the theeues kept, at the firſt onſet he took it and deſtroyd it, being called Repta, & did no other harm vnto the inhabitants. And a captain of the Arabians named *Nacebus* came to ſuccor the theeues, & ſo fought with *Herods* army, in which battell a few of *Herods* men were ſlain, but of the Arabians were ſlain fiue & twenty, with their Generall, & the reſt were put to flight. Being thus reuenged vpon the theeues, he led 3000. Idumæans into Trachon to keep the C inhabitants from robbing, and ſent letters vnto the Roman gouernors, who aboad in Phœnicia, that he had only vſed the authority which they gaue him againſt the rebellious Arabians that reſiſted him, and nothing elſe: which afterward alſo, they making enquiry, they found true.

Herod by the permiſsion of Saturninus & Volumnius entred into Arabia with an army, and deſtroyed the caſtle called Repta.

Nacebus with 25. Arabians ſlaine.

Herod caried 3000. Idumæans into Trachon.

CHAP. XV.

How Syllæus *accuſed* Herod *vnto* Cæſar.

D BVt then were meſſengers haſtily ſent vnto *Syllæus* at Rome, & informed him otherwiſe, aggrauating euery thing according to their faſhion. *Syllæus* being new before inſinuated into *Cæſars* acquaintance, by chance was then alſo about the palace; & hearing theſe newes, he preſently change his apparell, and cloathing himſelfe in black he went in this maner vnto *Cæſar*, informing him how Arabia was afflicted with wars, and that the whole kingdome was waſted by *Herod*, who had entred into the country with an army, and with teares complained that 2000. & 500. of the Arabian nobility were ſlain, and amongſt them his friend & kinſman *Nacebus*, and great riches were taken away, which were laid vp at Repta, & that all this was done in contempt of *Obodes* who had no army ready, nor a fit captaine for his forces, he being not there. *Syllæus* hauing thus ſpoken, adding moreouer that he would not haue come to Rome, but that he was perſwaded that *Cæſar* would haue had a care of the common peace, & tranquillity of his ſubiects, & that had he bin at home *Herod* to his coſt ſhould haue violated that peace:

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. al. 16.

Syllæus accuſed Herod vnto Cæſar.

E *Cæſar* hereat was greatly moued, and enquired of ſome of *Herods* friends, who were then preſent, & of certain men that were lately come out of Syria alſo, whither *Herod* had led an army out of the limits of his owne kingdom. Which they not denying, and *Cæſar* not vouchſafing to heare the cauſe why, his diſpleaſure againſt *Herod* was greatly encreaſed, ſo that he writ threatning letters vnto him; telling him that hitherto he had vſed him as a friend, but hereafter he would vſe him as a ſubiect; which alſo *Syllæus* ſignified vnto the Arabians. By which letters of his they were made proude, and would neither render vnto him the theeues that were eſcaped, nor reſtore the mony he lent their King; nor pay him rent for the paſture ground that they hired of him; boulſtering themſelues herewith, that the King had offended *Cæſar*. Moreouer, the Trachonites hearing this, rebelled againſt the garriſon of the Idumæans; and ioyning with the F Arabian theeues, who waſted their countrey, not ſo much reſpecting their owne gaine as their reuenge & particular profit, they did many miſchiefes & exerciſed great cruelty againſt them. *Herod* did put vp all iniuries, and durſt not once mutter, *Cæſar* being offended at him; for the which cauſe he was not ſo couragious nor valiant as before: For firſt of all, *Cæſar* would not admit his Embaſſadours, whom he ſent to plead his cauſe before *Cæſar*; and *Herod* againe ſending other Embaſſadours, *Cæſar* ſent them back againe, their buſineſſe vndone.

The Arabians & Trachonits vnderſtanding that Cæſar was offended with Herod, reioice therat.

Wherefore *Herod* being in this perplexity, greatly feared *Syllæus*, who being now at Rome, did

The yeare of the world,3960. before Christs birth,4.

Cæsar offeded with Herod.

Obodas dying, Æneas succeeded him in the Arabian kingdome.

Cæsar would not giue audience to the Arabian Embassadors.

did easily perswade *Cæsar* any thing; for that *Cæsar* was now very credulous; and *Syllæus* aymed G at some greater matter. For *Obodas* dying, *Æneas* succeeded him in the kingdom of Arabia, who changing his name, called himselfe *Aretas*: whom *Syllæus* by forged calumniations did seeke to depose from the crowne, and vsurpe the kingdom vnto himselfe; giuing great summes of money vnto the courtiers, and promising great summes vnto *Cæsar*; whom he now perceiued to be angry against *Aretas*, for that without his cõsent he presumed to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom. But at last he also sent letters & gifts vnto *Cæsar*, and amongst the rest a crowne of gold worth many talents, and in those letters he accused *Syllæus*, who as an impious & disloiall seruant, had poisoned his King *Obodas*; in whose life time he had also inuaded the gouernmẽt of the kingdome, committing adultery with the Arabians wiues, getting together other mens money, thereby to obtaine the kingdom. *Cæsar* would not permit these Embassadours to haue H audience; but refusing their gifts, suffred them to depart without obtaining that they came for. In the mean time the affaires of Iudæa & Arabia euery day became worse & worse, euery one seeking to trouble the estate of both kingdoms, and no man endeuouring to quiet them. For the King of Arabia was not yet established in his kingdon, & therfore could not controule his subiects. And *Herod* feared that if he did defend himself, he should so much the more incite *Cæsar* against him; and so was forced to put vp all iniuries that were done vnto him: & finding no end of his miseries, he finally determined to send again to Rome Embassadors, to see if by the help of his friends *Cæsar* might be perswaded to think better of him, and so commited that Embassage vnto *Nicholaus* of Damasco, and sent him to Rome.

Herod sent Nicholaus Damascene to Cæsar.

CHAP. XVI. I

Of Eurycles *his calumniations against* Herods *sonnes.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. al. 17.

AT this time the dissension of *Herods* house was much increased; and although at all other times his court was neuer void of suspicion, which is a pernicious euill to Kings & Princes, yet at that time especially this mischief was in his principal vigor & force. For one *Eurycles* a Lacedemonian & a noble man of his country, but hauing a turbulent wit giuen ouer to flattery & pleasure, yet cunningly dissembling both vices, coming vnto *Herod* & giuing him gifts, & receiuing greater gifts at his hands, was by him curteously entertained; and familiarly conuersing with him, brought it so to passe that he was receiued amongst K his especiall friends. This *Eurycles* lodged at *Antipaters* house, being also familiar with *Alexander* for their often meeting one another: for he said that *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia & himselfe were great friends, & therfore he counterfeited himself to reuerence *Glaphyra* very much; and all men iudging him indifferent vnto all parties, he diligently noted whatsoeuer past, and euery word that was spoken, seeking by all meanes he could, matter to gratifie others by carrying of tales; and with such flattering fair speecs he insinuated himself into euery mans friendship, that he seemed as *Alexanders* sole trusty friend, & to vse other men as it behooued a friend. And by this his deceit he so insinuated himself into *Alexanders* fauour, that the young man thought him him to be his only friend, vnto whom he might impart his secrets; so that *Alexander* opened vnto him his grief, for that his father was somthing alienated frõ him, & recounted vnto him his L mothers misfortune, & that *Antipater* had now gotten all authority & dignity from him, and his brother: and was the onely man that could doe all; and that these iniuries were no longer tolerable, their father being now so incited against them, that now hee would neither admit them vnto his counsels, nor banquets. And he committed his griefes (as he then thought) into his friends bosome. But *Eurycles* told *Antipater* all, affirming that though it nothing concerned him, yet he could not but speake of it for the greatnesse of the danger then imminent, willing him to beware of *Alexander*, who did not sticke openly to shew what minde he bare, but did as it were manifestly shew that he desired to make away his father. Which done he receiued of *Antipater* most rich gifts, as pledges of his good will towards him; and finally hee was by him perswaded to relate this newes himselfe vnto *Herod*. The King lent a greedy eare whilest he re- M counted *Alexanders* malice; and was so moued with the circumstances of his speeches, that hee conceiued a deadly hatred against his son, which also without further delay he did make manifest: for he rewarded *Eurycles* for his paines with 50. talents. Which he hauing receiued went vnto *Archelaus*, and talking and speaking well of *Alexander*, recounted vnto him in what steed he had stood him in reconciling him vnto his father: and receiuing of him also a summe of money, hee departed before his malice was discouered; and returned into his countrey, and vsing the

Eurycles insinuated himself into Alexanders friendship.

Eurycles obseruing all Alexanders words & actions related them to Antipater and Herod.

Eurycles by craft got mony of Archelaus.

A the like ſhifts there alſo, hee was finally by his countrimen baniſhed from Lacedemonia. Furthermore, *Herod* not content now, as before he was, to heare onely that which was told him of *Alexander* & *Ariſtobulus*, did now himſelfe alſo conceiue a proper hatred againſt them, himſelfe obſeruing all things, and making diligent inquiry though no man accuſed them, and permitting all men to ſpeake what they liſt againſt them. And amongſt the reſt, *Euaratus* of Cous had conſpired with *Alexander*, and he ſeemed now to heare no talke more willingly then this, and ſuch like. But then greater misfortunes then all the reſt befell the yong men, falſe accuſations neuer ceaſing to be forged againſt them, & euery one as it were, ſtriuing to accuſe them of ſome crime or other vnto the King, pretending the care they bare of his ſafety. *Herod* had two champions, *Iucundus* and *Tyrannus*, both acceptable and gratefull vnto him, for their ſtrength & tall ſtature
B and bignes of body: theſe two for ſome offence were baniſhed the court, and receiued into *Alexanders* ſeruice, and placed amongſt his ſtipendary horſemen, & for that they were very actiue he beſtowed many gifts & much money vpon them. Whereat the King preſently conceiuing ſuſpicion, began to torture them, & after many torments they cõfeſſed that *Alexander* had hired them to kill *Herod* as hee was a hunting wilde beaſts: for ſo it might eaſily be bruited abroad that he falling off his horſe, fell vpon his owne lance; and ſo was ſlaine: which once before had almoſt hapned vnto him. They alſo declared vnto him, that certaine gold was hidden and buried in the ſtable: and they alſo accuſed *Herods* chiefe huntſman, that at *Alexanders* command he had giuen *Alexanders* ſeruants the Kings launces and his armour. After them the prefect of the Caſtle of Alexandrium, was taken and examined vpon tortures, and it was obiected a-
C gainſt him, that he promiſed to receiue them into the Caſtle, & to deliuer vnto them the Kings treaſure there. But hee denying it, his owne ſonne affirmed all to bee true, and brought forth letters to teſtifie the ſame, reſembling *Alexanders* hand, written to this effect: So ſoone as by Gods aſſiſtance we haue done that which we entend to doe, we will preſently come vnto you: be carefull therefore, that according to your promiſe you do receiue vs into your Caſtle. *Herod* hauing had a view of theſe letters, did now without any heſitation beleeue that indeede ſome treacherous practice was plotted againſt him by his ſonnes. But *Alexander* affirmed, that *Diophantus* the ſcribe had counterfeited his hand, and that the letter was *Antipaters* deuice. For *Diophantus* was accounted cunning in ſuch matters, and afterward being taken with the like, he was
D therefore put to death. And the King produced them that had been tortured at Iericho before the people to accuſe his ſonnes, where they were ſtoned to death, and the people hereat moued, would alſo haue killed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* with the ſame death. But *Herod*, by the means of *Ptolomeus* and *Pheroras* did reſtraine them, and commanded the young men to be caſt into priſon, and there to be kept ſo ſtreight that no man was admitted vnto them; but many ſpies were ſet, who ſhould narrowly marke all their actions and words: and now they were accounted as condemned men both by other mens opinions and alſo by their owne. One of them, to wit *Ariſtobulus*, for griefe inuiting his aunt, and mother in lawe to compaſſionate his preſent calamity, and to hate him that was the author hereof, affirmed that ſhee alſo was in great danger, being accuſed, in hope to marry with *Syllæus*, to haue ſignified vnto him by letters all that paſt in *Herods* court. Which words the woman preſently came and recounted vnto her brother
E *Herod*. The King no longer able to bridle his fury, commanded them both to be bound & kept in ſeuerall places one frõ another, & each of them to write what they had plotted againſt their father: & being thus cõmanded, they wrote that they neither prepared treaſon, nor yet thought of any treaſon againſt him, only they purpoſed to fly, becauſe they perceiued that they could no lõger liue here, becauſe they were ſo ſuſpected & in cõtinual care. At that time a prince of Cappadocia came Embaſſador from *Archelaus*, named *Mela*, who was one of the greateſt Lords of the country: and *Herod* willing to ſhew his ſons malice, he ſent for *Alexander* out of priſon, cõmanding him to recount how & after what order, or whither they meant to flie: he anſwered, vnto *Archelaus*, who had alſo promiſed them to ſend them to Rome; but that they had no further
F intent or purpoſe to effect any vnlawfull practice againſt their father, & that all other accuſations were falſe. And that he requeſted that *Tyrannus* & the reſt might haue been better examined; But *Antipater* preuented that, who by his owne forged rumors ſpread amongſt the people did cauſe them to haſten their deaths. Which being ſaid, *Herod* commanded both him & *Mela* to be led vnto *Glaphyra*, that ſhee might be asked whether ſhe were any way priuy to the conſpiracie againſt *Herod*: and comming vnto her, the woman ſeeing her husband bound, preſently tore her haire, and being amazed, with great compaſſion cryed out amaine. The young mans cheekes were alſo bedewed with teares; ſo that a long time after, thoſe that were preſent amazed

The yeare of the world 3960. before Chriſts Nativity, 4.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10.

Herod doth giue eare vnto the accuſers of Alexander & Ariſtobulus.

Iucundus and Tyrannus cõfeſs that Alexander did ſolicite them to kill Herod as he was a hunting.

How Alexander writ vnto the captain of Alexandrium to receiue him.

Dyophantus the ſcribe doth counterfeit other mens hands.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus are impriſond: & Ariſtobulus warneth his mother in law.

Alexander cõfeſſeth to Herod that hee purpoſed to fly to Archelaus.

Mela Embaſſador of Archelaus King of Cappadocia.

Glaphyra Alexanders wife is demanded if ſhe knew of any treaſon againſt Herod.

The yeare of the world, 3960. before Christs birth, 4.

amazed and moued to compaſſion at this miſerable ſight, could neither ſpeake nor do the Kings command. At laſt *Ptolomeus*, to whoſe charge *Alexander* was commited, willing him to ſpeake whether his wife was priuy to his intent: he anſwered, how could it be otherwiſe, who is dearer vnto me then mine owne life, being mother of her and my children? then ſhe anſwered, crying out aloud, that ſhe was priuy to nothing that was any harm; yet (quoth ſhe) if it will auaile you any thing, or help to ſaue your life, I am ready to tell any lie whatſoeuer ſeeing I muſt die, and will deny nothing you would haue me to ſay. *Alexander* anſwered, neither did I purpoſe any impiety againſt my father, as ſome ſuppoſe, who ought not to thinke ſo: neither doeſt thou know of any one: this thou knoweſt, that thou and I purpoſed to flie vnto *Archelaus* thy father, and that he promiſed to conuay vs to Rome, which ſhe alſo affirmed. G

Archelaus excuſeth himſelf to Herod. Cæſar & Herod made friends.

Herod now thinking that *Archelaus* was conuicted of euill will towards him, deliuered letters vnto *Olympus* and *Volumnius*, commanding them in the way as they went, to paſſe by Eleuſa a towne of Cilicia, and deliuer certaine letters vnto *Archelaus* himſelf to the ſame effect: and that from thence they ſhould go to Rome; and if ſo be when they came there they found that *Cæſar* had bin reconciled vnto him by *Nicholaus* his meanes, that then they ſhould alſo deliuer certain letters vnto him, declaring all that was paſt between him and his ſonnes, and the proofes alleaged to connince the young men. *Archelaus* writ againe vnto *Herod*, that indeed he would haue entertained the young men, for feare that any greater miſchance ſhould befall them or their father, by reaſon of the ſuſpicion againſt them; yet was he not minded to ſend them to *Cæſar*, nor to haue confirmed them in any malicious courſe. The meſſengers comming to Rome found *Cæſar* reconciled to *Herod*, and deliuered the letters vnto him. For *Nicholaus* his embaſſage was to this effect: So ſoone as he came vnto Rome and had entred the palace, beſide the charge he had giuen him, he did alſo vndertake to accuſe *Syllæus*. For he perceiued the Arabians at variance amongſt themſelues, and that ſome of them had declared all *Syllæus* his bad practices, and that by his means & procurement many of *Obodas* kinſmen were murthered, as his aduerſaries manifeſtly prooued by certaine of his letters which they intercepted. H I

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 18. Nicholaus accuſeth Syllæus and excuſeth Herod.

Now *Nicholaus* deſirous to reconcile *Herod* vnto *Cæſar*, omitted not this occaſion by chance offred him; for he wel knew that if he began with the Kings defence, he ſhould then find a hard & heauy iudge againſt him; but if he began to accuſe *Syllæus*, he ſhould find alſo fit occaſion to plead his Kings cauſe. Wherefore *Nicholaus* taking vpon him to prooue the accuſation againſt him at the day appointed, he accompanied with the King *Aretas* Embaſſadors, accuſed *Syllæus* as a murtherer of his Lord & King, and many other Arabians; and that he had borrowed much money to trouble the peace of the common-wealth; and that he had corrupted many women and honeſt matrons both at Rome and in Arabia. Hee added hereunto a moſt grieuous crime, to wit, that he by his lies and falſe reports had deceiued *Cæſar*, whom in all things hee had miſinformed concerning that which *Herod* had done. Which when hee once mentioned, *Cæſar* commanded him to omit the reſt; and only to recount the matter concerning *Herod*, whether *Herod* did not enter into Arabia with an army, and did ſlay two thouſand & fiue hundreth men, and carry away captiues and robbe and ſpoile the countrey? *Nicholaus* anſwered, that to theſe demands himſelfe was able to anſwer, that *Herod* did none of theſe, or at leaſt very little hereof, which hee did recount; and that hee did not deſerue any diſpleaſure. *Cæſar*, contrary to his expectation, hearing this, began to giue diligent eare to what *Nicholaus* ſayd: and hereupon *Nicholaus* recounted vnto *Cæſar* how *Herod* had lent 500. talents, and that hee had a writing in pawne wherein he was permitted after the day appointed if then it were not repaied him again, to prey vpon all the whole country, and ſatisfie himſelfe: and that this was no hoſtile inuaſion, but according to law & equity a requiring of his right & debt due vnto him. And that this was not raſhly done, though by the writing he was ſo permitted to doe, but by the conſent of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* preſidents of Syria, in whoſe preſence *Syllæus* ſwore by *Cæſars* good fortune at Berytum, that within 30. daies after both the debt & alſo certain fugitiues frō the King, ſhould be reſtored vnto him, and that *Syllæus* performed none of theſe: and ſo *Herod* went again vnto the preſidents, and they permitted him to go and take pledges for his mony; and that ſo by their permiſſion he went into Arabia. And this (quoth he) is the war that his aduerſaries haue ſo tragically exaggerated, and yet (quoth he) how can it be called a war? ſeeing that it was done by the conſent of the preſidents, and that by couenant after periury, wherwith both other gods and alſo *Cæſars* name was violated. It now (quoth he) remaineth that I ſpeake ſomething concerning the captiues. There were forty theeues of Trachon, and afterward more that fled from *Herod* for feare of puniſhment, and fled vnto Arabia, whom *Syllæus* protected and ſuccoured K L M

A narration of the Arrabian wars, and the borrwed money.

The theeues of Trachon.

to

A to the iniury of all men, and gaue them ground to inhabit, & was partaker of their preyes; notwithstanding that by his forsaied oath he was bound to restore them together with the borowed money: neither can he name any man beside them taken in Arabia, & carried away captiue, and some of them also escaped. This his forged tale concerning the captiues being thus refuted, heare, O Soueraigne *Cæsar*, the lying inuention, which to prouoke thee to wrath himselfe deuised. For I am well able to affirme this, that when the Arabian army assaulted vs, and one or two of our men were slaine; then at last *Herod* forced to make resistance, hee slew *Nucebus* and with him fiue and twenty, and no more: for euery one of which *Syllæus* falsely recounted vnto *Cæsar* a hundreth, and so told him that two thousand and fiue hundred were slaine. *Cæsar* hereas greatly moued, with an angry countenance looking vpon *Syllæus*, he asked him how many Ara-
B bians were slaine in the fight: he amazed and knowing not what to reply, answered, that he erred in the number. Presently *Cæsar* commanded the writings to be read, containing the conditions between them, and the writings of the presidents, and the letters of the cities containing the cõplaints of the robberies. And so the matter was brought to passe, that *Cæsar* was reconciled vnto *Herod*, & condemned *Syllæus* to dy; & repenting himselfe to haue written so threatning letters vnto *Herod*, he obiected that also vnto *Syllæus*, affirming, that by his false enformations he had caused him to passe the limits of friendship in vsing his friend so hardly. And so he sent *Syllæus* into his country, that after he had satisfied his creditors he might be punished according to the sentence. But he still continued angry with *Aretas*, for that without his authority he had v-
C surped the crowne & kingdom, and he was minded also to bestow Arabia vpon *Herod*; but the letters which *Herod* sent him changed his minde. For *Olympus* & *Volumnius* so soone as they vnderstood that *Cæsars* wrath towards *Herod* was pacified, presently they deliuered vnto him the letters as they were commanded: wherein was contained the arguments wherby his sons were cõuicted of treason against him. Which *Cæsar* hauing read, he thought it not cõuenient to trouble the old man (infortunate with his sons) with another kingdom; and so he admitted *Aretas* Embassadours: and chiding them that their King had rashly vsurped the kingdome without his authority & knowledge, not expecting his pleasure: he receiued their gifts, & confirmed him in the kingdom by his authority. This done, being now reconciled vnto *Herod*, he writ vnto him that he was sorowful for him, that had such children; & that he shold if they had attempted any treason against him, punish them as men that sought to murther their father: for he gaue him
D free and full authority; but if they onely attempted to fly, he should also be sufficed with a lesse punishment. Wherefore he counselled him to call a consistory at Berytum; and together with the Romane Presidents, and *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, and the rest of his friends, and the nobility thereabout, according as they should aduise him, so to doe. And this was the effect of *Cæsars* letters.

The yeare of the world, 3960. before Christs birth 4.

Syllæus condemned to dy.

Cæsar was purposed to giue the kingdome of Arabia to Herod, and was altered by Herods letters.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs Nativity, 3.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13.

Aretas embassadors vnto Cæsar.

Cæsar allowe Herod to punish malefactors.

CHAP. XVII.

How Herods *sonnes were condemned in the councell at Berytum.*

E *Herod* receiuing this letter, reioyced aboue measure, both for that he had againe obtained *Cæsars* fauour; and also for that *Cæsar* had giuen him full authority to do what he pleased vnto his sons. And yet I know not how it came to passe, that he who in his prosperity was a hard father, did yet shew himselfe not rash in putting his sons to death: and now his estate being better then it was, and he recouering his wonted assurance; he now began a new hatred. Wherfore by letters he called together all those whom *Cæsar* appointed, only *Archelaus* excepted, either for that he hated the man, or els for that he feared he would haue withstood that his purpose: and when they were all come together, as well the presidents as the rest who were called out of diuers cities, he would not bring his sons into the coũcel, but kept them in a village of the Sidonians, named Platan, not far distant from the citie, to the intent, that if they were called for, he might bring them forth. Then *Herod* himself alone entring into
F the councell before an hundreth & fifty men there assembled for that purpose, began to accuse his sonnes before them, and vsed a speech not only pitifull for his own calamities, but also little becomming a father. For he was very vehement and vnheedy in inueying against their offence; neither did he sufficiently expresse his minde, shewing many signes of fury, and anger; neither did he deliuer in writing any proofes of the accusations vnto the Iudges: but vndecently himselfe alledged there the father against the sonne, himselfe also reading before them certain letters written by them, wherein was contained no impiety nor treason, but onely a consultation

Herod assembleth all that Cæsar willed except Archelaus.

Herod accuseth his son.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs Nativity, 3.

to fly away, and certain hard ſpeeches wherby they ſhewed themſelues offended. Which when G
he came vnto, he exclaimed as though hereby they cõfeſſed their treacherous practiſes, greatly
exaggerating the matter, and proteſting that he had rather die then heare ſuch ſpeeches. Laſtly,
affirming that both nature and *Cæſar* permitted him authority againſt them; and his countrey
"lawes ſo cõmanded, that if any one being accuſed, his father or mother ſhould lay their hands
"vpon his head, & the ſtanders by muſt preſently ſtone him to death: which though he might ea-
"ſily do in his owne country & kingdom; yet he thought good alſo to expect their cenſures. Yet
"he came vnto them, not for that they were to iudge his ſonnes, who were taken in a manifeſt
"crime, but that by this occaſion they might adde their ſuffrages to the iuſt indignatiõ of a father
"offended, & that they might leaue an example vnto al poſterity, that ſuch treaſons ought not to
"be left vnpuniſhed. The king hauing thus ſpoken, & not permitting the yong men to be brought H
"vnto their anſwer, all ſeeing what the king intended, & that there was now no hope to reconcile
the yong men vnto their father, or ſaue their liues, they all confirmed his authority. And firſt of
all *Saturninus*, one that had been Conſul, & had been graced with many honors, pronounced an
indifferent ſentence, limited with circumſtances, to wit, that he condemned *Herods* ſons, yet not
to die: for (quoth he) my ſelfe haue ſons, and I would not adde this calamity to *Herods* misfor-
tune paſt. After him alſo his three ſonnes, who were their fathers legats, pronounced the ſame
ſentence. But *Volumnius* pronounced, that they had deſerued death, who were ſo impious to-
wards their father; whoſe ſentence after him the moſt part followed: ſo that it ſeemed that they
were now ordained to be put to death. Preſently *Herod* caried them with him to Tyre, where he
met *Nicholaus*, who was now there arriued, returning from Rome: vnto whom the king firſt re- I
counting what was done at Berytum, he asked of him what his friends at Rome thought of his
ſonnes. He anſwered that they iudged the yong mens intents impious, & that they alſo iudged
that they ought to be bound & impriſoned; & then after due cõſideration, if it were ſo thought
expedient, to be put to death, leſt the king might be thought rather to haue giuen place vnto his
choler then vnto reaſon: yet if it might ſo pleaſe him they thought it beſt to acquit them, leaſt
otherwiſe he do that which hereafter he may repent when it is too late. And this was the opini-
on of moſt of his friends at Rome. Then the king a long time pondred theſe his words, & made
no reply, but commanded him to ſaile along in his company. At his arriuall at Cæſarea all men
were carefull what ſhould becom of his ſons, expecting an end of that tragedy, for they greatly K
feared that by reaſon of the old diſcord he would now cut them off; yet notwithſtanding they
were ſorrowfull for them: yet it was dangerous either to ſpeak raſhly, or to heare any thing ſpo-
ken frely cõcerning them, but in their hearts cõpaſſionating them they concealed their griefs.
Only one amongſt all the reſt, an ancient ſouldier of the Kings named *Tyro*, others diſſembling
their griefe, ſpake freely what he thought: this *Tyro* had a ſon of *Alexanders* age, and beloued of
him, whom *Alexander* much accounted of. This fellow many times amidſt the multitudes ex-
claimed, that truth & equity was now baniſhed from out of the world, and that in their ſteed
malice & vntruth reigned: wherby there was ſuch a miſt & a fog cauſed ouer the whole world,
that no man could ſee his owne errors. This his free ſpeech though it was not without danger,
yet al men hereat were moued, for that he had ſom reaſon to ſhew his fortitude in ſo dangerous L
a time; & euery one was willing to heare this ſpeech: and though theſelues for fear were ſilent,
yet did they not reprehend him for ſpeaking freely. For the expectation of the euent of ſo great
miſchief was able to haue wreſted from euery one of them words of commiſeration. *Tyro* with
great audacity alſo came vnto the king, and beſought him that he might talke with him alone:
which the king granting, hee vſed theſe words with great lamentation. I can no longer, O my
king, ſuppreſſe this my grief, which cauſeth me ſo boldly to ſpeak though with my owne peril;
yet if it pleaſe thee my king, that which I intend to ſpeake ſhall be for thine aduantage.

Where now my Lord are thy wits? where is that thy courageous mind euer hitherto able to
match al difficult buſineſſes whatſoeuer? how hapneth it that thou haſt ſo few friends & kinred? M
for I account not them kinſmen or friends, that permit ſuch wickednes & hatred in thy court,
which earſt was moſt happy & fortunate. And what art thou vnto thy ſelfe? wilt thou not looke
& ſee what is done? wilt thou put to death the two yong men born vnto thee by the Queen thy
wife, who abound in all vertue; and commit thy ſelfe now in thy old age vnto one only ſon, who
nouriſheth impious hopes & deſſeignes? and to thy kinred, who by thy own cenſure haue often
deſerued death? Doſt thou not perceiue, that the people keeping themſelues quiet & ſtill, doe
both condemne the errour of thy friends, and alſo pity and compaſſionate the two yong men?
Moreouer, all thy ſouldiers & the captaines themſelues haue compaſſion on them, and curſe the
authors

Saturninus doth pronoũce an indifferent ſentence.

Volumnius & other of Herods friends pronounce Herods ſons to be beheaded.

Herod asked of Nicholaus what his friends at Rome thought of his ſonnes.

Tyro ſpeaketh to Herod, and not obſeruing modeſty he & the captaines were impriſoned.

A authors of this infortunate calamity. The King at firſt took theſe words of *Tyro* in good part, as being admoniſhed of the perfidious dealing of them about him, & his owne calamity. But *Tyro* immodeſtly & ſouldier-like vrging the King, & for his own ſimplicity not able to diſcern what fitted that time, the King at laſt thought this rather a turbulent vpbraiding him, then a friendly admonition: & asking who thoſe captains & ſouldiers were, he cõmanded them all & *Tyro* alſo to be bound & kept in priſon. Then one *Tripho* the kings barbar, taking hereat occaſion told the king that *Tyro* had often ſollicited him, as he ſhaued the king to cut his throat with his razor, promiſing him for a recompence great rewards, and that he ſhould be one of *Alexanders* chiefe friends. Hauing ſpoken theſe words, the king cõmanded him to be apprehẽded, & the Barbar, & *Tyro* & his ſon to be tortured. *Tyro* his ſon ſeeing his father in moſt miſerable torments, & that

B he ſtill perſiſted in them (and by the kings diſpleaſure, coniecturing that there was no hope of life) told them that tortured his father, that he would confeſſe all the truth conditionally, that his father & himſelf might be no more tormented: and hauing his requeſt granted, he told them that it was agreed, that *Tyro* with his own hand ſhould haue killed the king: for he could get opportunity to come vnto the king when no man elſe was with him, & ſo he would kill him, & for *Alexanders* ſake endure any torments whatſoeuer. This ſpoken, he deliuered himſelf & his father from further tortures: but it is incertaine whether the tale he told was true, or whether he deuiſed it to free them both from torments. Then *Herod* now laying all doubt aſide (if before he were in any) thought what death his ſons ſhold dy, & leauing no place to repentance & mercy, he haſtned to execute his purpoſe: and producing 300. captains, & *Tyro* & his ſon, & the Barbar

C his accuſer, he accuſed them all before the people, & the people throwing any thing that came to their hands at them, they ſlew them euery one. And *Alexander* & *Ariſtobulus* were caried vnto *Sebaſte*, and there by their fathers command were ſtrangled: and their bodies caried by night into the caſtle Alexandrium, where their grandfather by their mothers ſide, and many of their progenitors lay buried. But perhaps ſome wil nothing maruell that a hatred ſo loug a breeding ſhould in the end ſo preuaile, that it ouercame naturall affection. But one may iuſtly doubt whether the fault were in the young men, who exaſperated by a hard father ſo long time, fell into ſuch hatred of him: or whether it is to be imputed vnto his vnkindnes & immoderate deſire of honor & rule, who could not abide any to be his equall, but rather chuſing to do all at his owne pleaſure: Or rather vnto fortune, whoſe power the wiſeſt liuing is not able to reſiſt. Wherfore I

D am perſwaded, Fortune hath predeſtinated all humane actions, ſo that they muſt haue a neceſſary euent. And this ineuitable force we cal fate or fatal deſtiny, for that there is nothing which it effecteth not. But it ſufficeth briefly to haue touched this high matter, which is of it ſelf very difficult, which attributeth ſomthing vnto our actions, & examineth the cauſes of the variety of our actions, which ſpeculation is already cõpriſed in the two volumes of our law. Furthermore touching the yong mens fault, we may accuſe their youthfull arrogancy, & their free king-like pride, who did giue too great eare to their fathers accuſers, & for that they were vniuſt ſearchers into his life & actions, & that they malicioufly ſuſpected him, & could not rule their tõgues: but hereby gaue double occaſion vnto their aduerſaries, & matter vnto thoſe tale-bearers that ſought to get the kings fauour. But their fathers ſhamefull fault cannot be excuſed, who ſuffred

E himſelfe ſo to be ouer-ruled with paſſion, that he put them to death that were begotten of his own body, without any proofe or argument of the crimes laid vnto their charge: yea two yong men of excellent feature of body, not onely beloued of their owne nation but alſo of ſtrangers, not ſlouthfull in hunting, & cõmendable in military affaires, & eloquent in ciuil diſcourſes. For in all theſe things they were excellent, & eſpecially *Alexander* the eldeſt of them. It had been enough for him, ſuppoſe he had condemned them, either to haue kept them in perpetual priſon, or baniſhed them into ſome far country; ſeeing that he was aſſured of the Roman power, vnder whoſe protection he neither needed to haue feared inuaſion; nor ſecret treaſon againſt him. For ſo ſoon to put them to death only to ſatisfie his own furious wil, what elſe doth it betoken, but only an impious liberty caſting off all fatherly humanity & kindnes: eſpecially, ſeeing that he

F was aged, whoſe yeares could neither plead ignorance, nor that he was deceiued. For neither was he the more excuſed by the delay he vſed: nay, it had bin leſſe offence if amazed with ſome ſudden newes, he had bin incited to ſo hainous an offence; but after ſo long delay & deliberation at laſt to effect ſuch a matter, betokens a bloody mind & obdurate in wickednes, as he well ſhewed himſelf afterward to haue, not ſparing the reſt, whom before he held moſt deare: who though they were leſſe to be pitied in that they iuſtly ſuffred, yet was it an argument of his like cruelty, in that he abſtained not from their deathes alſo: but we will ſpeake hereof hereafter.

The yeare of the world, 3961, before Chriſts birth 3.

Tyro is by his ſon & a Barber accuſed to haue practiſed treaſon againſt the King.

Tyro with 300. captaines are accuſed before the people and ſlaine.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled at Sebaſte and buried in Alexandrium.

The cauſe of theſe calamities was deſtiny and Gods prouidence.

Wherein Alexander and Ariſtobulus offended.

Herods ſhame full crrour not to be excuſed.

THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 17. Booke.

1 *Of* Antipaters *malice, who was* Herods *ſonne.*
2 *Of* Zamaris *the Babylonian Iew.*
3 *Of* Antipaters *treacherous practices againſt* Herod *his father.*
4 *How* Herod *ſent* Antipater *vnto* Cæſar.
5 *Of* Pheroras *death.*
6 *How* Pheroras *wife was accuſed for intending to poyſon the King, and how* Herod *knew* Antipaters *practiſes againſt him.*
7 *How* Antipater *was condemned to die, and impriſoned.*
8 *Of* Herods *ſickneſſe, and the ſedition amongſt the Iewes.*
9 *Of* Antipaters *death.*
10 *Of* Herods *death, his teſtament and funerall.*
11 *How the people began a ſedition againſt* Archelaus.
12 *Of the ſedition of the Iewes againſt* Sabinus, *and how* Varus *puniſhed the authors thereof.*
13 *How* Cæſar *ratified* Herods *teſtament.*
14 *Of the falſe* Alexander.
15 *How* Archelaus *being againe accuſed, was baniſhed vnto Vienna.*

CHAP. I.

Of Antipaters *malice, who was* Herods *ſonne.*

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Chriſts Nativity, 3.

AFter that *Antipater* had made away his brothers thorow the extreame impiety and vnbridled fury, wherewith *Herod* their father was incenſed and whetted againſt them; yet incontinently obtained he not that which vndoubtedly he hoped for. For being deliuered and diſcharged of that feare he conceiued, leaſt his brethren ſhould be partakers with him in the kingdome, he found a difficult and dangerous matter for himſelfe to finde the meanes how hee might obtaine the kingdome: ſo ſtrange and haynous a hatred had all the nation conceiued againſt him. On the other ſide, in ſhewing himſelfe proud and lofty, he more and more whetted and increaſed that hatred which the ſouldiers had foreconceiued againſt him, in whom notwithſtanding, the ſecurity of the kingdome conſiſted, if it ſhould fortune ſo to fall out that the people ſhould attempt any alteration. All which miſchiefes were begotten by his owne ſinnes, and the vnnaturall murther of his brothers. Nathelеſſe he gouerned the kingdome with his father, liuing in no leſſe authority then himſelfe: *Herod* alſo repoſed more confidence in him euen in thoſe things, for which he was worthy to loſe his head. For the King conceiued that in confirmation of his good affection towards him, *Antipater* had accuſed his brethren, as vnder reſolution to continue his father in ſecurity, & not for any hatred he bore as well vnto them, as to his father; though indeed he hated them for his fathers ſake, being tranſported with fury. But all theſe were but as ſo many ſubtill ſtratagemes to inſinuate himſelf into *Herods* counſels & fauours: and theſe did he craftily make vſe of, to cut off the occaſion leaſt any ſhould preuent or accuſe him of that which he pretended to doe, and that *Herod* might be depriued of all meanes & manner of reliefe, if ſo be *Antipater* ſhould bend his forces againſt him. For the treaſon he complotted againſt his brothers, proceeded from the hatred he bare vnto his father: but at that time he was the more egged on to proſecute his intended purpoſes, without any delay or procraſtination. For if *Herod* ſhould happen to die, it was a matter moſt aſſured that the kingdom ſhould be his; and ſhould his life continue any longer time,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Antipater after he had made away his brothers, grew hatefull both to the ſoldiers & the people.

Antipater gouerned the kindome with his father.

Antipater wiſheth his fathers death.

A time, & the practice *Antipater* went about ſhould be diſcouered, ſeeing himſelf inuironed with theſe dangers, he ſhould be inforced to make his father his enemy. For which cauſe he vſed very great bounty and liberality to all thoſe that were about his father: & thorow the great largeſſe he beſtowed vpon them, he ſtrangled and extinguiſhed that hatred which all of them bare vnto him: and aboue all things he continued himſelfe in credit with thoſe friends, which *Herode* had at Rome, by ſending them diuers preſents, and namely to *Saturninus*, who was gouernor of Syria. He hoped alſo by bribes and rewards to draw his fathers brother into his faction, and to corrupt the kings ſiſter alſo, who was maried to one of the kings moſt eſteem'd friends in court. Furthermore, hee was a ſubtill and politike man in entertaining thoſe men with colourable and cloaking ſhew of friendſhip, with whom he conuerſed, and to draw himſelfe into credit with
B them: contrariwiſe, he was ſufficiently practiſed to diſſemble his malice and diſcontents, which he had conceiued againſt any man. Notwithſtanding all this, he could not deceiue *Salome* his aunt, who of long time before had ſounded his inclination, and who was not ſo ſimple as to ſuffer her ſelfe to be deceiued; but had already by all cunning means that might be, preuented his malice; although ſhe had a daughter married vnto his vncle, by the mothers ſide. This daughter was firſt of al wedded to *Ariſtobulus*, and afterwards by *Antipaters* meanes eſpouſed to his vncle: For *Callaas* her husbands ſon had married the other. But neither could this affinity colour the matter ſo much, but that his malice was diſcouered; neither could that former conſanguinitie extinguiſh the deſerued hatred conceiued againſt him. *Herod* conſtrained *Salome* (who thorow amorous paſſion had thought to haue married her ſelfe to *Syllaus* the Arabian) to marrie with
C *Alexas*, and that by the mediation and perſwaſion of *Iulia Cæſars* wife, who aduiſed *Salome* not to refuſe that marriage, for feare leſt he ſhould proue her vtter enemy; for that *Herod* had made an oath, that if *Salome* condeſcended not to marry *Alexas*, hee would neuer make account of her: For which cauſe ſhe followed *Iulias* aduice, who was *Cæſars* wife, and counſelled her alſo to her profit and preferment.

The yeare of the world. 3961. before Chriſts birth. 3.

Antipater ſpared no coſt to winne his fathers friends.

Antipater could not deceiue his aunt.

Herod compelleth Salome to marry Alexas.

At the ſame time *Herod* ſent his daughter to king *Archelaus*, who had beene married to *Alexander*; preſenting him a dowrie out of his owne treaſurie, leſt there ſhould any difference ariſe betweene them, and he himſelfe moſt carefully brought vp his ſonnes children. For *Alexander* had two ſonnes by *Glaphyra*; and *Ariſtobulus* begat on *Bernice*, *Salomes* daughter, three ſonnes and two daughters. Theſe ſometimes would he preſent and commend vnto his friends, and bewailing the misfortune of his ſons would beſeech God that no ſuch ill fortune might befall their
D children, but rather that they might encreaſe in vertue and acknowledge their education and bringing vp, with all dutifull reſpects vnto their parents. He prouided them alſo each of them with a wife, at ſuch time as they were ready for marriage, namely, the daughter of *Pheroras* for the eldeſt of *Alexanders* ſonnes; and the daughter of *Antipater* for *Ariſtobulus* eldeſt ſon: and one of *Ariſtobulus* daughters was married to *Antipaters* ſonne; and the other hee eſpouſed to *Herod* his owne ſonne, whom he had begotten of the daughter of the high Prieſt. For it is lawfull in our countrey, and according to our cuſtome, to haue diuers wiues at one time. The king procured theſe marriages thorow the compaſſion hee had of thoſe Orphelins, thinking by theſe mutuall alliances to cauſe *Antipater* to be their friend. But *Antipater* conceiued no leſſe hatred
E toward the children, then he had done malice towards their father. For the care that *Herod* had of them, increaſed his hatred, in that he pretended to be the greateſt among the brethren; and he eſpecially feared leſt when they ſhould grow to mans eſtate they would reſiſt his power, being aſſiſted by king *Archelaus*, as his ſons in law; and *Pheroras* who was a Tetrarch ſhould do the like, for that he had married his ſonne to *Alexanders* daughter. And ſo much the more was he incited, becauſe all the people had compaſſion of theſe Orphanes, and had conceiued a hatred againſt him, who neuer ceaſed to expreſſe his malice againſt his brethren. He therefore deuiſed all the meanes that were poſſible to diſannul the decrees which his father had reſolued vpon to this effect, being very loth that they ſhould euer liue to be partners with him in the kingdom. So that at laſt *Herod* condeſcended to *Antipaters* demand, which was, that he might marry *Ariſtobu-*
F *lus* daughter, and his ſonne be eſpouſed to *Pheroras* daughter, and thus were the promiſed and forementioned marriages wholly cut off; yea euen againſt *Herods* former decree. At that time *Herod* had nine wiues, namely *Antipaters* mother, the high prieſts daughter, by whom he had a ſonne that bare his name, and a daughter of his brothers, and a couſin of his owne, by whom he had no children. He had another wife alſo, that by nation was a Samaritane, by whom hee had two ſonnes, *Antipas*, and *Archelaus*, and a daughter called *Olimpias*, who was afterwards married to *Ioſeph* the kings couſin. As for *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, they were brought vp at Rome, with a

Glaphyra ſometimes Alexanders wife is ſent backe to Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

Hedio & Ruffinus chap. 2.

Herod bringeth vp his foes children.

Antipater hateth his brothers children.

Antipater laboureth his father to breake off the marriages he intended.

Herods nine wiues.

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certaine priuate friend of his. Moreouer, he eſpouſed one that was called *Cleopatra*, that was borne in Ieruſalem, by whom hee had *Herod* and *Philip*, which *Philip* was brought vp at Rome. By *Pallas* he had *Phaſaelus*: by *Phedra* and *Helpia* he had two daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As touching his eldeſt daughters, *Alexanders* ſiſters by the mothers ſide, whom *Pheroras* had refuſed to take in mariage, he matcht the one with *Antipater* his ſiſters ſonne, and the other he wedded to *Phaſaelus* his brothers ſonne, and this was *Herods* progeny.

CHAP. II.

Of Zamaris *the Babylonian Iewe.*

Herod buildeth a caſtle in the region of the Trachonites, and maketh Zamaris the Iew that came fro Babylon gouernor therm.

AFter this, intending to aſſure his eſtate in the countrey of Trachonite, hee reſolued to build a borough of the bigneſs of a City in the midſt of the country, as well to warrantize his country as to be in better readineſs to repulſe his enemies, and to repulſe them with more expedition. And hauing intelligence that a certaine Iewe was come from Babylon with 500. Archers on horſeback, and about one hundreth of his kinſmen, and had aduentured to paſſe Euphrates, and was in the countrey adioining Antioch neere vnto Daphne in Syria, where *Saturnine* generall of the Roman army had giuen him a Caſtle, called Valatha to inhabite, he ſent for him and his followers, promiſing him to giue him both lands & lordſhips in the figniory of Batanea, which confineth on Trachonite, intending that he ſhould make head againſt thoſe that would aſſaile him, and promiſing him that both his land & his ſouldiers ſhould be exempt from all tributes, and paiments of cuſtomes. This Babylonian Iew was induced by theſe offers of his to come, and take poſſeſſion of the place, where he builded a borough, called Bathyra. This man oppoſing himſelfe againſt the Trachonites defended them of the countrey, and thoſe Iewes that came from Babylon to Ieruſalem to offer ſacrifice, from all incurſions and robberies of the Trachonites: and diuers that obſerued the religion of the Iewes reſorted vnto him from all places, ſo that this countrey was very well peopled, by reaſon of the enfranchiſement of the Tribute, which continued during *Herods* life time.

But *Philip*, who ſucceeded him, exacted afterward ſome ſmall tribute of them, and that but for a little while. But *Agrippa* the great, & his ſon of the ſame name, vexed them very grieuouſly with taxations; yet permitted them to enioy their liberty, whoſe ſucceſſors the Romans impoſed many grieuous tributes vpon them, yet continued their freedome, of whom hereafter we will more particularly and largely diſcourſe in due place, and in proceſſe of my hiſtory. Now this Iew *Zamaris*, to whom *Herod* had giuen the poſſeſſion of his countrey, died, after he had liued vertuouſly, and left a vertuous ofspring behinde him, amongſt whom was *Iacim* renowned for his dexterity on horſeback, who with his troupe of horſe was of the king of Babylons guard.

Iacim and Philip the ſons of Zamaris.

This *Iacim* died when he was very old, and left his ſon *Philip* to ſucceede him, a man valiant in armes, and addicted to all ſorts of vertue, as much as any one that hath beene renowned in writing: for which cauſe king *Agrippa* loued him and put his truſt in him, and committed the truſt and trayning of his ſouldiers vnto him, who led them alſo foorth if any occaſion of ſeruice was proffered.

CHAP. III.

Antipater *conſpireth againſt* Herod.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

WHil'ſt the eſtate and affaires of *Herod* were thus diſpoſed, all mens eyes were fixed vpon *Antipater*, after that *Herod* had permitted him to intend his particular profit. This permiſſion was granted him vnder the hope that his father had, that he would behaue himſelfe faithfully, and affectionately towards him: but he abuſed his authority more audaciouſly then could be expected; for he traiterouſly coloured his conceiued malice, and eaſily drew his father to beleeue him in whatſoeuer he ſaid. He was feared by all men, not onely for his force and authority, but for his ſubtilties and policies. But aboue all the reſt, *Pheroras* reſpected him moſt, and was in like maner as greatly eſteemed by him. For *Antipater* had circumuented him by the meanes of certain women, who fauoured his faction: for *Pheroras* was commanded by his wife, his mother & ſiſter in law, notwithſtanding that he hated them, by reaſon of the outrage they had offered to his daughters who were virgins; natheleſſe he was enforced to diſſemble all things, becauſe he could doe nothing but that they were alwaies round about him, and had ſuch maſtery of his affaires, that they wrought him to performe whatſoeuer they pleaſed. To theſe likewiſe was *Antipater* neerly tyed, both of himſelfe and by his mother: for

Pheroras deceiued by women.

A for these foure women were of one mind and affection in all things, and spake as it were by one mouth: yet was *Pheroras* at ods with *Antipater* vpon some slight mislikes, and she that wrought this debate betwixt them was the kings sister, who had of long time espied all their drifts, knowing well, that their mutuall friendship tended to the ouerthrow of *Herod*: neither refused she to expresse what her opinion was therein. And they knowing well that the king disliked this their inward familiarity, and that he was priuy to that which they pretended, which was his vtter ruine, resolued between themselues to refraine their publike familiarity, and to make a shew that they were at ods one with another: to which intent they reproched one another, especially at such time as they were either in *Herods* presence, or there was any one with them, who (as they thought) would certify him therof. But in secret they intermitted not their accustomed friend-

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B ship, and continued their intercourses with more priuy affability, and such was their ordinary demeanor and behauiour: yet was not *Salome* ignorant hereof, neither when they first deuised this drift, neither afterwards when they put it in execution: for she diligently noted all things, and aggrauated the same in her reports to her brother, whom she informed of their secret assemblies and banquetting, vrging their secret consultations, which (as she said) had no other issue but his ruine, except vpon their discouery he sought to represse them in time. Further, that for the present they behaued themselues like enemies in outward shew, and all their speeches tended to disgrace one another; but that in secret they were friends, and that in priuate they entertained their amity, and promised each other their mutuall assistance to strengthen themselues against those to whom they were loth their friendship should be discouered. These things obserued, she with all

Salome discouereth to Herode the conspiracies of the Ladies & others.

C diligence signified the same vnto her brother, who of himselfe had already many probabilities thereof. But he durst not make shew thereof, because hee knew that his sister was a woman too much addicted to reproachfull accusation. There was amongst the Iewes a sect of people that were called Pharisees, who were too much addicted to selfe opinion, and boasted themselues to be the exactest obseruers of the law in all the country, to whom these women were very much addicted, as to those who were much beloued of God, as in outward appearance they made shew for. These were such as durst oppose themselues against kings, full of fraud, arrogancy, and rebellion, presuming to raise war vpon their motions, and to rebell and offend their princes at their pleasures: whereas therfore all the nation of the Iewes had sworne to be faithfull to *Cæsar*, and to the estate of the king; these onely refused to take the oath, and of this sect there were to

The Pharisees subtill and arrogant.

The Pharisees would not sweare obedience but were fined.

D the number of six thousand. For which cause the king hauing imposed an amercement vpon them, *Pheroras* wife paid it for them; for which cause they pretending to gratifie her, and being esteemed for such as were skilfull in foretelling such things as were to come, by reason of their often communication with God, foretold her that God had decreed to bring the kingdome of *Herod* and his posteritie to an end, and would bring to passe that the crowne should descend to *Pheroras* and his sonnes. *Salome* had got an inkling hereof, and had told *Herod* no lesse: and how they likewise corrupted euery one of his Courtiers; for which cause he put those to death amongst the Pharisees, who were the principall authors of this aduice, and with them also the Eunuch *Bagoas*, and *Carus* who was his darling, and one of the goodliest men of that time. He afterwards cut off all those amongst his houshold seruants, who were of the Pharisees faction:

Pheroras wife payeth their fine, for which benefit they promise her the kingdom. Bagoas, Carus and others are put to death by Herode.

E For *Bagoas* was bewitched with that hope by them, that he suffered himselfe to be called the father and benefactor of the king, who should be established according to their prediction, and haue the gouernment of all things, and should be strengthned by mariages, and descent of his lawfull and naturall children.

But after that *Herode* had punished those amongst the Pharisees, who were conuicted to haue beene of the conspiracie, hee assembled a councell of his friends, before whom he accused *Pheroras* wife, and ripped vp the outrage that was done vnto his daughters, as it hath beene declared, ascribing the same to the pride of this woman, obiecting it for a crime against her, for thereby she had iniuried his honour. Besides this, he accused her that she had of set purpose stird vp mutinies, and by all meanes possible both in word and in effect, contrarie to all law of nature, shee

Hedio & Rufinus, ch. 4. Herode accuseth Pheroras wife, and commandeth him to put her away.

F stirred vp debate betwixt him and his brother; and that the fine that he had imposed vpon his aduersaries was satisfied at her charge: so that no iot of that conspiracie was contriued without her priuitie and consent. For which causes (said hee) brother *Pheroras*, it shall not bee amisse for you of your owne accord to driue such a wretched woman from you, before you be requested, and the sentence be pronounced against her, otherwise she wil be the cause to kindle a warre betwixt you and mee. For if at this present you will continue the friendship and brotherhood betwixt you and me, separate your selfe from her: in so doing I will account you for my brother,

and

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and you ſhall loſe nothing by the affection which I beare vnto you. For the bond of brotherlie loue cannot continue ſafe and vnuiolate, vnleſſe you put her away. Now although *Pheroras* was moued with the importance & waight of this diſcourſe; yet ſaid he, that for the loue he bare vnto his wife, he would forget nothing of that dutie which conſanguinitie required at his hands in regard of his brother: but that he had rather die then liue without her company, whom he loued more deerly then his life. *Herod* although he tooke this anſwere of his brothers for a moſt grieuous iniurie, yet forbare he to diſcouer his diſpleaſure towards him: hee onely forbad *Antipater* and his mother, and in like manner *Pheroras*, to frequent the one with the other any more. Hee commaunded the women likewiſe that they ſhould giue ouer their familiar entertainements the one with the other, which all of them promiſed to performe. Yet this notwithſtanding vpon fit opportunites and occaſions, they viſited one another, and *Antipater* and *Pheroras* feaſted one another by night. The report alſo went that *Antipater* had the company of *Pheroras* wife, and that his mother was the meanes and miniſter of their priuie meetings.

The ſeare of *Pheroras* refuſall to put away his wife. Herod interdicteth Pheroras and Antipater their priuie meetings, and forbiddeth the Ladies no leſs.

G

H

CHAP. IIII.

Herod *ſendeth* Antipater *vnto* Cæſar.

Herod ſendeth Antipater to Cæſar.

ANtipater ſuſpecting his fathers diſlikes, and fearing leaſt his hatred ſhould by increaſe bring him into hazard, he wrote vnto his friends in Rome, requiring them to write their letters vnto *Herod*, requeſting him to ſend *Antipater* vnto *Cæſar*, with all expediton as was poſſible. Which beeing brought to paſſe, *Herod* ſent him thither with diuers royall preſents, and gaue him his teſtament & will with him; wherein he had bequeathed the kingdome to *Antipater*. And if it ſhould happen that *Antipater* ſhould die before him, then bequeathed he the ſame to his ſonne *Herod*, whom he had by the high Prieſts daughter. About the ſame time *Syllæus* the Arabian repaired to Rome, notwithſtanding hee had neglected thoſe things that *Cæſar* had giuen him in charge. Him did *Antipater* accuſe before *Cæſar*, for the ſame defaults wherewith he was charged by *Nicholaus*. *Syllæus* alſo was accuſed by *Aretas*, for murthering diuers of the beſt account in the citie of Petra, contrarie to his mind: amongſt the which was *Sohemus* (a man of much vertue and honour) and *Phabatus*, *Cæſars* ſeruant, of which crimes *Syllæus* was accuſed vpon that occaſion which enſueth: There was a certaine man of Corinthus, who was one of the kings guard, and ſuch a one as he put very great truſt in: him did *Syllæus* perſwade by ſtore of money and bribes, to kill *Herod*; which hee promiſed to performe. *Phabatus* made priuie to *Syllæus* mind, he preſently told it to the king, who cauſed him to be apprehended and tortured; who confeſſed the whole matter. He laid hands alſo on two Arabians, perſwaded by this Corinthians confeſſion; one of which was a man of commaund in his countrey, and the other was *Syllæus* chiefeſt friend. They being examined, confeſſed that they came thither to ſolicite and egge forward with many exhortations the Corinthian to execute the murther, and to aſſiſt him if he ſtood in need of them. Which being fully approued by *Herod* before *Saturnine*, he ſent them to Rome, there more amply to be proceeded againſt, and ſo to be puniſhed.

Antipater accuſeth Syllæus, at Rome before Cæſar.

Aretas accuſeth Syllæus, for killing Phabatus and others.

A traitor that ſought the kings death, is apprehended.

I

K

L

CHAP. V.

Pheroras *death.*

HErod perceiuing that his brother *Pheroras* did conſtantly continue his affection towards his wife, hee commaunded him to retire himſelfe into his owne dominion: whereupon hee willingly departed to his Tetrarchy, proteſting by many ſolemne othes that he would neuer more returne into the Citie, vnleſſe hee were aſſured that *Herod* was dead. Not long after it hapned, that the king falling ſick, hee was ſent for to receiue certaine ſecret inſtructions, as from the mouth of a dying man; but *Pheroras* would not obey him in regard of his oath. This notwithſtanding *Herod* dealt more kindly with him, and continued his loue & affection towards him: for he came vnto *Pheroras* as ſoone as hee heard of his firſt ſickneſſe, and beeing vnſent for alſo; and after hee was deceaſed, hee ſent his body to Ieruſalem, and honourably entombed him in that place, and grieuouſly lamented his death. This was the beginning of *Antipaters* miſhaps, who at that time was departed to Rome. For it was Gods pleaſure that at laſt hee ſhould bee puniſhed for the murther of his brethren. This matter will I diſcourſe of at large, that it may ſerue for an example vnto many kings, how they ought to practice and follow vertue in all their actions.

An oath ſolemnly obſerued.

Pheroras in his ſickneſſe is viſited by Herod & being dead, is honorably buried by him.

M

CHAP.

A

CHAP. VI.

The yeare of the world, 3961, before Christs birth 3.

Pheroras *wife is accused, and* Herod *is aduertised of* Antipaters *conspiracies.*

AFter *Pheroras* death, two of his freemen, who were Taphnites by birth, and such as *Pheroras* in his lifetime both inly trusted, and dearely loued, came vnto *Herod*, requiring him not to suffer his brothers death to passe vnpunished, but to make diligent enquiry of that vnfortunate and vnexpected misaduenture. *Herod* lent a willing eare to their sute, perceiuing that the matters they importuned him in, were likely & very credible. Wherupon they told him, that *Pheroras*, the day before his vnexpected sicknes, had supt with his wife, and that hauing receiued an vnaccustomed poyson with his meat, he was dead. That this poyson had been brought thither by a woman of Arabia; who in her speech protested that it was some potion to increase loue, but in effect it was to bring *Pheroras* to his end. For the women of Arabia amongst all others ase skilful in poisons, & are great sorcerers, and she that was charged with this fact, was esteemed a great friend & fauourer of *Syllæus* best beloued. That *Pheroras* mother & his wiues sister went into those quarters vpon purpose to buy that poyson, and returned backe, and brought this woman with them the day before the supper. The King moued by these words of theirs, tortured both those maide-seruants of theirs, who were their bondwomen; as also certain other of their free seruants. Now when the fact could not be extorted, by reason that none of them confessed the same; at length, she that was last of all put to her tryall, ouercome by the paines she endured, said nought else, but that she prayed God that *Antipaters* mother might feele the like torments, sith shee was the cause of all those mischiefes which they endured.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. Pheroras freemen accuse his wife for poisoning him

Herod torturreth the Ladies bondwomen, & foundeth out Antipaters & their secrets.

These words of hers made *Herod* the more eager & inquisitiue, so that by force of tortures he wrought out all the secrets of these women, their banquets, their secret assemblies, & those very words that *Herod* had spoken apart betwixt his son and himselfe; which had been reported vnto the women that *Pheroras* entertained: namely, that hee would giue him one hundreth talents, prouided he would vse no conference with *Pheroras*. Moreouer, they reckoned vp the hatred that *Antipater* bare vnto his father, the complaints that he made vnto his mother of the too long life and continuance of his father: for that in regard of himselfe hee was already wexen old; so that although the kingdome should fall into his hands presently, yet could he receiue but very little contentment thereby. Moreouer he alleadged, that diuers brothers & brothers children were brought vp together with him, so that he might not securely hope for any thing, for that already if he should fortune to die, the kingdome was to descend not to his son, but to his brother: besides this, he was accustomed to accuse the King of diuers cruelties cõmitted by him, and of that murther which he executed vpon the persons of his children. That for feare least he should practice his tyranny against those that remained, *Antipater* had found out the deuice to be summoned to Rome, and *Pheroras* withdrew himselfe into his Tetrarchy.

These words, which as he knew had reference to that which his sister had often informed him of, were not by him held incredible; so that being pressed with the malice of *Antipater*, he sequestred *Doris* his mother frõ his presence, spoiling her before her departure of all her iewels, which were valued at many talents: and from that time forward he shewed himself more fauorable towards those women of *Pheroras* household. But nothing did more whet *Herods* displeasure against *Antipater*, then did a certain Samaritane, who was also called *Antipater*, who had the ordering of the affaires of *Antipater* the Kings son. For he being brought in question & tortured, declared amongst other things, that *Antipater* had mixed a mortall poyson, and deliuered the same to *Pheroras* his vncle, commanding him to practice the Kings death in his absence, and by that meanes least suspected. That this poyson was brought out of Egypt by one called *Antiphilus*, *Antipaters* friend. That it was sent to *Pheroras* by one called *Theudion*, *Antipaters* mothers brother. That this poyson was kept by *Pheroras* wife, & was committed by her husband to her custody. She being examined by the King hereupon, confessed no lesse, and hastning forth as if she intended to fetch the same, she cast herself dwon headlong frõ the top of the house: yet did she not murther herselfe, because she fel vpon her feet. Now after she was recouered out of her swoune, and the king had promised all security both to herself & her family, if so be she would discouer the truth; & contrariwise threatned her with extream torments, if she obstinately cõtinued in concealing these treasons, she sware she would discouer all things according as they were

Herod thrusteth Doris Antipaters mother out of his palace.

Antipater the Samaritane, declareth how Antipater the kings sonne had prouided poyson for his father.

were acted, and as many men thought at that time ſhe told nothing but the truth. That poyſon (ſaid ſhe) was brought by *Antiphilus* out of Egypt, and bought there by the meanes of a brother of his, who was a Phyſition. After this, *Theudion* brought it to our houſe: and I hauing receiued it from *Pheroras* hands, kept the ſame, but bought by your ſon *Antipater* to poyſon you that are his father. Now therefore after that my husband fell ſicke, and you in kindnes came to viſit and comfort him, he being mooued with compaſſion, and conquered by your brotherly kindneſſe, by your good affection and louing care in giuing order for his health, called me vnto him, and ſaid; O wife, *Antipater* hath circumuented me, whil'ſt by his peſtilent counſels and poyſoning practices he deſireth to cut off his father, and depriue me of a kinde brother. Now "therefore, ſith as I perceiue there is no part of my brothers louing and naturall affection dimi- "niſhed towards me, wherewith he was wont to entertaine me, and that my lateſt houre of life "approcheth, God forbid, that being ready to ſleep with my fore-fathers, I ſhould preſent them "with a ghoſt ſoiled and ſweltred in my brothers blood: Diſpatch therefore, and burne this poi- "ſon before mine eyes. Hereupon ſaid ſhe, I preſently brought it forth according as my husband "commanded me, and burnt the greateſt part of the poiſon, and the reſt I reſerued, that if after "my husbands death your Grace ſhould vſe me vnkindly, it might ſerue mee to eſcape thoſe ex- "treamities that would betide me.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Chriſts Nativity, 3.

Pheroras wife cõfeſſeth that ſhe hath the poiſon, & caſts her ſelfe down headlong frõ the roofe.

After ſhe had ſpoken thus, ſhe brought forth before them all the poiſon, & the box wherein it was kept. After her, another of *Antiphilus* brothers, & the mother to them both, confeſſed no leſſe, being conſtrained thereunto by force & violente of torture, and acknowledged the box. The Kings wife alſo, who was the daughter of the high Prieſt, was accuſed for confederacy & concealement of all theſe treaſons. For which cauſe *Herod* put her away from him, & raſed his ſons name out of his teſtament, wherein he had bequeathed him the kingdom after his deceaſe. He diſplaced alſo his father in law *Simon* the ſon of *Boëthus* from the prieſthood, & placed *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus*, who was borne in Ieruſalem, in his ſteed. In the meanſpace *Bathillus*, *Antipaters* freeman returned from Rome; who being tortured, confeſſed that he brought a poiſon with him to deliuer it to *Antipaters* mother, and *Pheroras*, to the end that if the firſt poiſon were not effectuall enough to diſpatch the King, they might make vſe of this other, to cut him off ſpeedily. There came letters alſo to *Herods* hands from his friends in Rome, written & deuiſed by *Antipaters* means, to accuſe *Archelaus* & *Philip*, for very often they had refreſhed the memory of *Alexander* & *Ariſtobulus* death, contriued by their father; and for that they lamented the miſerable fate of them, who were innocently betraied; and that now alſo they themſelues were called back into their country for no other cauſe, but vpon their arriuall to be made partakers of their brothers miſerable deſtiny. Theſe things did *Antipaters* friends certifie *Herod* of, in that by many & mighty preſents he wrought them thereunto. He himſelfe alſo wrote vnto his father colourably, after a manner excuſing the young men, and imputing their words to their indiſcretion & yong yeeres. Meane while, he buſied himſelfe in accuſing *Syllæus*, and courted the chiefeſt Romans, buying diuers ornaments & iewels to preſent them with, to the valew of two hundreth talents. And it is to be wondred at, that ſo great matters being brought on foot againſt him ſeuen moneths at leaſt before his returne into the country of Iudæa, that no inkling thereof came vnto his ears. But the cauſe partly was, the diligent ſearch & watch that was kept vpon the high waies, and partly the hatred that all men had conceiued againſt *Antipater*. For there was not any that would put themſelues in hazard to procure his ſecurity.

The yeare of the world, 3962. before the birth of Chriſt, 2.

The king putteth away his wife, & blots his ſon out of his teſtament. He degradeth Simon, & enſtateth Matthias in the prieſtood. Archelaus and Philip are accuſed by Antipaters means.

CHAP. VII.

Antipater *is condemned, and caſt into priſon.*

Herod concealing his diſpleaſure, anſwered *Antipater* his ſonnes letters (wherein he gaue him to vnderſtand, that as ſoone as he had diſpatched his affaires as it behoued him, he ſhould returne) charging him to haſten homeward, for feare leaſt during his abſence, ſome vnexpected inconuenience might betide him. He likewiſe after a temperate maner complained vnto him of his mother, promiſing notwithſtanding to remit the fault vpon his returne, and by all meanes he made ſhew vnto him of much kindnes, fearing leaſt he apprehending any ſuſpicion ſhould deferre to haſten his returne homeward, & lingring too long at Rome, ſhould cõtriue ſome traiterous ſtratageme, to the preiudice of himſelfe, & the ouerthrow of his kingdome. Theſe letters did *Antipater* receiue in Cilicia, and already had he receiued others at Tarentum,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Herod writeth friendly letters to Antipater, and calleth him home from Rome.

A rentum, by whom he vnderstood of *Pheroras* his vncles death, whereat he was sore grieued; not for the loue he bare to *Pheroras*, but for that he died before he had murthered his father; according as he had promised him. As soone as he came to Celenderis a Citie of Cilicia, hee grew doubtfull whether he should return or no, and grieuously was he distracted by his mothers disgraces, who was banished from the Court. Sundry also were the opinions of his friends in this behalfe: for some of them counselled him to stay, and expect the euent of these troubles in some place: other some, on the other side, aduised him to delay no longer his return into his country, for that vpon his arriuall he might easily satisfie all those obiections and accusations that were inforced against him, because his accusers had nought else to strengthen their cause with, but his absence: This latter aduice liked him best; so that he betooke himselfe to sea, and at last arB riued in the port of Sebaste, so called, and builded by *Herod*, to his great charge in honour of *Cæsar*.

The yeare of the world, 3962, before Christs birth 2.

Celenderis in Cilicia.

Sebaste a hauen builded by Herod in honor of Cæsar.

And now already it manifestly appeared that *Antipater* was vpon his downfall: For no man came out to salute him, no man entertained him, as they did vpon his departure, when as all of them accompanied him with praiers and happy acclamations: but contrariwise they boldly and openly spake against him, and bitterly cursed him, telling him that he was iustly punished for the wickednesse he had committed against his brothers.

Antipater vpō his returne is saluted by no man.

About the same time *Quintilius Varus*, who was sent to succeed Saturnine in the gouernment of Syria, was at Ierusalem, & drew thither at that instant vpon *Herods* request, to assist him with his counsailes in his present and weighty occasions. Now whil'st these two sate and consulted

Quintilius Varus gouernor of Syria.

C together, *Antipater* came in before any man expected him, and in that purple garment and royalty that he was accustomed to vse, entered the palace. The guard of the gates suffered him to enter in, but they excluded all those that were with him. This first of all affrighted & appauled his spirits, in that he already perceiued into what calamities he was fallen; and now also when he drew neere his father, he thrust him from him, accusing him of the murther of his brethren, and reproching him with that intent he had to poison him, telling him that the next day *Varus* should both heare and iudge all his misdemeanours.

He altogether amated at the greatnesse of that vnexpected mischiefe, which he both heard and saw, departed presently from them wholly amazed, and in the way met with his mother and his wife (which was *Antigonus* daughter, who had been king of the Iewes before *Herod*) by

D whom he was aduertised of all that which had hapned, and for that cause more diligently prepared himselfe for his triall. The next day *Varus* & *Herod* sate in iudgement, accompanied by their friends on both sides; thither also were cited the kings kinred and his sister *Salome*, and certaine others, who could discouer his secret practices; some of which had bin tortured, and namely *Antipaters* mothers seruants, who a little before his arriuall, had been apprehended with a letter to this effect: That he should take heed that he returned not into the country, because his father was made priuy to all his practices, and that for the present he had no other refuge but onely to *Cæsar*, and to take care likewise lest he should fall into his fathers hands.

Herod calleth his sonne in question before Quintilius Varus.

Hereupon *Antipater* humbling himself on his knees before the king his father, besought him not to condemne him before his cause were heard, but to suspend his iudgement vntil such time

E as he had heard his iustifications. But *Herod* after hee had commanded him to withdraw himselfe into the midst of the court & assembly, deplored his infelicity in begetting such children, and bewailed his mis-hap, that in his old age he was reserued for an *Antipater*. After this he reckoned vp the cares he had spent in their education and institution, and how bountifully he had bestowed vpon him as much riches as he required: he furthermore alleaged, that none of all these fauors could preserue him from falling into the lapse of the loss of his life by their policy, to the intent that they might iniuriously possess the kingdom before either the law of nature, or the will of their father, or their own rights could challenge the same. But aboue all the rest, he wondred at *Antipater*, with what hope he could possibly be puffed vp to attempt so audacious and wicked an enterprise. For by his testament he had made him the heire of his kingdom, and

Antipater accused by Herod.

F in his life time also had made him equall partaker of his dignity, glory and power: that he receiued annually fifty talents of reuenewe, and to furnish his voyage for Rome, had 300. talents giuen him. Moreouer, he accused him for his slanderous accusations against his murthered and slaughtered brothers: who if they had been wicked, why did he imitate them? but if they were innocent; why without cause produced hee his slaunderous accusations against those, who were his naturall brethren? For in his owne respect he had neuer found any thing against them, but by his report: neither had he giuen sentence against them, but by *Antipaters* aduice,

The yeare of the world, 3962. before Christs Natiuity, 2.

aduice, who for the preſent were abſolued by him, becauſe he was becom the heire of their patricide. In vttering theſe words he began to weepe, being vnable to vrge his griefes any further; for which cauſe he beſought *Nicholas Damaſcene*, who was his deere friend, and conuerſed ordinarily with him, and was priuy to all that which had paſſed, to proſecute the reſt that appertained to the inqueſt and approbation of his crime. G

Antipaters anſwer to his fathers obiectiō.

But *Antipater* turning himſelfe towards his father, began to iuſtify himſelfe, vrging the ſame teſtimonies & fauours that his father had ſhewed vnto him, and the honors he had receiued at his hands, which he would neuer haue ſhewed him if he had bin vnworthy of the ſame, and had not by his vertue deſerued theſe fauors. He alleaged alſo, that by his vertue he had preuented all that which might haue hapned, and that where the cauſe required his labor or diligence, he diſpatched all things with his owne induſtry; that it was vnlikely that he, who had deliuered his H father from thoſe treaſons, which were intended againſt him by other men, ſhould himſelfe attempt the like: and as far from probability that he ſhould goe about to extinguiſh that vertue (wherof euen vntil that day he had giuen teſtimony) to th'end that alwaies hereafter he might be defamed for ſuch an indignity. For long before this time he was named and entitled to ſucceed him, and to enioy thoſe very honors wherof already he partooke no ſmall part; whereby he proteſted that it was vnlikely, that he, who might enioy the halfe of all that his father had, in all ſecurity, vertue & honor, ſhould deſire the whole with infamy and danger; yea and with incertitude to obtaine the ſame; conſidering in eſpeciall, that the puniſhment which had befallen his brothers (whom he had both diſcloſed and accuſed at ſuch time as they were hidden) was procured by him, who, if he had liſted, might haue concealed them in ſecret, and whoſe wic- I kednes toward their father (after it was approued) he himſelfe had reuenged vpon them: neither (as he ſaid) repented he himſelfe of that which he had done: for that action of his might be an argument to approue how incorruptly he loued his father. And as touching that which he had dealt in at Rome, *Cæſar* himſelfe was witnes thereof; who could bee no more deceiued then God himſelfe: whereof thoſe letters bore record, which were written by him; which in equity ſhould be of no leſs force, then the ſtanders of thoſe who ſought to ſet them at oddes: the moſt part of which obiections and reproches had bin complotted and deuiſed by his enemies, who haue had the leiſure to purſue the ſame during his abſence, which they could not haue performed in his preſence. Finally, he auowed, that all thoſe confeſſions were falſe which K were extorted by torture, in that it ordinarily falleth out, that ſuch as are put to the tryall, confeſſe many things by force of torment that are vntrue, to ſatisfie them that put them thereto: briefly without all fauour, he offered himſelfe to the rack in iuſtification of his innocencie. Vpon theſe his proteſtations, all the councell and aſſiſtants were confounded. For all of them had great compaſſion of *Antipater*, who was wholly drowned in his teares; ſo that his very enemies began to pittie him. And *Herod* himſelfe made it appeare, that he ſeemed in ſome ſort to be altered in his opinion: notwithſtanding he endeuoured to conceale the ſame.

Nicholas Damaſcene proſecuteth the kings accuſation.

But *Nicholaus*, according as he was requeſted, proſecuted that accuſation which the king had begun, vrging all things to the vttermoſt; and producing all the witneſſes, and thoſe manifeſt proofes, that were gathered from their examinations that were tortured. In eſpecial, he amply L diſcourſed of the kings vertue, which he had fatherly expreſſed in the education & inſtruction of his children; for which he had been ſo vnkindly and vnnaturally requited. Moreouer, that his firſt childrens fooliſh raſhneſſe was not ſo much to be wondred at, for that being yong, they had bin corrupted by the malice of their counſellors, and had blotted out of their hearts all the lawes of nature, rather through ambition of rule then deſire of riches: But that *Antipaters* boldneſſe was both wonderfull and wicked, who more cruell then the cruelleſt beaſts (who toward their benefactors acknowledge each good turne) was nothing mollified by his fathers ſo great indulgence; nor terrified by his brothers calamity; but muſt needs emulate them in their cruelty. And thou thy ſelfe (ſaid he) ô *Antipater*, wert the Iudge of their attempted treaſons, by thy M inquiſition they were indited, thou didſt execute the iuſtice againſt them being conuicted. Neither doe wee diſallow that thou didſt proſecute them with iuſt indignation, but rather admire thee for that thou imitateſt their intēperance: and we eaſily gather that thoſe acts of thine were not attēpted for thy fathers ſecurity, but intēded for thy brothers ouerthrow, that by deteſting their malice, thou mightſt inſinuate thy ſelf into the allowance & good liking of their father & thine, that afterwards thou mightſt more cunningly & ſecurely bring him to his end, which at length thou haſt attēpted to perform. For whil'ſt thou adiudgeſt thy guilty brothers to death, and ſpareſt their confederats, thou mak'ſt it manifeſt in al mens eies, that thou art in good liking

with

liking with them, whose assistance thou mightest hereafter vse in oppressing thy father. Thou hast therefore taken a double pleasure worthy thy manners; the one openly as if reioycing and glorying, that by thy brothers death thou hast atchieued a matter of honor: the other secretly, with endeuoring by greater wickednes, but more secret fraud to make an end of thy father; the reuenger of whose iniuries thou pretendedst to be. For if thou hadst truly detested their malice, thou hadst neuer esteemed the same to be worthy of thy imitation: For thou hast not cut them off for committing such capitall offences, as were answerable vnto thine, but for that they had a more iust & rightfull title to succeed in the kingdom then thou hast: And thou hast thought good to mix the murther of thy father with the slaughtered bodies of thy brothers, for feare least thou shouldst be suddenly conuinced in thy conspiracies against them, and to the end that the punishment which thou well deseruest to suffer, should light vpon thy infortunate father, projecting with your selfe such a paricide, and so rare & hainous a murther, that to this day the like thereof hath not been heard of amongst men. For thou being his sonne hast practised these treasons, not only against thy father, but against him that loued thee aboue measure, & did thee good beyond hope, whith whom thou hast actual participation of the gouernment of the kingdome, and who had appointed thee his heire in the same, being no waies hindred, either for the present, or in times past, to participate the pleasure of soueraignty, & being assured of the hope of succession both by the will and writings of thy father. But you haue measured the course of your affaires, not according to *Herods* vertue, but according to your owne appetite and malice, intending to depriue such a father of his part, who granted you the whole; and seeking in effect to murther him, whom in words you pretended heretofore to protect from iniury. And not cõtent of your self to practice these treacheries, you haue poisoned your mother also with no lesse corruption, and in steed of loue that should haue been amongst brethren, you haue filled your familie with mutinies & hatreds: And after and besides all these things, thou hast been so audacious, as to call thy father beast; being of thy selfe more malignant then those beasts that are most venemous, vsing thine owne venome against thy dearest friends, and such as haue best deserued at thy hands, strengthning thy selfe with his guard, and diuers treacheries both of men and women against one old man, as if thy cursed minde alone were not sufficient to satisfie thy hatred. And now after so many men and women slaues and free men tortured for thy cause, after the open & manifest testimonies of thy parties in the conspiracy, thou art so impudent as yet to contradict the truth: and thou that lately hopedst to depriue thy father of his life, dost now as much as in thee lieth, endeuour to abolish that law that was instituted against malefactors in thy kind, herewithall *Varus* equity, and all whatsoeuer iustice is in the world. Doest thou therefore accuse them of falsehood, who were examined in torments, to the end thou mightest endanger their credit, who were the preseruers of thy fathers life? shal we beleeue thee more then them in their tormeents? Wilt thou not (O *Varus*) deliuer the king frõ the iniuries of those, who are his own flesh & blood? wilt thou not put this wicked beast to death, who hath murdered his brothers to pretend a loue towards his father, and who hath at last beene discouered to be the most mortall enemy of them all, to the intent that at one instant he might establish the kingdom in himselfe? Thou knowest that Patricide is no priuate crime, but a publike iniury to life and nature, which is no lesse loathsome in the thought, then it is in the act: which who so punisheth not, is of himselfe guilty of an iniury offered to our common mother nature.

The yeare of the world, 3962. before Christs Nativity, 2.

Patricide that publike iniury of life and nature.

After these speeches, he annexed certaine points as touching *Antipaters* mother, which thorow feminine frailty had been blabbed out by her, to wit, that she had asked counsell of soothsaiers & diuiners, to whom the kingdome should befall: And that she had offered sacrifices, & made prayers for the death of the King. And moreouer, he declared what lasciuious prankes *Antipater* had plaied with *Pheroras* women, in banqueting and amorous and wanton dalliances. The informations likewise that were presented by such as were tortured, with sundry testimonies of diuers men, some suborned; the other found out to be incontinently produced & confirmed. For each man seeing that *Antipater* was exposed to the accusations of those men, who had the gouernment in their hands, and that the good fortune that had long time accompanied him, had openly deliuered him into the hands of his enemies, they manifestly discouered the insatiable hatred which they had conceiued against him, whereas before time the feare that they had of him inforced them to be silent: yet was he not so much burdened with other mens hatreds, as with his own wickednes, namely his deadly hatred against his father, his breach of amity amongst his brethren, whereby he filled the Kings household with seditions & murthers, of some complotted, and acted by other some; neither giuing place to hatred according to

The yeare of the world, 3962. before Christs Nativity, 2.

iuſtice, nor to amity according to good affection, but acording as it might ſtand with his profit. G Which for that diuers men perceiued long before that time, they iudged of euents according as they had reaſon, & the rather becauſe that being void of hatred, they ſpake but their opinions. And whereas heretofore they had cried with a loud voice againſt him, at ſuch time as they were ſhut vp; at this time when they were depriued of their feare, they declared all things, that they knew. And whereas there were diuers produced of the miſchiefes committed by him, yet ſeemed there nothing to be fained, for that the accuſers neither ſpake in fauour of the king, neither concealed any thing for feare of perill, but condemned all *Antipaters* wicked actions, and iudged him worthy of death & puniſhment, not ſo much for his fathers ſecurity as of his owne demerit. Neither did they only accuſe him, who were by iuſtice tyed thereunto, but diuers voluntary witneſſes alſo brought in their euidence; ſo that although hee was a very cunning diſ- H ſembler, and colourer of his lies, and moſt impudent in his aſſertions, yet durſt he not once open his mouth or mutter againſt the ſame.

Antipater accuſed by all men.

As ſoon as *Nicholas* had finiſhed his diſcourſe & accuſations, *Varus* commanded *Antipater* to anſwer to thoſe crimes, that were obiected againſt him, if he had any thing to alleadge, that he was not guilty of thoſe forfaits or hainous crimes that were laid vnto his charge. For of himſelf he deſired nothing more, & knew wel that *Herod* his father deſired no leſſe; then that he ſhould iuſtifie himſelfe, and maintaine his innocency. But he humbling himſelf vpon his face, & lowly bending his body to the ground, beſought God, who was the ſearcher of all hearts, to approue his innocency by ſome euident ſigne, how he had neuer attempted any thing to his fathers preiudice. For this is the cuſtome of all wicked men, that as often as they attempt any hai- I nous act, they engage themſelues in all wickednes, without any reſpect of Gods iuſtice; & when as by their miſdeeds, they are fallen into perill, then call they God to their minds, by whoſe inuocation & teſtimony they deſire to be deliuered, making a ſhew that they cõmit all things to his determination. The like whereof at that time happened in *Antipater*: who, whereas before time he diſpoſed all his actions in ſuch ſort, as if there had bin no God that had the ouerſway of humane affaires; at ſuch time as iuſtice ouertook him, and he was diſfurniſhed of the benefit of the law, had his recourſe to Gods power, alleadging that he was reſerued by God to this end, that he might diligently intend his fathers ſafety. Hereupon *Varus*, when as by often queſtionings he could wreſt nothing from him, but that he only cried vpon God, ſeeing that otherwiſe there would be no end of theſe debates, he commanded the poiſon to be brought forth before K them all, that he might make experience of what force it was: which being preſently brought vnto him, & miniſtred to one that was condemned to die, it preſently killed the man. Which done, he aroſe & departed out of the councell & the next day went to Antioch, where for the moſt part he was wont to haue his reſidence, for that it was the chiefe city of the Aſſyrians. But *Herod* preſently commanded his ſon to be put in bonds, no man knowing what talke had beene between him & *Varus* vpon his departure, but all mens opinion was that the king did nothing in impriſoning him, but by his counſell. When as therefore he had faſt bound him, he ſent vnto *Cæſar*, and wrote his letters vnto him, as touching *Antipater*, ſending certain appointed meſſengers, who by word of mouth might certifie him of his curſed treaſons.

Varus giueth Antipater licence to iuſtifie himſelfe. Antipater ſtriueth by his proteſtations, and inuocations of God to iuſtifie himſelfe.

The poiſon is miniſtred to a condemned man, and it killeth him. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Herod impriſoned his ſon and ſent Embaſſadors to Cæſar to certify his abuſes.

At the very ſame time there was a letter intercepted, ſent by *Antiphilus* to *Antipater*, which L *Antiphilus* remained in Egypt: which letter being opened by the king, was written to this effect. I haue ſent you *Acmes* letter, hazarding therby mine own life: for you know that I am in danger of the diſpleaſure of two mighty families, if I ſhould be diſcouered. As for your ſelfe, bethink you well of your affairs in this reſpect. Such were the contents of this letter. The King made diligent ſearch for others alſo, but he could finde none: for *Antiphilus* ſeruant, who had broght that which was read, denied that he had any other. But while the king was in this doubt, one of his ſeruants & friends perceiued that the inſide of the meſſengers vnder-coat was newly ſewed: for he had two garments the one vpon the other: & coniecturing that the letters might be hidden in the fould thereof, as indeed they were, he ripped the ſame, and found them. The tenour thereof was this: *Acme* to *Antipater*, Health: I haue written the letters to your father, ac- M cording as you gaue me inſtructions, and haue counterfeited the copy of my leter, as if it had been ſent by *Salome* my miſtris. I aſſure my ſelf, that when he hath read the ſame, he will puniſh *Salome* as one that hath practiſed treaſon againſt him. But that letter that was ſuppoſed to haue been written by *Salome* to *Acme*, was of *Antipaters* inuention, and written in *Salomes* name, according to his inuention, and in *Acmes* ſtile. The contents were theſe: *Acme* to King *Herod*, Health: Whereas I haue an eſpeciall care, that nothing be concealed from thee that cõcerneth thy

Antiphilus letter to Antipater.

Acmes letters to Antipater.

A thy ſecurity, hauing found a letter of *Salomes* written againſt thee vnto my Lady, I haue not without danger taken the copy thereof, and ſent it vnto you, in which ſhe required that ſhe might haue licence to marry *Syllæus*. Teare this copy, leaſt thorow the knowledge of the ſame, I grow in danger of my life. Now in that which ſhe had written to *Antipater*, ſhe had diſcouered that ſhe had written theſe words to *Herod*, according to that commandement he had giuen her, as if *Salome* had conſpired to work ſome treaſon againſt him. She ſent alſo the copy of thoſe counterfait letters in the name of *Salome*, and ſent them vnto her miſtris to work treaſon.

The yeare of the world, 3962. before Chriſts Nativity, 2.

Acmes letters to Herod.

This *Acme* was a Iew born, and chambermaid to *Iulia*, *Cæſars* wife, and did that which is aboue written for the loue which ſhe bare to *Antipater*, whom he had hired by great ſummes of mony, to the end, that ſhe ſhould aſſiſt him to execute the miſchiefe, which he practiced againſt his father and againſt his aunt. *Herod* made almoſt deſperate by the great miſchiefes of *Antipater*, was ſtirred vp on the ſudden to ſhorten his daies, for that he was the only meanes that ſtirred vp theſe great tempeſts of ſedition in his kingdom, and who not only practiced againſt his father and his aunt, but againſt his ſiſter alſo; and had in like ſort corrupted *Cæſars* family. *Salome* alſo incenſed him the more, beating her breaſts and offering herſelfe to all deaths, if any ſuch like matter might be duely prooued againſt her. For which cauſe *Herod* ſent for *Antipater*, commanding him to ſpeake freely all that which he had to ſay without feare. But hee hauing not one word to anſwere for his defence, *Herod* ſaid vnto him: Since that on all ſides thou art conuicted, and ſurpriſed in thy wickednes, delay not, but diſcouer thoſe that are of thy confederacy. Whereupon he laid all the fault vpon *Antiphilus*, & named none other. At that time *Herod* being wounded by extreame griefe, would haue ſent *Antipater* to Rome vnto *Cæſar*, that he might receiue his iudgement from him, but afterwards he feared leaſt by the intereſt of his friends he ſhould eſcape the danger, for which cauſe he kept him bound and fettered in priſon, as he had done before. And in the meane while ſent certain meſſengers with letters to *Cæſar*, to accuſe his ſonne, and to declare wherein *Acme* had been his confederate, producing the copy of the letters. Theſe Embaſſadors therefore reſorted to Rome, inſtructed in thoſe things they were to anſwere to thoſe interrogatories that ſhould be offered them, and with them he ſent theſe letters.

Herod inflamed with hatred againſt his ſonne.

Antipater laye h ad all the fault vpon Antiphilus.

CHAP. VIII.

Herods *ſickneſſe and the ſedition amongſt the Iewes.*

MEane while *Herod* fell ſicke, and made his will, and appointed his yongeſt ſonne to ſucceed him in the kingdome, for that through *Antipaters* inſtigations he had conceiued a hatred againſt *Archelaus* and *Philip*. He ſent alſo one thouſand talents vnto *Cæſar*, and fiue hundreth to his wife, and to his children, friends and freemen. Hee beſtowed alſo money, rents, and lands vpon his owne children: hee gaue his ſiſter *Salome* an ample poſſeſſion for that ſhe had alwaies perſeuered in louing him, and had neuer offended him. And hauing loſt all hope of recouery, for that he was about 70. yeares old, he became very tutchie and froward in whatſoeuer his affaires. The cauſe hereof was, that opinion he had conceiued, that he waxed contemptible, & that the whole nation tooke pleaſure in thoſe miſhaps which befortuned him: which ſome of thoſe who were fauoured by the people, made him the rather beleeue vpon this occaſion which enſueth. Amongſt thoſe that were moſt learned, amongſt the Iewes, *Iudas* the ſon of *Saripheus*, and *Matthias* the ſon of *Margalothus*, the moſt excellent interpreters of the lawes and ordinances of the countrey (and for this cauſe were in greateſt eſtimation among the people, by reaſon that they inſtructed and trained vp the youth; for all thoſe that deſired to obtaine vertue, ſpent all their time with them) vnderſtanding that the Kings ſickneſſe was dangerous, they incenſed the yonger ſort, counſelling them to ouerthrow all thoſe works that the King had cauſed to be made contrary to the law and cuſtome of the countrey; to the end, that they fighting for piety, might obtaine the reward that attendeth the ſame. For in that the King had enterpriſed and done many things contrary to the law, diuers vnaccuſtomed miſeries had befallen him, and namely that ſicknes wherewith he was detained. For *Herod* had done diuers things contrary to the ancient law; againſt which *Iudas* and *Matthias* exclaimed openly. For he had erected ouer the portall of the great temple, an Eagle of gold of great value. Now the law prohibiteth that they, who pretend to liue according to the ſame, ſhould in any ſort erect any image, or repreſent any figures of liuing creatures whatſoeuer. For this cauſe theſe doctors counſelled them to pull downe that Eagle: telling them, that although the matter ſeemed to want no perill,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Herod falling ſick maketh his Will and leaueth the ſucceſſion of his kingdome with his other goods to his friends and kinſfolkes.

Herod impatient in his old age and wondrous wayward.

The yeare of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Nativity, 1.

A golden Eagle vpon the greateſt gate of the temple.

The yeare of the world,3963. after Christs birth,1.

Contempt of death.

perill, yet ought they rather to prefer an honeſt death before a pleaſant life,if ſo be it be imploied for the defence of their country lawes and religion. For in ſo doing they ſhould obtaine immortall praiſe for the preſent,and a memorable and eternall glory in time to come; neither that they ſhould protract the execution therof for fear of danger, ſince death was a thing that might not be auoided; ſo that ſince by the general courſe of nature,they muſt needly die,it ſhould become them brauely to forſake their liues with praiſe and honor in imbracing vertue. For to die in the execution of ſome noble exploit(which cannot be atchieued without hazard or danger) their children ſhould be richly rewarded with the fruits therof,& their other parents that ſhuld outliue them (of what ſex ſoeuer) ſhould reap the fruits of that glory which was honorably atchieued by them. In theſe or ſuch like words incouraged they they yong men. G

The yong mẽ pull ng downe the golden eagle hew it in peeces with their axes. Iudas and Matthias with forty other young men being broght to the kings preſence iuſtifie their actions with ioy,& the king ſendeth them bound to Iericho.

About that time there was a rumour ſpread, that the King was dead, which gaue very great furtherance to the Doctors reſolution. For at high noon they went vp into the temple,they pulled and hewed down the Eagle with their axes, in the ſight and aſſembly of a great number of people that were in the temple. Now when the tydings hereof came vnto the ears of the Kings captain, he fearing leaſt ſome further and more fatall tumult might be raiſed, drew out a ſtrong company of ſouldiers with him, to repulſe thoſe that were aſſembled to hew downe the Eagle: and charging the rude and diſarmed multitude,who were gathered together, he eaſily ſlew and diſperſed the moſt; as for thoſe forty yong men that valiantly addreſſed themſelues to reſiſt, he apprehended them,and with them the authors of this ſedition *Iudas* and *Matthias*, who thought ſcorne to ſubmit themſelues,and led them to the King;who demanding of them how they durſt deface the ſacred image: they anſwered,that long before that time they had reſolued it,and that now according as they had reſolued,they had like valiant men performed the ſame. For we(ſaid they) maintaine the honour of God and the doctrine of our law,whereof we are diſciples: neither ought you to admire that with contempt of your ordinances we haue preferred the lawes of our forefathers,which *Moſes* hath left vs in writing,according as he was ſuggeſted and taught them by God: neither doe we refuſe any death or puniſhment which thou ſhalt inflict vpon vs, being aſſured in our conſciences,that we ſuffer not for our impiety, but piety ſake. Thus ſpake they all of them, continuing the like conſtant boldnes in their anſweres, as they had ſhewed in their actions, being alſo ready,conſtantly to endure any puniſhment for that which they had attempted. Hereupon the King cõmanded them to be bound,and ſent them to Iericho: then calling before him thoſe principall Iewes,who had the gouernment vnder him;and being brought into their aſſembly vpon his pallat, by reaſon of his weaknes, he recited vnto them the numberleſs trauels he had endured for their ſakes: in like maner, how vpon his great charges he had repaired & reedified the temple;whereas the Aſmoneans for the ſpace of 125. yeers, wherin they raigned,could not performe ſuch a building in the honour of God. Moreouer,he ſignified vnto them,how he had adorned the ſame with precious gifts,for which he hoped that after his death his memory & glory ſhould ſuruiue. After this he expoſtulated with them for what cauſe they abſtained not from offering him that outrage during his life time? And why at noon daies and in the ſight of all the people, they had laid hands on thoſe preſents which hee had dedicated vnto God,and had taken thoſe things away violently which though in words they appertained to him,yet in the effect if the act were well examined,they had taken from God. The Gouernours ſuſpecting his cruelty,and fearing leaſt his vnbridled paſſion ſhould vrge him further, by which meanes they migh be aſſured of ſome ſeuere puniſhment, anſwered him: that thoſe things were not done by their conſents,and that in their opinion the iniury ought not to be let ſlip without puniſhment. At that time *Herod* ſhewed himſelfe more fauourable towards the reſt, but he cauſed *Matthias* to be depriued of the prieſthood,as one in part who had bin the cauſe of that which had hapned;and in his place ſubſtituted *Iozar* one of his wiues brethren. During the prieſthood of this *Matthias* it hapned alſo,that another high Prieſt was elected that very day, wherein the Iewes did vſually celebrate their faſt. For *Matthias* the night before the day of the faſt, ſeemed in his dream to haue had the company of his wife;and whereas for this cauſe he was vnfit to offer the diuine ſacrifice, he had *Ioſeph* the ſon of Ellemus appointed him to be his aſſiſter and ſubſtitute,by reaſon of his alliance. *Herod* therefore depoſed *Matthias*: and as touching the other *Matthias*, who had mooued this trouble, both he & his companions were by his commandment conſumed with fire. H I K L M

Herod aſſembleth the gouernours of the Iewes, and expoſtulateth with them about this commotion.

Matthias depriued of the hie prieſthood & Iozar is aſſigned his place.

Ioſeph Ellemi for one day high Prieſt.

Matthias and Iudas burned.

The Eclipſe.

This very night the moon was eclipſed, & *Herods* ſicknes grew more vehement. For God puniſhed thoſe ſins which he had cõmitted. For he was inflamed with a lent or ſlow fire, which to the outward ſenſe ſeemed not ſo vehement, but inwardly ſearched & afflicted all his entrails: he had

A had alſo a rauenous and vnnaturall appetite to his meat, which might no waies be ſatisfied. Beſides that, he had an vlcer in his bowels with a ſtrange and furious colick. His feet were ſwolne with moiſt and ſhining flegme, and his ſtomacke was no leſſe affected alſo. His members rotted and were full of crawling wormes, with a filthy & no leſſe troubleſome Priapiſme, accompanied with an intolerable ſtench: beſides all this he had a ſtrong conuulſion of his nerues, and ſhortneſſe of breath. For which cauſe it was a generall opinion amongſt holy men, and ſuch as had the knowledge of prophecy, that the King was thus puniſhed for his infinite impieties & ſinnes committed againſt the maieſty of God. And although he was tormented with an vnſupportable ſicknes, yet had he hope to eſcape: and for that cauſe he ſent for Phyſitions from all places, and refuſed none of thoſe remedies which they thought behoofefull for him. He therfore paſt ouer

The yeare of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Nativity, 1.

Herodo & Ruſ. finus, chap. 9. Herods horrible ſickness.

B Iordan and went into the hot bathes of Calliroes, the waters whereof are potable, beſides other vertues they haue againſt all other kind of ſicknes: this water diſchargeth it ſelf into the lake called Aſphaltite. Being there it was thought good by his Phyſitions, that he ſhould refreſh himſelfe in thoſe waters: There being ſet by them into a bathing tubbe filled with oyle, he waxed ſo ſick, that they held him for dead. Whereupon all his houſhold ſeruants wept and grieuouſly lamented; and all his familiar friends crying out & bewailing him, with their great noiſe cauſed him to come to himſelfe: and ſeeing himſelfe wholly out of hope to eſcape, hee gaue order that there ſhould a diſtribution be made to euery ſouldier the ſumme of fifty drachmes, & he offred great preſents to their captains & his friends. Afterwards he returned to Iericho, where a melancholy humour poſſeſſed him, which made him vnſociable, and diſpleaſed againſt all men; ſo that

The hot baths of Calliroes that flow into the lake Aſphaltite.

Herod beſtoweth a diſtribution amongſt his ſouldiers.

C ſeeing that he muſt needly die, hee bethought him of this facinorous action that followeth. For the nobleſt men among the nation of the Iewes, reſorting vnto him from all parts (vpon his commandement vnder the expreſſe penalty of loſſe of life, to whoſoeuer ſhould neglect the ſame) the King ſhewed himſelfe to be diſpleaſed, as well againſt thoſe whom he thought guilty, as againſt them who had giuen him no occaſion of diſcontent. For he cauſed them to be ſhut vp in a place called the Hippodrome, which was the tilt-yard to run horſes in, and ſent for his ſiſter *Salome*, and *Alexas* her husband; telling them that his end was at hand, for that his griefes did inceſſantly torment him: which as he ſaid he ought to bear patiently, becauſe it was an end that ſhould happen to all men. But that which moſt grieued him was, that he ſaw himſelfe depriued of thoſe

Herod commandeth that the nobleſt of the Iewes ſhould be ſlaine after his death.

D mournings and lamentations, which a King deſerued. For he was not to ſeeke of the Iewes affections, neither how his death was deſired and longed for by them, ſince that in his life time they preſumed ſo farre as to reuolt, and diſhonour & deface thoſe gifts, which he had beſtowed vpon the commonweale. It therefore behooued them to afford him ſome ſolace in that his bitter anguiſh, for that if they refuſed not to performe that which hee had contriued in his mind, the lamentation of his death ſhould be magnificent, and as great as any King euer had: and the pleaſure & laughter that might accompany his death, ſhould be abated by their ſorrow, who ſhould vnfainedly lament for the whole nation. He therfore willed them that at ſuch time as he ſhould giue vp the ghoſt, they ſhould cauſe the Hippodrome to be inuironed by his ſouldiers, as yet vnaduertiſed of his death (which he would not haue publiſhed before this execution were ended) and to command them to ſhoot their arrowes at thoſe that were ſhut vp therein. And that when

E they had ſlaine them all after this manner, they ſhould make him triumph & reioyce in a double ioy; firſt, for that in his death his commandement ſhould bee ratified by effect; ſecondly, for that he ſhould be honoured by a memorable lamentation. Thus weeping, he beſought his kinſfolke for the loue they bare vnto him, and for the faith they bare vnto God, that they ſhould not ſuffer him to die fruſtrate of this laſt honor: and they proteſted that they would not tranſgreſſe any point of this his commandement. Hereby a man may coniecture what his nature was, who took pleaſure in theſe aboue named impieties, & who through the deſire he had of long life, hath after this ſort dealt with thoſe of his blood: and it may be coniectured by theſe his laſt cõmandements, that he had nothing in him that ſauoured any humanity: for that departing out of the world he had ſuch a mind, that all the nation and all ſuch as were moſt affectioned towards him,

F ſhould be driuen to ſorow and deſolation; commanding that in euery houſe one ſhould be ſlain, yea ſuch as had not in any ſort offended him, and were not accuſed of any miſdeed committed againſt any other: whereas they they that haue any vertue, finding themſelues at that ſtate, haue been accuſtomed to lay aſide the hatred which they haue before time borne vnto their enemies.

The yeare of the world, 3963. after Christs birth, 1.

CHAP. IX.

Antipaters *death.*

Letters are sent frō Rome that Acme was executed by Cæsars command, & that he had authorite to vse Antipater at his pleasure.

WHilest hee deliuered these instructions to his kinred, he receiued letters from those Embassadors which he had sent from Rome vnto *Cæsar*: the effect whereof was, that *Acme* was put to death by *Cæsars* command, who was displeased with her for that she had bin of *Antipaters* conspiracy, who was remitted to *Herods* pleasure like a king and father to vse him, as best pleased him; either to exile and banish him; or if it so pleased him, to put him to death. *Herod* receiuing these newes, recouered his spirits a little thorow the pleasure he receiued in the contents of those letters, both of *Acmes* death, as of the power that was granted him to punish his son. But being assailed afresh with greeuous dolours, and vrged with a desire to eate, he called for an apple & a knife: for before time he was accustomed to pare his apples himselfe, and to cut a little; and afterwards to eate it: when as therefore he had gotten hold of the knife, he looked round about him, determining to giue himselfe a mortall wound therewith, and had surely done it, had not *Achiabus* his nephew hastily stept within him, and staid his hand, & call'd for assistance. At that time the sorrow and lamentation was renewed in all the palace, as if the King had beene already dead: and *Antipater* certainly beleeuing that his father was departed, began to hope (and confirmed no lesse in his words) that being deliuered out of prison, hee should obtaine the possession of the kingdom without any difficulty: and deuised with the Gaoler as touching his deliuerance, offering him great presents both in hand & hereafter, as if there had bin no other question but of that. But so farre was the Gaoler from obeying that which *Antipater* demanded, that he presently went & certified the King what his intent was, and what offers he made him. *Herod*, who had already conceiued a sinister opinion of his son, hearing what the Gaoler had said, began to exclaime, and to beat his head, although he was almost at the vttermost gasp: and lifting himselfe vp vpon his elbowes, he commanded that one of his guard should presently haste and kill him; and that done, he should be buried in the Castle of Hircanion without any honour.

Herod calling for a knife and an apple, intendeth to stab himself.

Achiab withholdeth his hand.

Antipater thinking his father to be dead, dealeth with his keeper for his deliuery, which Herod hearing of, commandeth him to be slaine.

CHAP. X.

Herods *will, death, and buriall.*

Hedio & Russinus, chap. 10.

AFter this, hauing changed his mind, he made a new testament. For he appointed *Antipas* Tetrarch of Galilee & of Peræa, whereas before that he had instituted him for his successor in the kingdome. Hee created *Archelaus* King; hee gaue the prouinces of Gaulonites, Trachonites, Batanea and Paneade to *Philip* his son, and *Archelaus* brother by the mothers side, to be Tetrach ouer those places. He gaue his sister *Salome Iamnia*, *Azot* & *Phasaelis*, with fifty thousand crownes of gold. He prouided also for his other kinsmen, all whom he left rich in money, which he gaue them, and reuenewes which hee assigned them. He gaue *Cæsar* ten millions of drachmes in siluer, amounting to the summe of eleuen hundreth thousand francs, besides a great quantity of gold and siluer plate, & of precious moucables. To *Iulia Cæsars* wife, and to certaine others, he bequeathed fiue millions of drachmes, amounting to fiue hundreth and fifty thousand francs, or thereabout. After he had in this manner disposed all things, some fiue daies after he had caused *Antipater* to be executed, he departed this life: hauing reigned after *Antigonus* death, for the space of thirty and foure yeares, and thirty and seauen yeares after he was elected & approued King by the Romans: a man without respect cruell, and seuere towards all men, slaue to his wrath, Lord of the lawes: yet so fauoured by fortune, as no man more; for from a priuate man he became a King, and being inuironed with many perils, hee alwaies happily escaped, and he liued also a very long time. And as touching his family and children, in this also in his owne opinion was he happy, in that he ouercame his enemies and aduersaries: but in my opinion, he was most vnfortunate.

His legacy to Cæsar & Iulia his wife.

Herods death

Herods mutable & strange fortune.

But before the Kings death was thorowly knowne, *Salome* and *Alexas* discharged those that were locked vp in the Hippodrome, and sent euery one of them home vnto his owne house, telling them that the King commanded them to depart and follow their household affaires, and till their land: wherein they performed a most noble action, and benefited the whole nation with an especiall good turne. After that the Kings death was bruted abroad, *Salome* & *Alexas* caused all the men of warre to be assembled in the Amphitheater in Iericho, and first of all they caused

Salome and Alexas after the Kings death, dismisse the Iewes that were shut vp in the Hippodrome.

Herods

A *Herods* letters to be read, which were addreſſed to the ſouldiers, in which he gaue them thankes for the fidelity and good will which they had expreſſed towards him, praying them to continue the ſame to *Archelaus* his ſon, whom he had appointed to be their King after him. That done, *Ptolomy*, to whom the King had committed the cuſtody of his ſeale, recited his teſtament, which was to take no effect except that *Cæſar* approued the ſame. Thereupon all of them began to applaud and honour *Archelaus* for their King. The men of warre flocked about him in troups, accompanied with their captaines, promiſing him to ſerue him with no leſſe will & affection, then they had done his father, praying God to yeeld him his aſſiſtance.

The yeare of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Nativity, 1.

Hegio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Herods thankſgiuing to his army and teſtament read & Archelaus is applauded by the people. Alias chap. 12. Herods corps is buried with great pompe and ſolemnity in Herodion.

At that time alſo the Kings hearſe was prepared, and *Archelaus* gaue order that his obſequies ſhould be moſt royally performed, and beſtowed all the furniture that was requiſite for that funeB rall and princely enterrement. Hee was carried out in a gilded litter, diſtinguiſhed with diuers precious ſtones, the couer thereof was of azure colour. The dead body was apparelled in a purple raiment, hauing a diademe vpon his head, ouer which there was ſet a crowne of gold, and a ſcepter was couched in his right hand. About this litter marched a great number of his children and kinsfolk; and after them followed the men of warre, diſpoſed in bands & troups, according to the maners of euery nation. The firſt of theſe were the archers of his guard: after them went the Thracians: and laſtly marched the Germans, and Galathians; all of them in their warlike abiliments and diſcipline. After them followed all the army, marching in order in like manner as when they were addreſſed to battell, each one vnder his corporall and captaine. Next theſe followed fiue hundreth of his houſhold ſeruants, bearing perfumes, and all theſe in this equipage

The Germans and French ſerued vnder Herod.

C marched to the Caſtle Herodion, diſtant ſome eight ſtades or furlongs off. For there was he entombed, according to the tenour of his teſtament. Thus died *Herod. Archelaus* continued his mourning for ſeuen daies ſpace in honor of his father. (For the law of the country ordaineth no leſſe.) And after he had feaſted the people, and laid aſide his mourning apparell, he aſcended vp into the temple. All the way as he went, all the people with ſhouts and acclamations cried, God ſaue the King; aud with prayers and praiſes honoured him to their vttermoſt; and he being conducted vp to a high ſtation and ſtate, which was made for the purpoſe, and placed in a throne that was embeliſhed with gold, entertained the people very graciouſly, taking pleaſure in their ac-

Archelaus banqueteth the people.

clamations and congratulations that they beſtowed vpon him. He gaue them thanks alſo for that

D they had blotted out of their remembrance the iniuries, that his father had done vnto them; proteſting in his owne behalfe, that he would enforce himſelfe to requite their kindneſſe, with an intire affection. He likewiſe told them, that for the preſent he accepted not the ſtile of King, becauſe the honour was bequeathed him with this condition, that *Cæſar* ſhould ratifie his fathers teſtament. For this cauſe although the ſouldiers that were in Iericho enforced themſelues to ſet the diademe vpon his head, yet would he not accept that vncertaine honour, becauſe it was not reſolued whether *Cæſar*, who was the principall party in the gift, would grant him the gouernement or no.

He alleadged likewiſe, that if his affaires ſucceeded according to his deſire, he would not according as his honour commanded him, forget their loue, or leaue their good affection vnrequited. And that in the meane while, hee would enforce himſelfe by all means to further thoſe

Archelaus promiſes that with Cæſars approbation he will carefully intend the deſires & profits of the people.

E things that concerned them, and entertaine them with more kindneſſe then his father had done. But they, according as it is the cuſtome of the cõmon people, thinking that thoſe that enter into ſuch dignities, declare and open their minds at the firſt day, the more *Archelaus* ſpake kindly and curteouſly vnto them, the more they applaudcd him, and preſented him with diuers petitions, for certaine grants and donations from him. Some of them cryed out vnto him, that hee ſhould cut off ſome part of their taxes and tallages, which they paied annually: Otherſome cried vpon him, to deliuer thoſe priſoners that were committed by *Herod*, of whom diuers had pined a long time in priſon: Others inſtantly vrged him to cut off thoſe tributes which had been impoſed by him vpon bargaines and ſales, which was to pay the halfe of the bargaine. Wherunto *Archelaus* did not in any ſort contradict, ſtriuing to the vttermoſt of his power to pleaſe the people, for that

F he knew full well that their good affection would be no ſmall aduantage toward him in the confirmation of his kingdome. That done, he ſacrificed vnto God, and afterward fell to banquetting and entertainement of his friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The people mutine against Archelaus.

The yeare of the world, 3963. after Christs birth, 1.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 13.

MEane while, certain men among the Iewes that were desirous of innouation, in their priuate conuenticles bewailed *Matthias* and his confederates, whom *Herod* had put to death, and condemned for rasing and defacing the golden Eagle: for that incontinently after their decease, they had neither been publiquely honored, nor lamented for, by reason of the fear that the people had conceiued of *Herod*. For which cause at that time they required with lamentations and great cryes, that their obsequies might be solemnized; and as if the dead bodies had receiued some contentation by their teares & tempest of exclaimes, they vttered many hainous & disgracefull speeches against *Herod*; and assembling themselues together, they required *Archelaus* to do them iustice against those, that during *Herods* life were in authority; and especially they demanded, that the higst Priest, who was aduanced by his father, should be deposed, and that another more lawfull & vpright might be placed in his steed, to offer and exercise the high Priests place. Now, though *Archelaus* was sore displeased at these their violent proceedings: yet notwithstanding, hee conformed himselfe to their good likings, in that he was with all expedition to repaire vnto Rome, to vnderstand and attend *Cæsars* pleasure. He therefore called for the General of his army, willing him to perswade them not to seeke a reuenge for those men, who were dead, notwithstanding they were their friends; because whatsoeuer was done, was done according to law; and that no enquiry might be made therof, except to the great preiudice of his reputation, and hazard of his state, in regard of the incertainty of the time: that it was more expedient for him to study for the maintenance of peace, vntill such time as being established in the kingdome by *Cæsars* consent, hee should returne backe againe vnto them, and that then he would consult with them for the comman profit, according to their iust demands, wishing them for the present to containe themselues, and to take heed least they stirred vp sedition.

The people mutine against Archelaus.

They would be reuenged on Herods friends, and would depose the high priest

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Christs Nativity, 2.

When he had thus instructed his Generall, he sent him vnto them. But they cryed out with a loud voice, and would not suffer him to speake: but for feare of danger & death, they put him to silence. And if any other were so forward as to speak vnto them, & perswade them to some moderation, and to alter their sinister resolutions, he was also in danger; for that they had this perswasion, that all things ought rather to be ordered according to their pleasures, then by the authority of their superiours: supposing that although during *Herods* life time they had beene depriued of their deerest friends, it should be now a matter vnworthy their courages, after his death to bee cut off from the priuiledge to demand their reuenge. For they were transported with their owne opinions, and held all that for lawfull and vpright, which was in any sort conformable to their pleasures, without foreseeing the danger that might happen thereby: so much were they pleased to be reuenged on those, whom they reputed to bee their enemies. Now, whereas diuers were sent by *Archelaus*, to consult with them; and diuers came vnto them, not as messengers from him, but as friends and louers of peace, of their owne motion, with an intent to pacifie them, they would not permit any of them to speake; and thorow their rage there arose a great tumult, which had growne to a further extreamity, if a greater number of people had ioyned themselues with them.

Sedition at the feast of the Passeouer.

At that time fell the feast of vnleauened bread, which is called Pascha, which is a memoriall of their deliuerance out of Egypt, at which time all men do most willingly present their sacrifices, and a greater number of beasts are slaine at that feast, then at any other time. To this solemnity also an infinit number of people assembled from all parts, to honor God: whereby the seditious (supposing that they had gotten a fit opportunity) lamented *Iudas* and *Matthias*, who were the Expositors of the law, and kept themselues within the temple, whither they had gathered good store of victuals, which they were not ashamed impudently to begge for. But *Archelaus*, fearing least their rage should produce some more grieuous effect of mischiefe, sent out a band of armed men, with a captaine, and a regiment of a thousand men, to represse their head-long fury, before the rest of the people were infected with their follies; and to bring them likewise vnto him, whom they found to be the forwardest in that commotion. Against those the seditious cryed out, with great clamours, and incensed the people against them, so that all of them rushed in vpon the men of war, and slew diuers of them. The rest of them escaped with their captaine, yet not without diuers wounds. That done, they which were within the temple returned againe to their diuine seruice.

Now

A Now *Archelaus* ſuppoſing that his whole fortune was endangered, except hee repreſſed the rage of the multitude, he ſent out all his footmen with a certain number of horſemen, to preuent leaſt they that were without ſhould yeeld aſſiſtance to thoſe, who had taken vp their lodging in the temple, and to put thoſe to the ſword, who hauing eſcaped the violence of the footmen, ſuppoſed themſelues to be in ſecurity. Theſe horſemen ſlew about three thouſand men, the reſt retired themſelues into the mountaines that were neer adioyning. Hereupon *Archelaus* made proclamation, that each one ſhould repaire vnto his owne houſe. For which cauſe they departed & abandoned the feaſt, for feare of greater miſchiefe; notwithſtanding they had ſpleen enough, as it is the ordinary cuſtome of the ignorant multitude.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Chriſt's Nativity, 2.

Three thouſand Iewes ſlaine.

After this, *Archelaus* accompanied with his mother, betook himſelfe to ſea, and led with him B *Nicholas* and *Ptolomy*, with diuers other his friends, committing the gouernement of all his houſhold and kingdome to his brother *Philip*: with him alſo departed *Salome Herods* ſiſter, leading with her her children. There went alſo diuers other of his kinred, who ſaid that they would all of them labour for *Archelaus*, that he might obtain the kingdom, but ineffect it was to contradict him with all their power: and in eſpeciall, to vrge that againſt him with great vehemency, that was done in the temple. *Sabinus*, *Cæſars* Viceroy in Syria, poſting into Iewry to take charge of *Herods* money, met with *Archelaus* in Cæſarea. But *Varus* arriuing in the meane while, detained him from finiſhing that voyage; for *Archelaus* had ſent for him to come thither by *Ptolomy*, and *Sabinus* willing to doe *Varus* a pleaſure, would not ſeize the fortreſſes of Iury; neither ſealed vp *Herods* treaſures, but left them in *Archelaus* poſſeſſion, vntill ſuch time as *Cæſar* had giuen order C for the eſtate; and after he had made this promiſe, he ſtaied in Cæſarea.

Archelaus repairs to Rome and many of his faction follow him.

Hedio & Ruffinus 2. chap. 13. & 14.

After *Archelaus* had ſet ſaile towards Rome, and *Varus* was departed for Antioch; *Sabinus* went to Ieruſalem, where he ſeized the Kings palace: and calling before him the Kings Agents, and the captaines of his garriſons, he required them to deliuer vp their Caſtles into his hands. But they, according as *Archelaus* had commanded them, continued the poſſeſſion in their accuſtomed manner, according to the Kings direction, pretending to keep the ſame in *Cæſars* behalf. At the ſame time, *Antipas Herods* ſon trauailed to Rome likewiſe, vnder the hope to be elected King, in regard of *Salomes* promiſes; and for that hee better deſerued the ſame then *Archelaus*, conſidering that in the firſt teſtament, which ſhould be of more force then the later, he had been D apointed king. He led his mother alſo with him, & *Ptolomy* the brother of *Nicholas*, who had bin one of *Herods* moſt eſteemed friends, and was well affected to further and ſet forward his title. But eſpecially he was ſtirred vp to ſeek the kingdom by *Ireneus*, a man very eloquent, & to whoſe charge in regard of his ſufficiency, the affaires of the kingdom had been committed. For which cauſe, although he were perſwaded to giue ouer the kingdome vnto his elder brother, who was confirmed in the kingdome by his fathers teſtament; yet would he not giue eare thereunto. But *Antipas* no ſooner arriued in Rome, but all his kinsfolke reuolted from *Archelaus*, vnto him, not ſo much for the loue they bare him, as for the hatred they had conceiued againſt *Archelaus*: and aboue all, for the deſire they had to recouer their liberty, & to draw themſelues vnder a Roman Gouernour. For they thought that if there were any contradiction, that *Antipas*, for whom they endeuoured to procure the royalty, ſhould be more profitable vnto them then *Archelaus*. *Sa-* E *binus* alſo by his letters accuſed *Archelaus* to *Cæſar*: but *Archelaus* by *Ptolomy* exhibited vnto *Cæſar* a ſupplication containing his right and title to the kingdome, his fathers teſtament, and the account of the money which *Herod* his father had ſealed vp, together with his ring, and expected the iſſue.

Sabinus repaireth to Ieruſalem, with an intent to ſeize Herods treaſures and caſtles.

Antipas vnder hope to recouer the kingdome, ſaileth to Rome.

But when he had read theſe letters, and thoſe which *Varus* and *Sabinus* had ſent him, and vnderſtood what ſummes of money he had left, and what the annuall reuenue was, and how *Antipas* challenged the kingdom, and appropriated it to himſelfe, according as his letters made mention: he aſſembled all his friends to haue their aduice thereupon. Amongſt them was *Caius* the ſonne of *Agrippa* and his daughter *Iulia*, adopted by him, whom he cauſed to ſit in the chiefeſt place: which done, he commanded the aſſiſtants to ſpeake what they would touching this mat- F ter. At that time *Antipater Salomes* ſonne, a man very eloquent, and a great aduerſary to *Archelaus*, ſpake firſt ſaying, that it was a mockery for him at that time to ſpeake of the kingdome, conſidering that before *Cæſar* had granted it him, hee had already ſeized the forces of the ſtate, when as vpon a feſtiuall day he had ſlaine ſo many: who although they had deſerued that puniſhment, yet ought the iuſtice thereof to haue been reſerued to a lawfull power, and not to haue bin vſurped by him, either being King with *Cæſars* preiudice, whoſe authority hee had contemned; or by being a priuate man, which was a greater ouerſight. For which cauſe hee vndeſeruedly at this

Antipater, Salomes ſon, accuſeth Archelaus before Auguſtus Cæſar.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Christs birth, 2.

this time hoped for his approbation, whom already as much as in him lay, hee had depriued of G
the title and authority of his allowance. Moreouer, hee obiected against him, that of his owne
authority he had changed certaine chieftaines of the army, and that hee had seated himselfe in
the royall throne, and like a King had determined certaine causes, and had granted certaine de-
„ mands of the people: finally, that he had left nothing vndone, which he might haue performed,
„ had *Cæsar* confirmed his title. He alleaged also, that they who were inclosed in the Hippodrome,
„ were dismissed by him, and diuers other acts, partly true, partly probable, in regard of the ambi-
„ tion of young men, who desirous to gouerne doe ordinarily commit such things: besides this,
„ his neglect in mourning for his father, and withall, his reare banquets all night long at that very
„ time his father died; whereat the people began to mutine, seeing the small regard he had of his
„ fathers death, from whom he had receiued so great goods and honors. How all the day long he H
„ made a shew of his sorrow and tears in his pauillion, but all the night took pleasures like a King;
„ and being such, if *Cæsar* should grant him the kingdom, he would behaue himself no lesse vnkind-
„ ly towards him, then he had done towards his most kinde father. That it was no lesse then a hay-
„ nous crime in him, to delight himselfe with songs & dances at his fathers death, as if he had bin
„ his enemy: That he now came to *Cæsars* presence, to the intent to obtaine the kingdome by his
„ consent, whereas already he had behaued himself no otherwise then if he had already been esta-
„ blished King by his authority. But most of all he exaggerated the slaughter he had committed
„ in the temple, and the impiety perpetrated so neere to the feast of Easter, at which time diuers
„ both strangers & citizens had been slaughtered after the manner of sacrifices, and the temple fil-
„ led with carcasses, not by a stranger, but by him, who vnder the colour of religion desireth the I
„ gouernement of the kingdom, to the end he might satisfie the vniustice of his nature, in exerci-
„ sing each way his tyranny towards all men: for which cause his father neuer thought, nor euer
„ dreamt to substitute him King in his place. For he knew both his life and disposition, and by his
„ former testament (and that of greatest force) had ordained his aduersary *Antipater* to be King.
„ For he had been alloted the kingdom by his father, not when his minde was dead before his bo-
„ dy, but when both his iudgement was sound, and his body in health. Yea although at that time
„ *Archelaus* father had such a conceit of him, as in his later testament & bequest he pretendeth; yet
„ that he had already declared what kind of King he was like to be, who contemned *Cæsars* autho-
„ rity in confirming the kingdom, and being as yet a priuate man, doubted not to murther the ci-
„ tizens in the temple. This said, *Antipater* (to giue greater credit to his words, bringing diuers of K
his kinred as witnesses of that he had said) ended his Oration.

Nicholaus excuseth Archelaus.

Whereupon *Nicholas* arose, and alleadged in *Archelaus* behalfe as touching the slaughter, that
it was to be imputed to their impiety, who could not be restrained from their tumults and vp-
rores, before *Archelaus* was enforced to appease them by force; alleadging that they were so
„ much the more guilty, for that they had not only exercised their malice, but also had enforced
„ others to attempt so hainous a reuenge against them: for their insolency seemed in apparance to
„ concerne *Archelaus*; yet in a sort their contumacy pertained to *Cæsars* ruine. For those that had
„ been sent by him to appease & redresse their sedition, were against all law and right charged and
„ slaine by them, without respect of God, or regard of the solemne feast: whose defence *Antipater*
„ was not ashamed of, without respect of equity, so that he might satisfie that hatred which he bare L
„ vnto *Archelaus*. That therefore it was their fault, who first of all abstained not from iniury, but
„ whetted those swords, which were drawne in maintenance of the peace, against their owne bo-
„ somes. He enforced all other things also, wherof they had accused *Archelaus*, against themselues,
„ saying that none of these things were done without their consents: and that the offence was not
„ so grieuous, as they intended it should be esteemed, to the end they might discredit *Archelaus*.
„ So great a desire was in them to hurt their kinsman, a man both well respected, and affected by
„ his father, as also kind & officious towards them in all things that concerned them. As for the
„ testament, that it was made by the King when he was in perfect estate of mind and body, and of
„ greater force then the former, because the authority and confirmation thereof was ascribed to
„ *Cæsar* the soueraigne of the world. M

„ Further, that *Cæsar* would not imitate them in that wrong they did vnto *Herod*, who (being du-
„ ring his life time bountifully graced by him, by many benefits) do now after his death, go about
„ to violate his last and truest testament: but that rather like a friend & confederate he would con-
„ firme his will, who like his faithfull & sworne welwiller had cõmitted all things to his trust. For
„ that there must needs be a great difference between their malice & *Cæsars* vertue & faith, which
„ was renowmed thorow the whole world. For which cause he would not iudge his decree to be

incon-

A inconſiderately paſt, who left his ſucceſsion to his well deſeruing ſon, and referred all things to his truſt. For that it was vnlikely that he ſhold erre in the choiſe of his ſucceſſor, who had ſo diſcreetly ſubmitted all things to *Cæſars* iudgement. After this maner *Nicholas* alſo finiſhed his diſcourſe. Hereupon *Cæſar* courteouſly raiſed *Archelaus*, who lay proſtrate & humbled before his feet, telling him that he was moſt worthy to be king, by giuing an apparant teſtimony, that hee was conſtant in his reſolutions; pretending that he would do nothing but that which ſhould be anſwerable to *Herods* teſtament, & *Archelaus* profit; and ſeeing the yong man was confirmed in ſom good hope with this his promiſe, he determin'd nothing more for that time: but diſmiſſing the councell, he debated with himſelfe whether he ſhould ratifie the kingdome to *Archelaus* only, or diuide it amongſt *Herods* kindred, eſpecially ſince all men had need of his aſſiſtance.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Chriſts birth, 2.

Cæſar pronounceth Archelaus to be worthy of the kingdome. Hegio & Ruſſinus, chap. 14.

B

CHAP. XII.

The Iewes mutiny againſt Sabinus, *and how* Varus *puniſheth the authors of the ſedition.*

BVt before *Cæſar* had determined any thing certainly in this behalfe, *Marthalce Archelaus* mother died of a ſickneſs, and *Varus* the preſident of the Iewes in Syria, had ſent letters, which certified the Emperour of the rebellion of the Iewes. For after *Archelaus* departure, all the nation were in an vprore. To pacifie which, *Varus* reſorted thither, and puniſhed the authors of the ſame: and after he had in this ſort appeaſed all things, he returned to Antioch, leauing a regiment of ſouldiers in Ieruſalem to reſtraine the factious innouations amongſt the Iewes: yet preuailed he nothing by this his policie. For as ſoon as *Varus* was departed, *Sabinus*

Marthalce Archelaus mother dieth. Varus pacifieth the ſeditions at Ieruſalem.

C who intended *Cæſars* affaires, remaining in that place, grieuouſly burthened the Iewes, truſting to that power that was left him, and ſuppoſing that hee was already enabled to withſtand the multitude. For he armed diuers ſouldiers, and made vſe of them to oppreſſe the Iewes, and to prouoke them to ſedition. For he enforced himſelfe to ſurpriſe their fortreſſes, and forcibly to make ſearch after the Kings treaſures, for his priuate lucre and couetouſneſſe ſake. When as therefore the feaſt of Whitſontide was come (which is one of our feſtiuals) diuers thouſands from al parts repaired to Ieruſalem, not only for religion ſake, but alſo for deſpite & hatred they had conceiued againſt thoſe violences and iniuries, which *Sabinus* had offered them. And not only were thoſe of Iudæa grieuouſly offended (but diuers alſo reſorted out of Galilee and Idu-

Alias chap. 15. Sabinus auarice raiſeth a great ſedition in Ieruſalem, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt.

D mæa, form Iericho & the cities ſituate on the other ſide of Iordan, deſiring all of them to be reuenged on *Sabinus*. And diuiding their camp into three bands after this maner, the one part of them took vp the Hippodrome, & of the other two the one ſeiſed the ſoutherne quarter of the temple, and the other the eaſtern, and the third, which was in the Hippodrome were planted to the weſtward, where the kings palace ſtood; and thus prepared they all things that were neceſſary to ſet vpon the Romans whom they had beſieged on all ſides. At that time *Sabinus* fearing their number, & reſolution, who were reſolued either to die or to ouercome, ſent preſent letters vnto *Varus*, requiring him with al expeditiõ to ſend him a ſupply, becauſe the regiment that was left by him, was in great danger; and muſt needs vtterly periſh without his ſpeedy reſcous: as for himſelfe he withdrew into the tower and dungeon of the caſtle Phaſaelus, which was a fortreſſe which was builded and ſo called in honour of *Herods* brother, who was ſlaine by the Par-

E thians; and from the top thereof made a ſigne to the Romans, that they ſhould ſally out vpon the Iewes; being afraid to truſt himſelfe to his own friends, and ſuppoſing that the reſt ought to expoſe their liues to danger in maintenance of his ſafety. The Romans hauing made this ſally, there aroſe a deſperate skirmiſh, wherin the Romans diuers waies had the vpper hand; yet were not the Iewes any waies diſcomforted, notwithſtanding they had loſt many men, but wheeled about ſo long till at laſt they ſeized the outward galleries, and thoſe that encompaſſed the temple, & in that place there was a hot aſſault: for they flung down ſtones with their hands & ſlings, & there were certain archers mixed among ſt them; who in that they had recouered a place of aduantage, grieuouſly gauled the Romans which were below, in that they had no means to auoid their ſhot, but were in ſuch ſort expoſed thereunto, as their enemies had the better. And

A moſt bloudy battell fought betwixt the Romans and Iews neer vnto the temple.

F with this diſaduantage fought the Romans a long time, til at length ſore aggrieued at this their preſent indignity, they ſecretly fired the galleries & porches, without any diſcouery of thoſe that were therein: which fire brought thither by many, & fed with ſuch matter, as would ſpeedily flame, incontinently tooke hold of the roofe, becauſe the roofe was couered with pitch and waxe, and guilded vpon the waxe; ſo that theſe great and excellent buildings were burnt downe to nothing in a moment, and they that were reſorted thither were all of them conſumed before they were aware. For ſome of them fell with the roofe of the Galleries; other-

Diuers Iewes are ſlaine and burned in the roofe of the porches.

ſome

The yeare of the world, 2964. after Christs birth, 2.

A greate part of the sacred treasure taken away by the souldiers.

The palace besieged by the Iewes

Rufus & Gratus, captaines of Herods army, ioyne with the Romans.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15.

Diuers tumults in Iury.

Two thousand of Herods soldiers assaile the Kings people.

Iudas Ezechias sonne the archtheefe.

Simon Herods seruant.

Gratus cõflict with Simon.

Simon beheaded.

The Iewes almost enraged in rebellion.

Athronges strong in body and goodly in stature, attempteth royall dignity.

some shot at and slain by those that stood round abouts; othersome despairing of their liues, and G
amazed at the mischief, either cast themselues into the fire, or slew themselues with their own
swords; & all those that retired vnder hope to saue themselues by that way they ascended, were
encoũtred by the Romans, who slew them all in that they were discouraged & disarmed, thogh
furiously desperate: so that not one of them that ascended the porches escaped with life. After-
ward, the Romans thrusting forward one another by those waies, where the fire was slaked, en-
tred the treasure house where the sacred mony was kept, by which meanes a great part thereof
was stolne away by the souldiers, and *Sabinus* to all mens knowledge carried away 400. talents.
But the Iewes being afflicted with a double calamity, first of all with the losse of their friends in
that fight: and lastly, with the spoile of the treasury; yet assembled they a troupe of the most va-
lianteſt souldiers, and besieged the palace, threatning to burne the same, with *Sabinus* & all other H
the Romans that were therein, except they speedily departed; and in so doing, they promised
both them & *Sabinus* all assurance and security: whereby it came to passe, that diuers of them
that were in the palace, issued out & submitted themselues vnto them. But *Rufus* & *Gratus* ha-
uing three thousand of those valiant souldiers vnder their charge, who had serued *Herod*, ioyned
themselues with the Romans. The like did those horsemen which followed *Rufus*, who in like
manner submitted themselues to their direction: yet for all this, the Iewes continued & inten-
ded their siege, vndermining the wals, and exhorting their aduersaries to depart, & not to ex-
empt them of their liberty, which they had long time enioy'd vnder their predecessors. *Sabinus*
was willing to depart from thence with his souldiers; yet durst hee not trust them in regard of
their former attempt, and he suspected ouer-much the ouer-liberall offer his enemies had made I
him: but neglected the same, because he expected *Varus*.

At the same time infinit other troubles were raised in diuers other places of Iudæa, according
as each man either was incensed with a desire of gain, or a will to reuenge. For two thousand
men of warre (who had somtime serued vnder *Herod*, and being at that time cashierd, liued at
home) assembling themselues together assailed those of the Kings faction, who made head a-
gainst them, vnder the conduct of *Herods* nephew *Aciabus*: who neuer daring to encounter them
in a place of equall aduantage, in that they were old souldiers, and well exercised in warre, de-
fended himselfe, in that he held and kept himselfe as neer as he could in the mountaines & pla-
ces of aduantage. Moreouer, *Iudas* the son of *Ezechias* the Archtheefe, whom *Herod* ouercame
with so much difficulty, at Sephoris a citie of Galilee, gathering vnto him a band of desperate K
men, made incursions vpon the Kings dominions. And hauing taken all those Armes and wea-
pons, which he might recouer in that place, he armed from the first to the last all those soldiers
that were with him: he took away all that mony which was reserued for the king, in that place:
and affrighting the inhabitants round about him, he spoiled all those with whomsoeuer he met;
aspiring to the kingdom, and affecting the same, not by lawfull meanes of which he was vnskil-
full, but by a liberty to do iniury.

Whilest these troubles ranged in euery place, *Simon* also, who had bin one of *Herods* seruants,
and both for his shape, stature & strength, was esteemed amongst all men, vndertooke the king-
dome: and being atended by a mighty army, and proclaimed king by them, who were a wicked
and vnbridled multitude, and perswading himself that he was worthy to be King aboue any o- L
ther, he first of all set fire on the palace in Iericho, and spoiled all that which was therein. Hee
burnt also diuers other royal palaces, belonging to the king, which were in diuers places of the
country, giuing them free licence, who were his followers in the action, to bear away the prey
that remained: and far more licentious pranks had he plaied, had not his practices bin speedily
and wisely preuented. For *Gratus* who with the Kings souldiers had coupled himselfe with the
Romans, and gathered all the forces that he had, went out against this *Simon*. And after a fierce
battell, they on the other side of Iordan, were put to flight, and fighting rather vnder courage
then military discipline, they were ouercome. And whilest *Simon* in trauersing a valley sought
to saue himselfe by flight, *Gratus* met with him, and cut off his head.

About the same time also, the royall palace of Amatha, that was fast by Iordan, was burnt by M
men of as bad disposition as *Simon* was. And thus thorow the whole nation raigned this raging
rebellion, for that the country had no King, who by his vertue might gouerne & moderate the
people, for that the strangers, who were sent to represse these mutinies, did rather incense them
thorow their violence & auarice. For a certain obscure & base man (neither esteemed for ver-
tue, nor worthy regard for his riches, but being a shepheard vtterly vnknown before time, and
onely famous for his huge stature and strength) called *Athronges*, was so audacious to aspire to
royall

A royall dignitie, and tooke pleasure to offer violence setting light by his life, and exposing himself to al hazards for the onely vnbridled affection he bare to soueraignty. He had foure brothers of as goodly stature as himselfe, who were esteemed for men of valour and execution, whereby they imagined they had the meanes offered them to occupy the kingdom. Each one of these had the commaund ouer a company. For a great company of people resorted dayly vnto them; the charge of whom was committed vnto his brethren, at such time as any occasion of war was offered, and hee in the meane while wearing the diadem on his head, ordered, counsailed, and commaunded all things. The power of this Gallant endured a long time, who was not called king for nought: for he disposed all things according to his owne pleasure, and both hee and his brethren were flesht with the slaughter of the Romans, and those of the kings side, whom he ha-

B ted alike; these, by reason of the insolence they had vsed during *Herodes* life time: the other, in regard of those iniuries, which lately they supposed themselues to haue receiued by them. This hatred of theirs daily increased more and more, and there was no man that could escape their hands, both in respect of the gaine they sought, as for the custom they had to shed blood. They therefore at that time set vpon the Romans and supriſed them on the sodaine neere to Emmaus, at such time as they caried victualls and munition vnto their campe; and hauing enclosed the Centurion *Arius* with forty of their most valiant footmen, they shot him thorow with their darts. The rest that expected nothing lesse then life, were saued by *Gratus*, who came in vpon them with the kings souldiers: whereupon leauing the dead bodies, they retired. Continuing their war after this maner a long time, according as occasion was offered, they had done much

C mischiefe to the Romans, and farre more iniury to the nation of the Iewes. Finally, they were surpriſed; the one in an encountrie betwixt them and *Gratus*: the other in fighting against *Ptolomey*. The eldest was taken by *Archelaus*, and the last being dismaid with these accidents, and seeing no meanes to escape (for besides his other mishaps, his souldiers were afflicted with sicknes) he with the rest vpon *Archelaus* faith and oath submitted himselfe vnto him. But this was done some little while after.

The yeare of the world. 3965. before Christs birth. 3.

Athronges & his brethren taken.

At this time was all Iudæa full of robberies, and as many seditious assemblies as drew togither, so many kings were there elected, who were raised to the vtter ruine of the common-weale. Amongst the rest, the Romans were they that smarted least, but the murthers were executed against those that were out of the country. But *Varus* vnderstanding by *Sabinus* letters, in what dan gers they were, and fearing the vtter ouerthrow of his third legion, hee tooke with him the two

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 16.

D other (for to the vttermost, in Syria there were but three) and with the assistance of the kings and Tetrarches hee hasted into Iewry, to relieue those that were besieged, commanding those that were sent out before he dislodged, to meet him at Ptolemais, & passing by the Citie of the Berythians he receiued a thousand, & 5. hundreth souldiers at their hands, to attend him in his war. *Aretas* also, who was Lord of Petra, drawing himselfe into confederacy with the Romans, in regard of that hatred he bare toward *Herode*, sent him horsemen and footemen. When all these forces were assembled at Ptolemais, he deliuered a part therof to his son, and one of his friends; commanding them to make war vpon the Galileans, who bordered vpon that Citie; who entering that region, and putting all those to flight, whosoeuer durst make head against him, he took

E Sephoris, and selling the inhabitants vnder the speare, hee consumed the Citie with fire. *Varus* himselfe marching towards Samaria with his army, violenced not the Citie, in that hee knew it was free from the contagion of the seditious, but he pitched his camp in a certain village, which was *Ptolomies* possession called *Arus*. The same did the Arabians burne, reuenging themselues on *Herods* friend for his sake, and marching onward the Arabians spoiled also an other village called Sampho, and for that it was strongly fortified burned the same. Besides, in that iourney nothing escaped their hands, but they put all to fire and sword. For both Emmaus was burned by *Varus* commaund, and in reuenge of his souldiers that were slaine in that place, it was left desolate and voide of inhabitants. From thence drawing neere to Ieruſalem, those Iewes that besieged the legion on that side, vpon the sodaine view and approach of the army of the Romans,

Arus burned by the Arabians.

Sampho and Emmaus burned.

VARVS repaireth to Ieruſalem, and deliuereth the legion that was besieged.

F fearefully fled, giuing ouer that siege which they intended. But those Iewes of Ieruſalem, being grieuously reproued by *Varus*, alleaged in their excuse, that the people in regard of the feast were assembled in that place, and that the warre was not begun by their consent, but vndertaken by their bouldnesse who resorted thither from diuers places: and that they were so far off from assayling the Romans, as they rather seemed to bee besieged by them. And long before this, *Ioseph* king *Herods* nephew, *Gratus* and *Rufus*, with their souldiers were gone out to meet *Varus*, and those Romans that had sustained the siege, had done no lesse. But as touching *Sabinus*, hee

The yeare of the world, 3965. before Christs birth 3.

would not appeare in *Varus* presence, by stealing away priuily out of the Citie, hee fled vnto the seaward. Then *Varus* sending a part of his army thorow the whole region, sought out the authors of this sedition, and those that were noted men in the action; some of which, who were most guiltie, were punished: the rest were deliuered. Now of those that were punished for this occasion, there were about two thousand crucified; and that done, seeing that his army stood him in little steed, hee dismissed them. For diuers disorders and outrages, contrarie to *Varus* expresse commaund, were acted by his souldiers, who sought after nothing more then to increase their meanes by other mens miseries. And hearing that ten thousand Iewes were assembled together, he hasted to apprehend them: but they not daring to hazard their fortune in a fight with him, by *Achiabus* aduice submitted themselues. But *Varus* hauing pardoned the people for this their rebellion, sent all those that were the ringleaders thereof to *Cæsar*, who discharged diuers of them. But hee chastised certaine of *Herodes* allies, and such as bare armes with them: for that neither in regard of kindred, nor respect of iustice, they had abstained from rebellious insurrection. After that *Varus* had in this sort appeased all the troubles in Iewrie, and left the first legion in garrison in Ierusalem, he returned to Antioch.

A

The punishment of the conspirators.

B

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 16. & 17.

But *Archelaus* was crossed in Rome by another occurrent that arose vpon this occasion: Certaine Embassadors of the Iewes resorted thither by *Varus* permissiō, requiring that it might be lawful for them to liue according to their owne lawes: these presented themselues, to the nūber of fiftie, and were backt by eight thousand Iewes, that inhabited the Cittie. And when as *Cæsar* had assembled the councell of his friends, and chiefest citizens in *Apolloes* temple, which he had builded to his mightie charge, thither resorted the Embassadours, who were follow'd by a troupe of Iewes; and *Archelaus* also attended by his friends. But the kings kindred neither stood by *Archelaus* in regard of the hate they bare him, & yet disdained they to assist the embassadors, for that they were ashamed in *Cæsars* presence to oppose themselues against their neerest friend, and kinsman. *Philip* also was present at that time, who by *Varus* persuasion resorted thither out of Syria; especially to the intent to pleade for his brother, to whom *Varus* wished all god fortune: besides that, hoping not a little that if the Iewes should obtaine the libertie to liue according to their lawes, it might come to passe that the kingdom being diuided amongst *Herods* children, he might also light on some part thereof. After therfore the Embassadors of the Iewes had obtained licence to propose their demaunds, pretending with themselues wholly to extinguish the royalty: they began to rippe vp *Herods* disgraces, alleaging how onely in name he had beene a king; wheras otherwise he had vsed all the tyrannous practices that the wickedest person could haue inuented toward the destruction of his nation; and that not content with these, he had of his owne head practised & inuented new. Neither that it needed them to reckon vp how many hee had depriued of life, when as the estate of those that were aliue was farre more desperate; whom hee not onely affrighted with perpetuall terror and seueritie, but also with iniurious hands had not abstained from their goods. By which meanes it came to passe, that he not onely builded, but beautfied forraine Cities inhabited by forraine nations, to the ende hee might the rather vtterly spoyle those by exaction; which were situated and seated in his owne Countrey: and that he inforced his nation to extreame pouertie, which hee receiued in most happy estate, whilest he spoiled those nobles of their estates, who vpon weake probabilities were condemned to die, or granting them life depriued them of their possessions. Furthermore, whereas yeerely tributes were imposed on euerie one; yet seuerally was the rauenous & couetous desires of his friends and courtiers to be satisfied, yea & of his seruants also, who had the authority to exacte these things, that by this meanes they might redeeme their iniurious vexations. As for the deflowring of virgins, and the scornefull betraying of a matrons chastitie, they couered them vnder silence, for that it is a great comfort to those that suffer such outrage, if their disgraces bee but knowne to a fewe. In briefe, that *Herod* had in no other sort gouerned, then as if the gouernment of them had been committed to a most sauage beast. For which cause, whereas in times past that nation had been afflicted with many calamities and murthers, yet that there is no example extant amongst their monuments of antiquitie, that may be compared with their present calamitie vnder *Herod*. For which cause vpon iust respects they had with one consent named *Archelaus* their king, supposing that whatsoeuer king might befall them, he would alwaies demeane himself more affably then *Herod* had done; and that to honour *Archelaus* they had mourned with him for his father, to gratifie him in other things, to the intent they might tie his good affection vnto them: But hee without delay & all at once had made manifest to the whole nation, what opinion they were to conceiue of him, notwithstanding that as yet he was not confirmed king (for that it lay in *Cæsars* hands

The yeare of the world, 3966. before Christs birth 4.

The embassage of the Iewes to Rome. Archelaus & the embassadors of the Iewes appeare before Cæsar. Philip Herods sonne.

C

The embassadors of the Iewes rip vp Herodes and Archelaus iniquitie.

D

E

F

A hands to bequeath it, yea or no) and as if hee had been afraide least hee ſhould aſſuredly be acknowledged for his fathers ſon, he had ſhewed an example of his vertue, moderation and good gouernment, that he would vſe towards his ſubiects, by the firſt act which hee hath committed, not onely againſt God, but alſo againſt men. For in the temple it ſelfe he hath cauſed three thouſand of his owne countrimen to be ſlaine. And how can he chooſe but be iuſtly hated, who beſides his other cruelties, obiecteth againſt vs the crime of rebellion and murinie? The effect of their requeſt therefore was this, that they might not anie more bee gouernd by a king, nor any ſuch like gouernment, but that they might be annexed vnto Syria, and ſubmit themſelues vnto thoſe gouernours that ſhould be ſent thither. That in ſo dooing it ſhould truly appeare whether they were ſeditious, and addicted to chaunges, or whether they would liue in peace at ſuch
B time as they had fauourable gouernours. After the Iews had ſpoken to this effect, *Nicholas* diſcharged the kings of thoſe accuſations that were obiected againſt them, & namely *Herod*, who (as he ſaid) had neuer beene accuſed all his life time: and that it was no reaſon that they who iuſtly accuſing him, might haue cauſed him to be puniſhed during his life time, ſhould now addreſſe their acuſations againſt him after hee was dead. And as touching thoſe things that were obiected concerning *Archelaus* actions, it ought to bee imputed to their inſolence, for that engaging themſelues in matters contrary to lawe, and hauing begun to murther thoſe who ſought to appeaſe the tumult, they accuſed ſuch as had kept them in obedience. Beſides this, hee obiected againſt them, that they were addicted to alterations, and tooke pleaſure to ſtirre vp ſeditions, for that they knew not what thing it was to obey iuſtice and the lawes, and that there was no nation
C in the world ſo headſtrong as that of the Iewes; for that they would haue the vpper hand ouer all. Thus ſpake *Nicholas*.

The yeare of the world, 3966. after Chriſts birth.

Nicholas excuſeth Herode & Archelaus.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar *confirmes* Herods *teſtament, and appointeth his children to be his ſucceſſors.*

WHen *Cæſar* had heard theſe things, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. But ſom few daies after, he deſirous to make an end of this matter, declared *Archelaus* not king, but Lord of halfe that gouernment that appertained to *Herod*, promiſing him to beſtowe a royall digni-
D ty vpon him, if ſo be he behaued himſelfe vertuouſly, according as it became him. As for the other moitie, he diuided it between two, giuing a ſeuerall part thereof to each of *Herods* ſonnes, *Philip* and *Antipas*, who debated with his brother *Archelaus* for the whole kingdom. The ſame *Antipas* alſo had the countrey on the other ſide of Iordan, and Galilee, with two hundreth talents of annuall reuenue. As for *Ppilip* he had Bathanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and part of the palace that was called by Zenodorus name, with one hundreth talents. As for *Archelaus*, hee had Idumæa, Iudæa & Samaria, which were diſcharged of the fourth part of the tributes by *Cæſar*, for that they had not ioined themſelues with the reſt of the people during the time of the ſedition. Beſides that, *Archelaus* had the tower of Straton, Sebaſte, Ioppe and Ieruſalem. For Ga-
E za, Gadara, and Hippon were cities of Greece which *Cæſar* had diſmembred, and adioyned to Syria. *Archelaus* had fiue hundreth talents of yeerely rent out of his country. Thus was the patrimony diuided among *Herods* ſonnes. As for *Salome*, beſides that which her brother had giuen her in his will, which were the Cities of Iamnia, Azot, Phaſaelis, and halfe a million of ſiluer mony, *Cæſar* granted her a royall houſe in Aſcalon; ſo as ſhe receiued, in the whole, ſixty talents of annuall reuenue, and had her howſe allotted her within the dominion of *Archelaus*. All other of *Herods* kinred, receiued that which was bequeathed vnto them by his teſtament. Two of his daughters that were vnmaried, were endowed by *Cæſar* with a quarter of a million of ſiluer money which he gaue them, beſide their fathers portion, and they were maried to *Pher-*
oras ſonnes. Moreouer, he gaue *Herodes* ſons, all that which he had giuen him by his teſtament,
F amounting to the ſum of one thouſand and fiue hundreth talents; contenting himſelfe onely to receiue ſome fewe moueables, not ſo much for their value, as in remembrance of the king, who had giuen them.

Cæſar maketh Archelaus an Ethnarque, & beſtoweth the one halfe of the kingdom on Philip and Antipas.

Salome.

Herods two daughters that were virgins maried to Pheroras ſonnes.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Christs birth, 4.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the counterfait Alexander.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18. Alias, chap. 17. The false Alexander.

AFter these things were in this sort disposed by *Cæsar*, a young man and a Iew borne, brought vp in the Citie of Sidon, by a certaine Romane libertine, intruded himselfe into *Herods* kinred, for that all those that beheld him, reported he resembled *Alexander Herodes* sonne, who was slaine by him; and by this meanes, hee began to aspire vnto the kingdome: wherupon calling to him a companion, who was his owne countriman and a long beaten courtier, and his craftsmaster, and fit to execute any dangerous or desperate actions, he by his instructions fained himselfe to be that *Alexander Herods* son, who was deliuered from death by the meanes of a certaine friend, who had the charge to see him executed: who executing others in their steeds, deliuered both him and his brother *Aristobulus*, and that they were both escaped in this manner. Beeing puffed vp by these toyes, hee failed not to deceiue other men; and as soone as hee came to Creet, as many Iewes soeuer as hee fell in conference with, he perswaded them no lesse; and getting much mony at their hands, he sailed into the Isle of Melos, where hee gathered a great summe of money vnder pretext that hee was of the kings bloud. And now hoping that he should recouer his fathers kingdome, and that he should remunerate those who were beneficiall vnto him, hee hasted towards Rome, accompanied with his friends in great pompe. And being arriued at Puteol, he there also was entertained with no lesse fauour by those Iewes whom he deceiued hy his colourable title; and diuers others, who had bin *Herods* friends and familiars came vnto him, and entertained him as their king. The cause hereof was the natural disposition of men, who take pleasure in false reports, togither with the report of his resemblance. For they that had frequented very familiarly with *Alexander*, held it for a matter most assured, that he was the man, and none other, and affirmed vnto other vpon their oathes that it was he; so that this rumor at last came to Rome. And all the Iewes that dwelt there came forth to meet him, saying, that it was Gods handy work, that he was after that sort preserued beyond all mens expectation: and they greatly reioyced in his mother *Mariammes* behalfe, from whom he was descended; and he was carried in a litter thorow the streets with all the apparell of a king, the charge wherof was defraied by those who were his friends. He was attended with a great multitude of men, and honoured with great applause, as it ordinarily falleth out at such time as beyond all expectation any one is found to haue bin miraculously preserued. When this newes was brought to *Cæsars* eares, he gaue small credit thereunto, perswading himselfe that it was a hard matter to deceiue *Herode* in a cause of so great importance: notwithstanding, conforming himselfe in some sort to the opinions of men, he sent a certaine free-man of his called *Celadus*, who had very familiarly conuersed with *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* during their infancy, giuing him in charge to bring *Alexander* vnto him, to the end he might see him; which he did, and was neuer the wiser in discouering him. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* was not fully deceiued. For, although he resembled him somewhat, yet was not he so neerely like him, that he could deceiue those who narrowly obserued him. For this counterfaite *Alexander* had hard hands, in that he had beene accustomed to labour, which the true *Alexander* could not haue in regard of his tender & delicate education: and contrariwise this man was of a rough skin and hard flesh. *Cæsar* therefore discouering the trechery both of the counterfait scholler and lying master, and how they accorded in their confident iustifications, he enquired of them what was becom of *Aristobulus* who was secretly hidden with him, & for what cause he presented not himselfe to enioy the honor that appertained to those, who were so nobly descended? It was answered him, that he remain'd in the Isle of Cyprus, for feare of dangers, to which they are exposed who saile by sea, to the end that if any misfortune should befall them, all *Mariammes* race should not be extinguished, but that at least wife *Aristobulus* might be left aliue. Whilest hee auowed these things, and the author of this fable iustified no lesse, *Cæsar* drawing the young man aside, said vnto him: My friend, if thou wilt not deceiue me, thou shalt haue this recompence, that thou shalt not be punished. Tell me therefore what thou art, and who hath emboldned thee to practice this fraud: for this malice is so great that it surpasseth thine age: wherupō being vnable to conceal the truth, he discouerd the trechery to *Cæsar*, how & by whom it was contriued. At that time *Cæsar* being loth to falsifie his promise that hee had past to this false *Alexander*, & seeing that in times past he had traueild with his hands, he caused him to be enrouled among the number of his saylers to row, & caused the other that induced him to this fraud to be put to death, contenting him selfe

The false Alexander cōmeth to Rome.

The false Alexander cannot deceiue Cæsar

The false Alexander is condemnd to tug at an oare.

A selfe that the inhabitants of *Melos* had lost their charges, which they had emploied vpon this false *Alexander*, who had a shamefull end, as it hath been heertofore declared.

The yeare of the world. 3966. before Christs birth. 4.

CHAP. XV.

Archelaus *is accused anew, and afterwards banished, and sent into Vienna.*

AFter that *Archelaus* had taken possession of that Souerainty that was allotted him, hee came into Iudæa, where he deposed *Ioazar* the son of *Boëthus* from the high priesthood, accusing him to haue fauoured the seditious, and established *Eleazar* his brother in his B place. After this he reedified the Palace in Iericho, and sumptuously adorned it, drawing away the halfe of those waters which serued the borough of Neara: and conuying them thorow a field which hee had planted with palme trees; hee builded a borough in that place, which he named *Archelais*, and contrary to the the lawes of his country he maried *Glaphyra Archelaus* daughter, who had been his brother *Alexanders* wife, by whom also he had diuers children, notwithstanding the lawe of the Iewes forbiddeth a man to marry his brothers wife. Neither did *Eleazar* enioy the priesthood any long time: but during his life time, *Iesus* the sonne of *Sias* was substituted in his place.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 19. al. 18.

The Priesthood is taken frõ Ioazar, and deliuered to Eleazar, & from him to Iosuah the son of Sia. Archelais builded.

The tenth year of *Archelaus* gouernment, the cheefest gouernours among the Iewes and Samaritanes, vnable any longer to endure his cruelty aud tyranny, accused him before *Cæsar*, C and especially after they had vnderstood that he had transgressed *Cæsars* commaund, who had charged him to behaue himselfe gratiously towards them. Which when *Cæsar* vnderstood, hee was sore displeased, and caused *Archelaus* agent to be called before him, who was then at Rome, and sent for *Archelaus* also: and esteeming it too base an indignity for him to write vnto him, Go (say he) vnto him with all expedition, and bring him vnto me without delay. He posting forward with all diligence, at length arriued in Iudæa, where he found *Archelaus* banqueting with his friends, and hauing certified him of *Cæsars* pleasure, he incited him to hasten onward of his way. As soone as he came to Rome, after that *Cæsar* had heard certaine of his accusers and his iustifications, he banished him, and confined him in the Citie of Vienna in France, and confiscated all his goods.

Archelaus banished and confined.

But before *Archelaus* was sent for to Rome, hee reported vnto his friends this dreame which D ensueth. Him thought that hee sawe tenne eares full of wheate, and very ripe, which the oxen browsed vpon, and as soone as he awoke he conceiued an opinion that his vision presaged some great matter. For which cause he sent for certaine soothsayers, who made it their profession to interpret dreames. Now whilst they were debating one with another (for they differed for the most part in their exposition) a certaine man called *Simon* an Essean, hauing first of all obtained security and licence to speake, said that the vision pretended, that a great alteration should befall in *Archelaus* estate, to his vtter disgrace. For the oxen signified afflictions, in respect that those kinde of creatures do ordinarily trauell; and as touching the change of estate it was signified by this, in that the earth being laboured by the trauell of the oxen, retained not the same estate: & E as touching the ten eares of corne, they signified the like number of yeers. And therfore when as one sommer should be ouerpast, that then the time of *Archelaus* soueraigntie should bee at an end. Thus interpreted he this dreame. And the fift day after the vision thereof, *Archelaus* his factor by *Cæsars* commandement came into Iury to summon him to Rome. Some such like matter hapned to *Glaphyra* his wife also, the daughter of king *Archelaus*: she (as we haue said) married *Alexander Herods* sonne, when she was a maide, and brother to this *Archelaus*; who being slaine by his father, she was married the second time to *Iuba* king of Mauritania: and he also being dead, she liuing with her father in Cappadocia was married to *Archelaus*, who put away *Mariamme* his wife for the loue he bare vnto *Glaphyra*. She liuing with *Archelaus*, was encountred with such a dreame. She thought that she saw *Alexander* fast by her, who cherishing and em- F bracing her, checked her, saying: *Glaphyra*, Thou approuest the truth of that prouerbe, which saith, Women haue no loyalty. For hauing giuen me thy faith, and maried with me at such time as thou wert a virgin, and born children by me, thou hast forgotten and neglected my loue, thorow the desire thou hast had to be maried the second time. Neither hast thou contented to haue done mee this wrong, but hast taken vnto thee likewise a third husband, lewdely and impudently intruding thy selfe into my family; and being maried with *Archelaus*, thou art content to admit my brother for thy husband. This notwithstanding I wil not forget the loue that I haue

Simon the Essean interpreteth Archelaus vision.

Glaphyras dreame.

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Christs birth, 11.

borne thee, but will deliuer thee from him, who hath done thee this reproach, by retaining thee for mine owne, as heretofore thou hast been. After that she had tould this vision to certaine women that were her familiars, she died very shortly after. Which accident I haue thought good to register in this place, in that I was to intreat of those kings; and otherwise the matter seemeth to be a signall example containing a most certaine argument of the immortalitie of soules, and Gods prouidence. And if any one deeme these thing incredible, let him reserue his opinion to himselfe, and no waies contradict those, who by such euents are incited to the study of vertue. Now when the gouernment of *Archelaus* was annexed to Syria, *Cyrenius*, who had been Consul, was sent by *Cæsar* to taxe Syria, and to dispose of *Archelaus* house.

Cyrenius Censor of Syria.

THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 18. Booke.

1 Cyrenius *is sent by* Cæsar *into Syria and Iudæa to taxe the people*, Coponius *is made gouernour of Iudæa*, Iudas *the Galilean raiseth vp newe troubles.*
2 *What and how many Sects there were among the Iewes.*
3 *The Tetrarches* Herod *and* Philip *build Cities in honour of* Cæsar.
4 *The sedition of the Iewes against* Pontius Pilate.
5 *That vvhich hapned to the Iewes that were dwelling at Rome in* Pilates *time.*
6 *Of* Vitellius *his arriuall in Ierusalem, and how he receiued commission from* Tiberius Cæsar *to make vvar against* Aretas, *after he had receiued hostages of* Artabanus.
7 Herod *the Tetrarchs vvarre against king* Aretas, *and his ouerthrow.*
8 Agrippaes *voyage to* Tiberius, *vvhere he is accused and shut in prison. He is deliuered after the death of* Tiberius, *by* Caius *his successor.*
9 *How* Herod *the Tetrarch vvas banished.*
10 *The sedition of the Iewes and Greekes at Alexandria.*
11 Caius *sendeth* Petronius *into Iudæa to make vvarre against the Iews, if so be they refused to receiue his statue.*
12 *That vvhich hapned to the Iewes that were at Babylon, and of the two brethren* Asinæus *and* Anilæus.

CHAP. I.

Cyrenius *is sent by* Cæsar *into Syria.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Cyrenius is sent by Cæsar into Syria to execute iustice in that place. Coponius Prefect of Iudæa.

CYrenius the Roman Senator hauing executed all degrees, offices, and dignities vntill such time as hee obtained the Consulship (a man of great reckoning and estimation) was sent into Syria by *Cæsars* direction, to doe iustice among the people, and to sesse and taxe each mans goods: with him was sent *Coponius* a captaine of a company of horsemen, who was appointed to haue the commaundement of all Iewry. *Cyrenius* therefore came into Iudæa, which was already annexed vnto Syria, to taxe the goods of the inhabitants thereof, and to confiscate *Archelaus* substance. And although at the first the Iewes thought but hardly of this description, yet notwithstanding without contradiction they submitted themselues, being perswaded thereunto by the counsell of the high Priest *Ioazar* the sonne of *Boëthus*, by whose aduice they suffred themselues to be taxed without contradiction. But after this there arose a certaine Iewe called *Iudas* the Gaulanite, borne in the towne of Gamala, who hauing a certaine man called *Sadoc* the Pharisee confederate with him, laboured to stir vp the people to rebellion: alleaging that the description was no other thing, but a manifest confession of their seruitude, exhorting all the nation to maintain their libertie, and putting them in hope that they thereby should happily establish their estates, and enioy their goods with security: and besides

The taxation of the people of the Iewes.

Alias, chap. 3.

this,

A this, obtaine both honour and glory in proſecution of ſuch an enterpriſe. Moreouer, that God would not afford them a more aſſured way to ſettle their fortunes then by this meanes, namely, if they would employ themſelues in the execution of their deſignes, and if hauing conceiued in their mindes hautie and noble attempts, they forbore not to finiſh the ſame, notwithſtanding the execution coſt them their liues. Theſe ſpeeches of theirs were entertained by the people with great pleaſure, & by the ſame they were the more confirmed & heartned to rebellion. So that there was no kind of euill which theſe men ſet not abroach, yea the whole nation was repleniſhed with ſuch miſeries, that it is impoſſible to recount them: for the wars therein continued with ſuch fury, that it was impoſſible to reſtraine the violence therof; ſo that they neyther ſpared friends, nor reſpected enemies, but were wholly giuen ouer to the ſpoyle. There raigned

The yeare of the world, 3974. after Chriſts birth 11.

Slaughters, theits, ſeditiõs and famine in Iudæa.

B nothing but robberies and murthers of noble perſonages, who entertained one another vnder pretence to eſtabliſh the eſtate of the common-weale, but in effect for their priuate profit ſake, whereby the cities were repleniſhed with ſeditions and murthers, in which the inhabitants ſlaughtered one another, after a ſtrange manner of furie, and deſire they had not to ſpare any that was of their contrary faction. They were afflicted with forraine enemies and famine; yet none of theſe could pacifie their furie, but that they furiouſly raſed Cities, ſhed innocent blood, till at length the horrible miſchiefe tooke ſuch a head, that they conſumed the temple of God,

The temple of Ieruſalẽ burnt

and burned all the beautifull buildings. So dangerous a thing is it to change the cuſtomes and manners of a countrey. For *Iudas* and *Sadoc* hauing introduced and raiſed a fourth ſect, and tying

Iudas & Sadoc authors of the fourth ſect.

the Sectaries to their command, filled the whole common-weale for the preſent with many

C troubles, and produced the roots of theſe miſchiefs, which afterwards branched abroad from this vnaccuſtomed ſect. For which cauſe I thinke it not amiſſe to diſcourſe briefly of theſe ſectaries opinions, whereby ſo many euills haue fallen vpon our nation.

CHAP. II.

How many, and what ſects there were among the Iewes.

THere were three ſects among the Iewes, of long continuance & antiquity: that of the Eſſeans; that of the Sadduces; and that of thoſe who were called Phariſees. Of theſe haue we ſpoken in our ſecond book of the warres of the Iewes; and yet now I think it

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. al. 5.

Three ſects of the Iewes: of whom mention is made in the ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes.

D not amiſſe to ſpeake ſomwhat of them in this place alſo. The Phariſees vſe a very auſtere and ſtrict kinde of life, and addict not themſelues to any delicacy, but diligently follow that which their reaſon inducteth them vnto. They honour their elders, neyther dare they reply, or reproach them for their admonitions. They attribute all things vnto fate, and yet they take not an aſſent of will from man, ſuppoſing that God tempereth all things in ſuch ſort, that by his ordinance & mans will all things are performed either good or euil. They beleeue alſo that the

The Phariſees doctrine.

ſoules of men are immortall; and that vnder the earth they receiue iudgement of honour or diſgrace, according as they haue addicted themſelues to vertue or vice in their life times: the one to liue in perpetuall priſon; the other to riſe againe very ſhortly. For which cauſe they are in

E great eſtimation among the people: and all that which appertaineth to the ſeruice of God, whether they be praiers or ſacrifices, all things are done accotding as they giue direction. So ample a teſtimony yeeld the Cities of their wiſedome, temperance & honeſt life. But the Sadduces are of that opiniõ, that the ſoules of men periſh with their bodies. They obſerue no other thing but

The Sadduces opinion.

that which is in the law, & hold it a vertue to diſpute with their maſters, as touching the decrees of their ſect. Their opinion is entertained by very few, yet ſuch, who for the moſt part are men of the beſt reckoning; yet entermeddle they not in any caſe with any affaires: and when they are aduanced to any honours, eyther with their owne good liking, or with conſtraint, they are enforced to allow of that which the Phariſees ſhall propoſe, otherwiſe the common people will not endure them. The Eſſeans attribute vnto God the gouernment and diſpoſition of all things.

The Eſſeans profeſſion.

F They ſay that the ſoules of men are immortal, and all the vttermoſt of their indeuour & delight is to maintaine iuſtice and equity. They ſend their offerings vnto the temple, yet ſacrifice they not with other men, by reaſon they vſe more ſacred and different ceremonies: for which cauſe they are ſecluded out of the common temple, and ſacrifice apart. Otherwiſe, they are men of moſt reconciled behauiour, & ſuch as are wholly addicted to trimming & laboring their fields.

The Eſſeans life and maners.

They haue one cuſtom which is worthy admiration, & ſuch a one as is not to be found amongſt any other, either Greeks or Barbarians, that make any reckoning of vertue, which they haue not

practiſed

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Christs birth, 11.

practiced for a little while, but euen from all antiquitie; which is, that they poſſeſſe their goods in common: neither doth the richeſt among them make more vſe of his poſſeſſions then he that hath leaſt of all. They are at leaſt foure thouſand in number, who neither haue wiues nor ſlaues; ſuppoſing that women are the occaſion of iniuſtice, and that ſlaues do ariſe by mutinies: and liuing apart by themſelues, they ſerue one another: and chooſe out certaine vpright men among their prieſts to gather the fruits and reuenews of their lands, to the end they may be ſuſtained & nouriſhed therby: In a word, they follow the ſame courſe of life that they do, who are called Piſti among the Danes. The fourth ſect was founded by *Iudas* of Galilee, which accordeth altogether and in all things with the Phariſees, but that they are extreamely zealous of their liberty, acknowledging but one onely God, Lord and maſter of all things, and had rather both themſelues with their deereſt children and kinsfolk endure the moſt grieuous & bitter torments that may be imagined, then call any mortall man their Lord. Of which conſtancy of theirs I forbeare to diſcourſe any further at this time, for that it is ſufficiently knowen vnto diuers, who haue beene eie witneſſes, thereof: neither feare I leaſt any one ſhould ſuppoſe thoſe things to bee incredible, which I haue ſaide of them; but contrariwiſe, that I haue ſpoken leſſe then they themſelues make euident in contemning their grieuous tortures and puniſhments; which courage and magnanimity of theirs increaſed very mightily amongſt our nation, being kindled by the moſt hainous iniuries which were offered vs by *Geſſius Florus* our gouernour, by which means at length it came to paſſe that they reuolted and rebelled againſt the people of Rome. Thus much as touching the ſects among the Iewes.

Piſti among the Danes. Iudas Galileus the author of the fourth ſect

Geſſius Florus iniuries.

CHAP. III.

The Tetrarches Herod *and* Philip *builded Cities in honour of* Cæſar.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3. Anan the ſon of Seth made high Prieſt in Ioazars place. Alias, chap. 6.

AFter that *Cyrenius* had confiſcated *Archelaus* goods, and finiſhed the valuation of euery mans eſtate (which hapned 37. yeeres after *Antonies* ouerthrow by *Cæſar* in the Actian battel) he depoſed *Ioazar* from the prieſtly dignity, by reaſon of that ſedition which the people ſtirred vp againſt him, and eſtabliſhed *Ananus* the ſonne of *Seth* in his place. But *Herode* and *Philip* tooke each of them the poſſeſſion of their Tetrarchy, and diſpoſed of the affaires therof. *Herod* incloſed Sephoris with a ſtrong wal, & made it the chiefeſt Citie and ornament of Galilee: he fortified alſo another Citie called Betaramphtha, and named it Iulias in honour of Iulia the Emperour *Cæſars* wife. *Philip* repaired Paneada ſituated neere vnto the ſourſe of Iordan, and called it Cæſarea: he repaired alſo the borough of Bethſaida neere vnto the lake of Genazereth, and gaue it the dignity of a Citie, both for the number of the inhabitants as for other preheminences, and called it Iulia by *Cæſars* wiues name. As for *Coponius* the gouernour in Iudæa, who (as we haue ſayd) was ſent with *Cyrenius*, in his time there hapned that which followeth. At the feaſt of vnleauened bread, which we call Paſcha, the cuſtome was that the Prieſts opened the temple gates about midnight: at which time certaine Samaritans, who ſecretly entred into Ieruſalem, as ſoon as the gates were open, ſpred mens bones amidſt the porches, and ouer all the temple: wherby it came to paſſe, that the Prieſts began to keepe a more diligent watch, then they had done before time.

Sephoris chief city of Galile. Betaramphtha called Iulias. Paneas. Bethſaida. Mens bones ſcattered in the temple.

The yeare of the world, 3974. after the birth of Chriſt, 12. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

Some little while after, *Coponius* returned to Rome, and *Marcus Ambiuius* ſucceeded him in the gouernment. In his time *Salome* king *Herods* ſiſter departing out of this life, bequeathed vnto *Iulia* the Citie of Iamnia and all the lands and countrey round about: ſhe gaue her alſo Phaſaelis ſituate in the Plaine, and *Archelais* where there are diuers date trees, bearing moſt excellent fruit. After *Ambiuius*, *Annius Ruphus* had the commaund, vnder whom died *Cæſar* the ſecond Romane Emperour, after he had raigned fifty ſeuen yeers, ſixe moneths and two daies, and had *Antonius* his copartner in the monarchy for the ſpace of fourteen yeers. Hee liued in the whole ſeuenty ſeuen yeeres.

The yeare of the world, 3975. after Chriſts birth 13.

The yeare of the world, 3977. after Chriſts birth 15.

The yeare of the world, 3978. after Chriſts birth 16.

The yeere of the world, 3979. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 17.

After *Cæſar* ſucceeded *Tiberius Nero* the ſon of *Iulia* his wife, who was the third Roman Emperour. He it was that ſent the fift gouernour into Iudæa, whoſe name was *Valerius Gratus*, who ſucceeded *Annius Rufus*. This *Gratus* depoſed *Ananus*, and appointed *Iſmael* the ſonne of *Fabius* high Prieſt: and after his deceaſe (for he liued but a little whiles after) *Eleazar* the ſon of *Ananus* was made high Prieſt. A yeere after this, this *Eleazar* alſo was depoſed, and the Prieſthood was giuen to *Simon* the ſon of *Camithus*: who continuing in this dignitie for a yeers ſpace & no longer, *Ioſeph* called *Caiaphas* ſucceeded after him. After *Gratus* had behaued himſelf thus, he returned to Rome, after he had remained in Iudæa for the ſpace of 11. yeeres. After him came

Pontius

A *Pontius Pilate* and ſucceeded him in the gouernment. But *Herod* the Tetrarch being entertained into *Tiberius* friendſhip, builded a City in honor of his name, and called it Tiberias. He planted it in the fruitfulleſt part of Galilee, hard by the lake Genazereth, and neer vnto the naturall bathes in the borough called Emmaus. This City was peopled by ſtrangers, who reſorted thither from all parts; and by diuers, of the countries of Galilee, ſome of which were conſtrained to inhabit the ſame. Some of thoſe likewiſe, who were in authority repaired thither, and from all countries there flocked many, who were not aſſuredly held for men of free condition; all which hee infranchiſed, and gaue them great gifts, vnder that condition, that they ſhould not abandon the Citie. To ſome of them he gaue houſes already builded; to other ſome lands very apt to be tilled, knowing that the habitation of ſuch a place was contrary to the lawes and cuſtomes of his
B country, and the ordinances of the Iewes; for that Tiberias was builded in a place full of ſepulchers: and our law ſaith, he that conuerſeth in thoſe places is held vncleane and defiled for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

The yeare of the world, 3979. After Chriſts birth 17.

The yeare of the world, 3990. After Chriſts birth 28.

Tiberias builded.

At that very time died *Phraates* king of Parthia, being traiterouſly ſlaine by his ſonne *Phraataces*, for this cauſe. After that *Phraates* had gotten many lawfull children, hee took vnto him an Italian woman to his concubine, called *Thermuſa*, whom with other preſents *Iulius Cæſar* had ſent vnto him. After he had begotten on her his ſon *Phraataces*, hee was ſo much beſotted with hir beautie, that he tooke her to his wife, & held her in high eſtimation. She that might perſwade him vnto all that whatſoeuer ſhe liſted, enforced herſelfe to the vttermoſt to make her ſon king of Parthia: and ſeeing that ſhe might not attaine thereunto, except ſhee had firſt found out the
C meanes to deliuer her ſelfe of *Phraates* lawfull children, ſhee perſwaded him to ſende them hoſtages to Rome. In a word, they were preſently ſent away, becauſe *Phraates* in no ſort had the power to contradict *Thermuſas* will, and onely *Phraataces* was brought vp in the affairs of eſtate; who thinking the time too tedious and long if he ſhould expect the kingdome whilſt his father were dead, conſpired againſt him by the inſtigation and furtherance of his mother, with whom (as it is thought) he committed inceſt. In effect, being equally attainted of theſe two hainous crimes, both for the murther of his father, as his inceſt committed with his mother, he was generally hated by his ſubiects, who rebelled againſt him before ſuch time as he was ſettled in his kingdom. By this meanes was his fortune ouerthrowen, and he died. The noble men among the Parthians perceiuing, that it was impoſſible for them to maintaine their policy without a king, and that their king ought lineally to deſcend of the race of the Arſacians (becauſe by cuſ-
D tome they might not chooſe any out of another ſtock (& ſuppoſing that their ordinances had too much already bin broken, & that it would redound to their great diſhonour if the kingdom ſhold be continued in the hands of ſuch a man, who was deſcended from an Italian concubine, they ſent Embaſſadors to require *Herod* to come and bee their king, who otherwiſe was in hatred with all the people, and accuſed of extream cruelty. In a word, he was an vnſociable man, & extreamly cholericke, notwithſtanding he were of the bloud of the Arſacides: they therefore flocked about him, and killed him at a banquet made at a certaine ſacrifice (for the cuſtom of the Parthians was, that euery one bare his weapon) or as the common report was, that he was ſlain at ſuch time as he was a hunting. For this cauſe, they ſent embaſſadors to Rome, requiring that
E one of thoſe that were hoſtages there might be their king, and one *Vonones* was ſent vnto them, who was preferred aboue all his brethren. For hee ſeemed to be capable of that high degree of honour, as to commaund two of the greateſt ſoueraignties that were vnder the ſunne; the one of his owne nation; the other of a forraine dominion. But the Barbarians, who are by nature mutable and moſt impatient of indignitie, ſhortly after repented themſelues: for they diſdained to execute the commaund of a ſlaue; for ſo called they a pledge, ſaying, that the Parthians had not a king giuen them by right of warre, but that which was the moſt outrage that might befall them, by iniury offered them in time of peace. For which cauſe they ſpeedily ſent for *Artabanus* king of Media, who was of the race of the Arſacides. To this requeſt of theirs hee willingly condeſcended, & came vnto them with his army. And *Vonones* marched forward to make
F head againſt him. At the firſt encountry, although the common ſort among the Parthians fauoured *Artabanus*; yet was hee ouercome and fled to the mountaines of Media. But not long after, hauing aſſembled a greater army, he once more ſet vpon *Vonones* and diſcomfited him, at which time *Vonones* retired himſelf with ſome horſemen of his into Seleucia. But *Artabanus* hauing made a great ſlaughter of thoſe that fled, and wholly abaſhed the minds of the Barbarians, he retired himſelf to the Citie of Cteſiphon, with thoſe people that accompanied him, and was afterwards made king of Parthia. *Vonones* arriued in Armenia, and at the firſt ſought to make himſelfe

Phraates king of the Parthians ſlaine by the treaſon of Phraataces his ſonne. Thermuſa Phraataces mother.

Phraataces ſlaine.

Herod ſent for by the Parthians, and ſlaine in hunting.

Vonones king of the Parthians put to flight by Artabanus.

The yeere of the world, 3990. after Christs birth, 28.

himselfe king ouer that nation, sending to this effect certaine Embassadours to Rome: but *Tiberius* repulled his suite in respect of his cowardice, but the rather for that *Artabanus* by an expres Embassage had threatned him with warre. For they of greatest power among the Armenians (who are those that dwell about the floud Niphates) maintained *Artabanus* title; and *Vonones*, distitute of all hope to obtaine the kingdome, yeelded himselfe to *Syllanus*, who was Gouernour of Syria, and in regard that he had bin brought vp at Rome, he was kept in Syria: and *Artabanus* gaue Armenia to *Orodes* one of his sons. *Antiochus* king of the Comagenes dyed also at that time, and there fell a debate betwixt the commons and the nobility; so that both parties sent their Embassadours to Rome. The nobles required that the forme of their gouernment might be changed into diuers signiories; and the people requested that they might be honored by a king, as they had beene accustomed. The Senat decreed that *Germanicus* should bee sent to settle the affaires in the East, fortune thereby presenting him with the occasion of his ruine. For, at such time as he arriued in the East, and orderly disposed all things, he was poisoned by *Pise*: whereof he died, as it is declared in another place.

Vonones submitts to Syllanus gouernor of Syria. Orodes king of Armenia. Antiochus king of Comagena.

Germanicus poisoned by Pisoes meanes.

G H

CHAP. IIII.

The rebellion of the Iewes against Pontius Pilate.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al chap. 8.

Pilate Gouernour of Iudæa led his army from Cæsarea to Ierusalem, where he wintered them with an intent to bring in *Caesars* statues, and standards into the City, in contempt of our lawe which forbiddeth vs to make images. For which cause, those Gouernours that were before him, were wont to make their entries into the Citie without such pictures or paintings. *Pilate* was the first, who vnawares and by night entred Ierusalem, bringing with him his images. Which when the people vnderstood, in great multitudes they resorted to Cæsarea, beseeching him for many dayes, that hee would transport those images into some other place. But when as *Pilate* denied them to perform their request, because the matter would redound to *Caesars* dishonour, and the Iewes also ceased not to sollicite him; some fixe dayes after commanding his souldiers to lie in ambush in a readinesse, he sate him downe in the Tribunall within the Hippodrom, making vse of the opportunity of the place, for that it was most fit for a stratagem. There being vrged once more about the same businesse, hee gaue a signe to his souldiers to beset them, threatning them with death, except they would presently giue ouer their suite, and repaire euery one of them with all speed to their owne houses. But they prostrating themselues vpon the earth, and offering their naked throats, tolde him that they rather desired to die, then to see their lawes violated, which were with so great iudgement and reason proposed vnto them. *Pilate* amazed at the confidence they shewed in the conseruation of their laws, sodainly caused *Caesars* images to be transported out of Ierusalem into Cæsarea, and out of the sacred treasury he made certaine conduits of water, that had their fountaine heads more then two hundreth stades off. But the people took no pleasure in those conduites, & diuers thousands of men assembled themselues exclaiming against *Pilate*, endeuouring thereby to make him giue ouer his enterprise. Some of them also vttered diuers iniurious speeches against him, as it ordinarily falleth out amongst an vnbridled multitude. But he causing them to be hemmed in by a great number of his souldiers, attired in a popular habite, as soone as they began to exclaime against him, gaue a signe to his souldiers: they as it was before time commanded them, made vse of their maces; and without distinction either of the persons or the offenders, fell on all those whom they had encompassed; and so vnmercifully laide on them, who were naked and disarmed, that some of them were slaine, othersome grieuously hurt: and after this manner was the tumult and sedition appeased.

I K L

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al. chap. 9.

At that time was IESVS, a wise man, if it be lawfull to call him a man. For he was the performer of diuers admirable works, & the instructer of those who willingly entertaine the truth: and he drew vnto him diuers Iewes and Greeks to be his followers. This was CHRIST, who being accused by the princes of our nation before *Pilate*, and afterwards condemned to the crosse by him; yet did not those who followed him from the beginning, forbeare to loue him for the ignominie of his death. For he appeared vnto them aliue the third day after, according as the diuine Prophets had before testified the same, and diuers other wonderfull things of him: and from that time forward the race of the Christians, who haue deriued their name from him, hath neuer ceased.

M

Pilate seeking to draw certain springs of water to Ierusalem stirreth vp a rebellion.

The yeare of the world, 3997. after Christs birth 35.

The yeare of the world, 3998. after Christ, birth 36.

Iesus Christ crucified by Pilate.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Alias chap. 10.

At that time also there fell out another accident, which very sore troubled the Iewes, and in the

A the temple of Iſis at Rome there were many ſhameful acts committed. But I will firſt of all recount the accident in the Temple of Iſis: and then will I declare that which befell the Iewes. There was in Rome a Lady called *Paulina*, renowmed both for the nobility of her houſe, as alſo thorow her ſtudy and exerciſe in vertue. Beſides this, ſhee was verie rich, and with her riches beautifull, and in her flowring yeeres; and notwithſtanding a verie mirrour of chaſtitie. Shee was married to a certaine noble man called *Saturnine*, that equald her in all thoſe her excellent perfections. A certain young man called *Decius Mundus*, one of the knights of greateſt account at that time, fell in loue with her. But ſhe was of that diſpoſition, that it was impoſſible for him to corrupt her by preſents: And the more ſhe refuſed thoſe infinite preſents which he ſent vnto her, the more was *Mundus* heart inflamed with ardent affection; ſo that to enioy her but onely
B one night, he offered her two hundred thouſand drachmes, amounting in our engliſh money to ſome ſixe thouſand pound; yet for all this he could not ouercome her. For which cauſe being vnable to indure this his vnfortunate loue, he thought beſt to pine himſelf away for want of ſuſtenance, thereby to deliuer himſelfe from the tyranny of that paſſion, wherewith he was afflicted: Finally, that he confidently reſolued, he conſtantly put in execution. Now there was a certaine freewoman that belonged to *Mundus* father, whoſe name was *Ide*, expert in all ſorts of ſubtilties, who being ſore aggrieued to behold the yong mans reſolution, whom ſhe ſaw wholly addicted to a deſperate death, ſhe addreſſed her ſelf vnto him, and encouraged him with hope, promiſing him to bring him to *Paulinas* ſpeech, by the meanes of a certaine bribe which ſhe intended to offer. He reioicing very much at her motion, demanded what ſumme would ſerue her:
C who requiring nothing more then fifty thouſand drachmes to obtaine *Paulina*, he furniſhed her preſently. When as by this means ſhe had quickned the young mans ſpirit, and receiued all that which ſhe demanded, ſhe ſhaped not the ſame courſe which others had kept that had the ſolicitation of the matter before, ſeeing ſhe ſaw that mony would not tempt her; but knowing that ſhe was deeply deuoted to the ſeruice of Iſis, ſhe practiced this ſubtill and vnexpected policy. She addreſſed her ſelfe to certaine prieſts of the temple, and vpon great hopes, and offer of greater preſents, and paying them downe vpon the preſent, twenty & fiue thouſand drachmes, and promiſing them asmuch more vpon the performance of the bargaine, ſhe diſcloſed vnto them the paſſionate loue which the young man bare vnto *Paulina*, exhorting them to work ſo wiſely that he might enioy her. They bewitched with this huge preſent they had, and hoped to receiue, promiſed her to work the feat. Whereupon, the eldeſt among them reſorted to *Paulina*, and ha-
D uing free acceſſe vnto her preſence, he required that he might haue conference with her in ſecret: which when he had obtained, he told her that he was ſent vnto her by God *Anubis*, in that the God was ſurpriſed with her loue, and deſired that ſhe would come vnto him. *Paulina*, tooke great pleaſure in this his diſcourſe, and tolde her familiars how ſhe had been honoured with the amorous ſolicitation of a God, and certified her husband how *Anubis* would banquet and lie with her. Whereunto he conſented, knowing how great his wiues chaſtitie was. She therefore repaired to the temple: & after ſhe had ſupt, and the time was come vvherein ſhe was vſually accuſtomed to lay her downe to reſt, and the gates were lockt vp by the prieſt that were therein, and the lights likewiſe were taken away; *Mundus*, who was hidden within, failed not to accoſt
E her: who thinking that it was God *Anubis*, ſatisfied his deſires all the night long; and in the morning betimes before the prieſts, who were priuie to this trecherie, were ſtirring, he retired himſelfe: *Paulina* alſo early in the morning repaired to her husband, and certified him how *Anubis* had appeared vnto her; and boaſting her ſelfe among her familiars what conference hee had vſed with her. But ſome of them beleeued her not, in regard of the manner of their entertainment; the reſt were altogether amazed, ſuppoſing thoſe things to be no waies incredible, at ſuch time as they bethought themſelues of the Ladies chaſtitie. Some three dayes after this act was committed, *Mundus* meeting with *Paulina*, ſaid vnto her: You haue ſaued mee two hundreth thouſand drachmes, wherewith you might haue augmented your treaſure, and this notwithſtanding you haue not failed to ſatisfie my requeſt: neither am I greeued that you haue
F contemned mee vnder the name of *Mundus*, ſince that vndertaking *Anubis* name I haue accompliſhed my deſire, and this ſaid hee departed. But ſhe preſently amated with the mans audacious impudence, tore her garments, and hauing told her husband of all this ſubtill circumuention, ſhe requeſted earneſtly his aſſiſtance, and that he would not forſake her in the proſecution of her reuenge: who preſently certified the Emperour of each particular thereof. Now when *Tiberius* had diligently vnderſtood, how all things had happened, by the inquiſition and examination of the Prieſts, he condemned them and *Ida*, who had beene the inuenter and complotter of this.

The yeare of the world. 3998. after Chriſts birth. 36.

Tiberius cauſeth Iſis prieſts & Ida to be hanged, and baniſhed Mundus.

The yeere of the world, 3998. after Christs birth, 36.

this treason against *Paulina*, to be hangd: he pulled downe the temple also, and cast *Anubis* statue into Tyber, and banished *Mundus*; supposing that he ought not to be more grieuously punished, consydering that the fault which was committed by him, proceeded from extreame loue. Behold here the insolence committed in the temple of Isis, by the priest that appertained to that temple. Now intend I to declare that which hapned to the Iews that were at that time in Rome, according as heretofore I both purposed and promised. G

CHAP. V.

Of that which befell the Iewes that were at Rome in Pilates *time.*

Fuluia Saturnines wife deliuereth gold and purple to foure Iewes to be sent to the temple in Ierusalem, they conuert it to their own vses, which when Tiberius knew he cõmanded all the Iewes to be thrust out of Rome.

THere was a certaine Iewe, that hauing beene accused for the breach of the lawes of his countrey, and fearing to be punished for the same, fled from thence, being without respect, a man of a most mischieuous behauiour. He dwelling at that time in Rome, professed himselfe to be an expounder of *Moses* lawe, and drawing to him three other no lesse reprobates then himselfe, he followed his ordinary profession. *Fuluia* a Lady of much honor became their scholler; and had embraced the religion of the Iewes, whom they had perswaded to send certain purple and gold to the temple of Ierusalem: which after they had receiued at her hands, they conuerted it to their owne vse, as before that time they had determined to doe. *Tiberius*, who was informed hereof by *Saturnine* his familiar friend, and *Fuluias* husband, who had discouered the same vnto him, commanded all Iewes whatsoeuer to depart out of Rome. Of these the Consuls chose out & enrouled to the number of foure thousand men, whom they sent into Sardinia: and punished diuers of them that refused to beare armes, for feare they should transgresse the ordinances of their countrey. So that by reason of the loose behauiour of foure wicked persons, all those of our nation were driuen out of the City of Rome. H I

Neither was the nation of the Samaritanes exempt from this trouble: for a certaine subtill companion, who sought by all the means he might to incroche vpon the peoples fauour, perswaded them to withdraw themselues with him to the mount Garizim (which they supposed to be the holiest amongst all their mountaines) in which place, he auowed he would shew them the sacred Vessells buried in a certaine place, where *Moses* had laid them: and at that time they being gathered together in armes, by his perswasion encamped themselues in a borough called, Tirathaba, where they entertained those that repaired thither to adioin themselues with them, to the end they might ascend the mountaine with the greater companie. But *Pilate* preuented them, and got vp before them with his horsemen and footmen: who charging those that were assembled in the borough, put them to flight; and slaying some, and putting the rest to flight, led away a great number of them prisoners with him. *Pilate* executed the chiefest ring-leaders amongst them, and those also of greatest force amongst the fugitiues. The tumult of these Iews being published abroad, and their misfortune made knowne, the Senate of Samaria addressed themselues to *Vitellius* who had bin Consul, and who at that time gouerned Syria, before whom they accused *Pilate* for the murther of those whom he had slaine, saying, that they assembled not in Tirathaba to rebell against the Romans, but to wartantize themselues against *Pilates* tyranny. Whereupon *Vitellius* sent *Marcellus* his friend, to take charge of Iudæa, commanding *Pilate* to returne to Rome, and to satisfie the Emperor in those things wherof the people had accused him. Hereupon *Pilate*, after he had soiourned ten yeers in Iewry, repaired to Rome, hauing no means to contradict that commandement that *Vitellius* had giuen him. But before hee arriued there *Tiberius* was departed and dead. K L

The Samaritanes assemble at Tirathaba to ascend the mountain Garizim, Pilat chargeth and ouercommeth them and putteth them to flight.

The yeare of the world, 3999. after Christs Nativity, 37. Alias chap. 11. Pilate accused before Vitellius is sent to Rome.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. al. 12.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius *commeth to Ierusalem.*

AS soone as *Vitellius* came into Iudæa, he went vp to Ierusalem and celebrated there the feast of the passeouer, and after he had been magnificently entertained in that place, he forgaue the Citizens the tribute of all those fruits which were sold. He deliuered them also the ornaments of the high priests, with all the rest of the priestly furniture within the temple, committing the charge thereof vnto the priests, according as in times past they had the same. But at that time they were laid vp in the castle of Antonia for this cause which followeth. *Hircanus* the high priest the first of that name (for diuers haue been so called) hauing builded a tower neere vnto the temple, did for the most part make his residence therein, and there kept his M

Vitellius commeth to Ierusalem, forgiueth the Iewes their tribute, & committeth the charge of the high priests garments to them. The high priests vestments reserv'd in the castle of Antonia.

A his veſtments that were committed to his charge, the rather for that he onely had the authority to put them on, and returne them into their place at ſuch time as hee came downe into the Citie, and put vpon him his accuſtomed rayment. His ſonne and his ſonnes ſonnes entertained the ſame cuſtome, till ſuch time as *Herod* being exalted to the kingdom, and ſeeing this tower to be ſtrongly ſited, builded the ſame moſt magnificently, and called it *Antonia*, in honor of *Antony* his great friend. And hauing found theſe veſtments in that place, he retained them with him, aſſuring himſelfe, the people would attempt nothing againſt him. *Archelaus* his ſonne and ſucceſſor in the kingdom, kept the ſame courſe that *Herod* had done. But after that the Romans had obtained the ſouerainty thereof, they kept the high Prieſts ornaments in their hands, and reſerued them in a place builded for the purpoſe, vnder the ſeale of the Prieſts: and the Prefect of
B thoſe that kept the ſacred treaſure, lighted the lampe euery day in that place. This euery ſeuenth day before the feaſt, doth the Prefect deliuer into the high Prieſts hands, and after it was purified hee put it on to doe diuine ſeruice, and the next day after the feaſt he returneth it againe to the ſame place where it was kept before: which cuſtome was obſerued thrice euery yeare in the time of a faſt. But *Vitellius* returned thoſe ornaments into the hands of the Prieſts, according to the ancient orders, leauing them to be vſed at ſuch time as need required, commanding the Prefect to trouble himſelfe no more about the place where they ſhould be kept. After hee had done this fauour to the nation of the Iewes, hee depoſed the high Prieſt *Ioſeph* ſurnamed *Caiapas*, and aduanced *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Ananus* to that dignity, and afterwards returned to Antioch.

The yeare of the world, 3999. after Chriſts Nativity, 37.

Vitellius aduanced Ionathan the ſon of Ananito the prieſthood & degradeth Ioſeph ſurnamed Caiaphas

C At that time he receiued letters from *Tiberius*, by which hee commanded him to capitulate and conclude a friendſhippe with *Artabanus* the King of the Parthians (whoſe hatred hee ſuſpected, and feared, leaſt being ſeized of Armenia, hee ſhould worke further diſpleaſure to the ſtate of Rome) willing him to aſſure the league by hoſtages, and namely with *Artabanus* ſonne. After *Tiberius* had written theſe letters aboue mentioned vnto *Vitellius*, he perſwaded the Kings of Iberia and Alania by great ſtore of money, that with all expedition they ſhoud make warre againſt *Artabanus*. But the Iberians would not bre drawen thereunto, yet ſuffered they the Alaines to march through their countrey, and opened them their gates of the mount Caſpius, to giue them paſſage to inuade *Artabanus*. Thus once more was Armenia conquered, and the
D countrey of the Parthians was filled with warre, whereby the chiefeſt among them were ſlaine, and all their eſtate was ſpoyled and diſordered. The Kings ſonne alſo was ſlaine in thoſe conflicts, with diuers thouſands of his men of warre. Moreouer, *Vitellius* hauing ſent money to a certaine kinſman and friend of *Artabanus*, pretended to corrupt him to make *Artabanus* away. But *Artabanus* perceiuing the plot that was intended againſt him, and ſeeing that hee could not eſcape, becauſe it was attempted by a great number of the beſt accounted nobles within his court, ceaſed to paſſe any further: and ſeeing himſelfe moſt apparantly inuironed, and thinking that vnder colour of friendſhippe he was fraudulently betrayed, he thought it better to retire himſelfe into the prouinces of the higher countrie, and there to ſaue himſelfe, rather then to put himſelfe in hazard, and reſort vnto them who had already betrayed and forſaken him. Arriuing in that place hee aſſembled a great number of ſouldiers of the countries of Danes, and Swethi-
E ans: and hauing fought againſt them who oppoſed themſelues againſt him, hee recouered his eſtate. When *Tiberius* had tydings hereof, he wrought the meanes to draw *Artabanus* into friendſhip with him: which when *Artabanus* had notice of, hee willingly admitted; ſo that *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* met together neere Euphrates, and by the meanes of a bridge that was builded vpon the riuer they debated the matter together, being each of them attended by their guards. After that they had concluded the peace, *Herod* the Tetrarch feaſted them in a very magnificent Pauillion, erected in the middeſt of the ſtoud, not without his great coſt. And not long after, *Vitellius* ſent *Darius*, *Artabanus* ſonne in hoſtage to Rome, with diuers preſents; amongſt which there was a man ſeauen cubits high, a Iew borne, who was named *Eleazar*, who was called a Gyant by reaſon of his greatneſſe. That done, *Vitellius* returned to Antioch, and *Artabanus* to Ba-
F bylon. But *Herod* deſirous to be the firſt who ſhould aduertiſe *Caſar* of the receite of theſe hoſtages, ſent expreſſe meſſengers with letters, by which hee fully ſatisfied him of all that which had happened, omitting nothing for the Conſull to certifie: ſo that after *Vitellius* letters were brought vnto him, and that *Caſar* had already certified him of the true information that *Herod* had giuen him, *Vitellius* was ſore troubled: and ſuſpecting leaſt hee had receiued a greater iniury then the matter made ſhew for; hee conceiued in his heart a ſecret deſpight, which continued vntill ſuch time as *Tiberius* was dead, and *Caius* obtained the Empire.

The Parthians loſe Armenia.

Such things as hapn d betwixt Vitellius & Artabanus.

Artabanus reſtored to his kingdome by the Danes & Swethians.

A league betwixt Vitellius & Artabanus.

Herods banquet in the midſt of Euphrates.

Artabanus lendeth Tiberius his ſon in hoſtage, and a Iew ſeauen cubits high.

Herod aduertiſeth the Emperour of all things before Vitellius letters came to his hands.

The yeare of the world, 3999. after Christs Nativity, 37.

At that time also died *Philip Herods* brother, in the twentith yeare of *Tiberius* raigne, after hee G had raigned himselfe for the space of seuen and thirty yeeres, in Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Bathanæa. During all the time of his gouernement, hee behaued himselfe very peaceably, and farre from businesse. For he made his ordinary abode within his owne dominion. Hee walked being accompanied with a small number of his chosen seruants; and had that seat carried after him wherein he was accustomed to sit and doe Iustice: and therein sate he to the end that if any one presented himselfe, and required his assistance, hee might without delay doe him right. For vpon the first motion the seat was placed in that part wherein the plaintiffe met him; and being seated therein, he examined the cause, punishing those that were guilty, and absoluing the innocent. He died in Iuliade, and was buried in the sepulcher which he himselfe had caused to be built, and his obsequies were performed with great solemnity and maiesty. And for that hee H left no heires males behinde him, *Tiberius* seized his estate, which hee annexed to the gouernement of Syria, ordaining that the tributs that were gathered in his Tetrarchy, should bee kept within the bounds of the same region.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. chap. 13.

The yeare of the world, 4000. after Christs Nativity, 38.

CHAP. VII.

The warre of Herod *the Tetrarch against King* Aretas, *and his ouerthrow.*

Herod the Tetrarch putteth away Aretas daughter and marrieth Herodias his brother Herods wife.

MEeane while *Aretas* King of Arabia *Petræa*, and *Herod* fell at strife, the one with the I other, for this cause that ensueth. *Herod* the Tetrarch married *Aretas* daughter, with whom hee had liued maried a very long time. Afterwards taking his iourney towards Rome, hee lodged with *Herod* his halfe brother by the father side (for *Herod* was the son of *Simons* daughter, which *Simon* was the high Priest) and there being surprised with the loue of *Herodias* his brothers wife, which was the daughter of *Aristobulus* their brother, and sister to the great *Agrippa*, hee was so bold as to offer her some speech of mariage: which when she had accepted, the accords were made betweene them, that at such time as hee should returne from Rome, hee should displace her, and lead her away with him, with conditions that he should banish *Aretas* daughter far from him. After he had ratified those couenants, he made his voiage to Rome, from whence he no sooner returned & performed that for which K he went, but his wife (who had some priuy notice of the conuentions which were made betwixt him and *Herodias*) before he suspected that shee knew thereof, required him to send her to the castle of Macheron, which was the frontire towne betwixt *Herods* and *Aretas* countries, without certifying him any waies of her intent. *Herod* without suspect easily condescended vnto her request, thinking shee was ignorant of his drift: but she long before that time had taken order with the Gouernour of Macheron (which at that time was vnder her fathers gouernement) to prepare al things for her iourny, where being arriued she speedily posted into Arabia, vnder the conuoy of those Gouernours, who receiued & conducted her the one after the other. As soone as she arriued in her fathers court, she incontinently certified him of *Herods* resolution, whence arose the beginning of this discord betwixt them. As soone as therefore they had both of them L assembled their armies vpon the confines of the country of Gamalite, they fought together vnder the conduct of the two Generals, to whom they had committed their armies. In this battell *Herods* army was wholly discomfited thorow the treason that was complotted against him by certaine banished men of *Philips* Tetrarchy, which were in pay with *Herod*. *Tiberius* was certified of all this by those letters which *Herod* had written vnto him: and being sore displeased with *Aretas* for his proud attempt, he commanded *Vitellius* to make warre against him, willing him that if he could take him aliue he should send him bound vnto him: but if dead, hee should send him his head. Such was the commission that *Tiberius* sent to the Gouernour of Syria.

Herods wife returneh into her own countrey.

Herods army discomfited by the Arabians.

Tiberius commandeth Vitellius to make warre against Aretas.

Diuers Iewes were of the opinion, that *Herods* army was ouerthrowne by the iust vengeance of God, who punished him most iustly, because of the execution which he caused to be done on M *Iohn* surnamed *Baptist*: For hee had done this man to death, who was replenished with all vertue, and who exhorted the Iewes to addict themselues thereto, and to execute iustice towardes men, and piety towardes God: exhorting them to bee baptized, and telling them that baptisme should at that time be agreeable vnto God, if they should renounce not onely their sinnes, but if to the purity of their bodies they should annex the cleanness of their soules repurified by iustice. And whereas it came to passe that diuers flocked and followed him to hear his doctrine,

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. al. 14.

Herod

A *Herod* feared leaſt his ſubiects allured by his doctrine and perſwaſions ſhould be drawen to reuolt. For it ſeemed that they would ſubſcribe in all things to his aduice; hee therefore thought it better to preuent a miſchiefe by putting him to death, then to expect ſome ſudden commotion, which he might afterwards repent. Vpon this ſuſpicion *Herod* cauſed him to be bound, and ſent to the caſtle of Macheron, whereof we haue ſpoken heretofore, and there was hee put to death. The Iewes were of opinion that in reuenge of this ſo grieuous a ſin, *Herods* army, againſt whom God was diſpleaſed, had been ſubiect to their vtter ruine and ouerthrow. But *Vitellius* being addreſſed to make warre againſt *Aretas*, gathered together two legions, and all thoſe horſe or foot that he could aſſemble amongſt thoſe Kings, who were the Romans allies, and marching towards Petra he ſtayed at Ptolemais, becauſe he pretended to paſſe by Iudæa. Which when the
B principall nobles amongſt the Iewes had notice of, they went out to meet him, beſeeching him that he would not paſſe thorw their countrey, becauſe it was a cuſtome amongſt them not to ſee any images borne, ſuch as he had of diuers colours in his army. Whereunto hee condeſcended, and hauing changed his purpoſe, hee cauſed his army to march through the great Plaine: as for himſelfe he came to Ieruſalem accompanied with *Herod* the Tetrarch and his friends, to offer ſacrifice to God vpon the next feſtiual day, where he was moſt magnificently receiued by al the people of the Iewes. There ſoiourned hee for the ſpace of three dayes, during which time hee depoſed *Ionathan* from the high prieſthood, and inueſted *Theophilus* his brother. The fourth day letters came vnto him that aduertiſed him of *Tiberius* death, for which cauſe he commanded the oath of fidelity ſhould be miniſtred to the people, in the new Emperour *Caius* behalfe. Hee cal-
C led his army backe alſo, and ſent them to their wintering garriſon, becauſe it was not lawfull for him to proſecute the warre, by reaſon the ſoueraigne eſtate was fallen vnto *Caius*.

The yeare of the world, 4000. *after Chriſts birth*, 38.

Iohn Baptiſt ſlaine by Herod.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11.

Vitellius leadeth his army againſt the king of Arabia

The yeare of the world, 4001. *after Chriſts Nativity*, 39.

Vitellius repaireth to Ieruſalem & diſplaceth Ionathan, & preferreth his brother.

Caius Caligula ſucceedeth after Tiberius.

It is ſaid, that *Aretas* hearing newes of *Vitellius* expedition or voiage, & after he had taken coũſell of the Augurs, ſayd, that the army ſhould not finde engines to pearce as farre as Petra, becauſe the chieftaine thereof, or he that had the command of the expedition, or he that obayed his ordinance in conducting the ſame, or he againſt whom the army was conducted, ſhould die. *Vitellius* therefore retyred himſelfe to Antioch. A yeare before the death of *Tiberius*, *Agrippa* *Ariſtobulus* ſonne came to Rome, to intreate with the Emperour about certaine affaires, according to the power which hee ſhould obtaine at his hands. But before I ſpeake any thing hereof,
D I will relate *Herods* progeny, both for that it is pertinent to this preſent narration, as alſo that the greatneſſe of Gods prouidence may appeare, to the end that a man may knowe that neither the number of children, nor any other humane force whatſoeuer it be, can bee auaileable without the feare of God; conſidering that within the ſpace of one hundreth years or ſomewhat leſſe, it ſo fell out, that all *Herods* line, which was very populous and fruitfull, was extinguiſhed, a very few excepted. Whereby we are giuen to vnderſtand, what the miſery of mankinde is, and learn to moderate our owne ſelues. It is alſo expedient to ſpeake ſomething of *Agrippa*, who amongſt al other deſerueth admiration, in that being a man wholly drowned in obſcurity & baſe in birth, hee was exalted to ſuch greatneſſe, as no one of thoſe that knew him, would euer haue thought his fortune ſhould haue ſuch ſucceſſe and mightineſs. And although heretofore I haue ſpoken ſomewhat of this matter, yet it is requiſite that I ſpeake ſomething more expreſly therof
E in this place. *Herod* the great had two daughters borne by *Mariamme Hircanus* daughter. The one of them which was called *Salampſo*, was maried by *Herod* to *Phaſaelus* the ſonne of *Phaſaelus*, who was *Herods* brother. The other called *Cypros* was eſpouſed to *Antipater* her Couſin, who was *Salomes* ſonne, who was *Herods* ſiſter. *Phaſaelus* had fiue children by *Salampſo*: Three ſons, *Antipater*, *Herod*, and *Alexander*; and two daughters, *Alexandra* and *Cypros*, whom *Agrippa* the ſonne of *Ariſtobulus* married, and *Alexandra* was married to *Timæus* of Cyprus, who was a man of great dignity, and with whom ſhe died without iſſue. *Cypros* had by *Agrippa* her husband two ſonnes and three daughters: *Bernice*, *Mariamme*, and *Druſilla*: their two ſonnes were called *Agrippa* and *Druſus*. *Druſus* died very young: but *Agrippa* was brought vp by his grandfather amongſt his other brethren, *Herod*, *Ariſtobulus* and *Bernice*. Theſe were *Herods* children, ſonne
F vnto him who was ſurnamed the great; *Bernice* was *Coſtobarus* daughter, begotten on *Salome Herods* ſiſter: *Ariſtobulus* died leauing his children ynder age, vnder his fathers charge with *Alexander* his brother, as we haue already recounted. Theſe attaining their full age were in this ſort married: *Herod* brother to *Agrippa* was matched with *Mariamme Olympias* daughter, who was *Herod* the Great his daughter, and of *Ioſeph Herods* brother: By her hee had his ſonne *Ariſtobulus*: *Ariſtobulus* *Agrippas* third brother married *Iotape* the daughter of *Sampſigeram* King of the Emeſenians. They had a daughter which in like ſort was called *Iotape*, which was deafe.

Aretas gathereth by auguries that it was impoſſible for the army to come to Petra.

Herods progeny.

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs Nativity, 39.

These were the children begotten by *Herods* three sonnes. But *Herodias* their sister maried *Herod* the sonne of *Herod* the Great, whom hee begot on *Mariamme* the daughter of *Simon* the high Priest, by whom *Salome* was begotten. After her birth, *Herodias* in contempt of the lawes of the countrey, maried herselfe with *Herod* her husbands brother begotten of the same father, being separated from him during his life time, who was Tetrarch of Galilee. His daughter *Salome* was maried to *Philip* the Tetrarch of Trachonitis *Herods* sonne: who dying without children, *Aristobulus* married her, who was *Herods* sonne and *Agrippas* brother. They had three sonnes, *Herod*, *Agrippa* and *Aristobulus*. See heere the posterity of *Phasaelus* and *Salampsion*. *Antipater* by *Cypros* had a daughter that in like sort was called *Cypros*, which was married to *Alexas Selcius* the sonne of *Alexas*, of whom hee begat a daughter called likewise *Cypros*. As for *Herod* and *Alexander*, who (as I sayd) were *Antipaters* brothers, they died without issue. *Alexander Herods* sonne, who was slaine by his father, begate *Alexander* and *Tigranes* on the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. *Tigranes* being King of Armenia died without issue, after hee had beene accused at Rome. *Alexander* had a sonne called *Tigranes*, after his brothers name, who was sent by *Nero* to raigne in Armenia, who had a sonne called *Alexander*, who married *Iotape* the daughter of *Antiochus* King of Comagena. This *Alexander* by *Vespasian* was elected King in Lesis a Citie of Cilicia. As soone as *Alexanders* posterity began to multiply, they fell from their countrey religion to followe the customes of the Greekes. All the rest of King *Herods* daughters died without issue. Hauing after this manner reckoned vp *Herods* posterity, which continued vntill such time as *Agrippa* the great began to raigne; it remaineth at this time to declare what aduentures befell this *Agrippa*, and how hee escaping his dangers obtained at last so great power and diguity.

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 12. Alias, cap. 15. Agrippa from obscurity obtained great dignity and power.

CHAP. VIII.

Agrippas *voyage to* Tiberius, *where he is accused and shut in prison, and is deliuered after* Tiberius *death by* Caius *his successor.*

Agrippa liuing at Rome thorow his lauish liberality groweth into necesity.

SOme little time before the death of King *Herod*, *Agrippa* conuersing at Rome, grew into great familiarity and acquaintance with *Drusus*, *Tiberius* the Emperours son, and was beloued by *Antonia* the wife of *Drusus* the elder, by the means of his mother *Berenice*, whom *Antonia* held in great estimation, and to whom shee had recommended her son. And whereas by nature he was of a liberall & high spirit, as long as his mother liued hee would not discouer his intent, least hee should prouoke her displeasure against him. But incontinently after *Berenice* was dead, and hee became Lord of himselfe, partly by his daily and bountifull entertainement and liuing, partly by his immoderate liberalities, but especially by his lauish prodigality towardes *Cæsars* freemen, whose fauour hee hunted after, hee was brought into extreame pouerty, and could no more liue at Rome; the rather for that *Tiberius* hauing lost his sonne, forbad his friends to come into his sight, for feare least their presence should refresh and encrease the sorrowe hee conceiued for the losse of his sonne. For these causes hee returned backe into Iudæa, hauing but badly ordered his estate, spent his money, and left himselfe no meanes to satisfie his importunate and many creditours. For which cause incertaine how to dispose himselfe, and ashamed of his present estate, he withdrew himselfe into a Castle called Malatha in Idumæa, bethinking himselfe after some sort to cut off his miserable dayes. Which purpose of his, when *Cypros* his wife perceiued, shee endeuoured by all meanes to preuent his resolution: shee wrote also to his sister *Herodias*, who was married to *Herod* the Tetrarch, certifying her both what *Agrippa* had decreed, as also by what necessity he was enforced thereunto: and shee exhorted her, that in regard of affinity she would assist him, and imitate her in this, who, as much as in her lay, relieued his misery, although her fortunes were farre weaker then hers. Being therefore sent for by his sister and wife, hee was commaunded to dwell in Tiberias, and had a certaine summe of money assigned him for his maintenance, and for his greater honour was appointed Magistrate of that Citie. Yet did not *Herod* continue long time in that minde, although by the meanes hee had giuen him, hee had not satisfied his kinsmans necessities. For being in the Citie of Tyre in a certaine company, where he dranke immoderately, *Agrippa* esteemed it for an extreame iniury that *Herod* had vpbraided him with his pouerty, and hit him in the teeth that hee maintained him at his charge. For which cause he withdrew himselfe to *Flaccus*, who had sometimes been Con-

Agrippa bethinketh himselfe how he might shorten his miserable life. Cypros Agrippas wife certifieth Herodias his sister of his pouerty and requireth her assistance. Agrippa dwelleth at Tiberias.

Herod tanteth Agrippa with his pouerty.

sul

A sol at Rome, and for the present was President of Syria, with whom at Rome he had fallen into familiarity, who entertained by him lived with him, who long before that time had entertained *Aristobulus*, who though *Agrippas* brother, yet was he his enemy; yet notwithstanding this dissension betweene them, *Flaccus* entertained them both with equall fauour. But *Aristobulus* remitted nothing of his hatred hee bare his brother, neither euer rested hee before he had drawn *Flaccus* into dislike with his brother, vpon this occasion. The inhabitants of Damasco, contending with the Sidonians about their demaines, and being to debate their cause before *Flaccus*, knowing what interest *Agrippa* had in him, they besought him that he would further their cause, promising him a great summe of money: whereupon he addressed himselfe in what he could to further those of Damasco. But *Aristobulus*, who had an inkling of this conclusion and promise, B accused his brother to *Flaccus*: and after inquisition was made, and hee found guilty of the fact, *Agrippa* grew out of the Presidents fauour, and falling againe into extreame pouerty, he came to Ptolemais, and for that he had no means of maintenance, he determined to saile into Italy. And for that he wanted money, he commanded *Marsyas* his free-man, that by all means whatsoeuer he should seek to take vp money vpon interest. He spake vnto *Protus* (who was *Agrippas* mothers free-man, who by the testament of his deceased Mistris was left vnto *Antonias* protection) that vpon his Masters bill and promise, he would lend him some money. But hee alleaging that *Agrippa* before that time ought him mony, extorted from *Marsyas* a bill of his hand, for twenty thousand Attique drachmes, deducting out of that sum two thousand and fiue hundreth, which *Marsyas* took for himselfe: which he might the more easily do, for that *Agrippa* could not otherC wise chuse. Hauing therefore receiued this money, hee went to Anthedon, where getting shipping he prepared himselfe for the iourney.

But when *Herennius Capito*, who was treasurer of Iamnia, vnderstood of his being there, hee sent his souldiers vnto him, to exact three hundreth thousand siluer drachmes at his hands, for which he stood indebted to *Cæsars* Treasurer during his being at Rome, by which means he was enforced to stay. Whereupon he made a shew that he would obey their demande; but as soone as it was night, hee caused the cables of the ship to be cut, and cast off, and sailed to Alexandria: there requested he *Alexander Alabarches* to lend him two hundreth thousand drachmes in siluer. But he protested that he would trust him with nothing. But admiring *Cypras* his wiues constant D loue towards her husband, and her many other vertues, hee vpon her promise accorded to doe him kindnesse: whereupon in present money hee payed him fiue talents in Alexandria, and promised to deliuer him the rest of the money at Puteol, fearing *Agrippas* vnthriftinesse. Thus *Cypros* hauing furnished her husband for his iourney into Italy, returned her selfe and her children into Iudæa by land. But *Agrippa*, as soone as he arriued at Puteol, wrote vnto *Tiberius Cæsar*, who lined at Capreas, signifying vnto him that hee came to doe his duty, beseeching him that hee would grant him free and fauourable accesse. *Tiberius* with all expedition returned him a very kinde answere, certifying him that he would be very glad to see him safely arriued in Capreas. In a word, as soone as hee was arriued, *Cæsar* expressed and made it knowen, that his affection was answerable to his letters, and both embraced him and lodged him. The next day *Cæsar* receiued letters from *Herennius Capito*, who aduertized him that *Agrippa* ought three hundreth E thousand drachmes of siluer, which he borrowed and paid not at the time prefixed, and that at such time as the appointed time of payment was come he was fled out of the country, and place of his procuration, and by this occasion had depriued him of the meanes to constraine him to make satisfaction. When *Cæsar* had read the letters, he was sore displeased, and cõmanded those of his chamber, that they should not admit *Agrippa* to his presence, vntill such time as hee had discharged that debt.

But he, nothing dismaied at *Cæsars* displeasure, required *Antonia*, *Germanicus* and *Claudius* mother, who was afterwards Emperour, to lend him the summe of three hundreth thousand drachmes, to the end he might not lose *Cæsars* friendship. Who remembring her *Berenice Agrippas* mother, and with what familiarity they had conuersed together, and how *Agrippa* likewise F had been brought vp with *Claudius* her sonne, lent him that money: Whereupon he paying the debt, without any contradiction enioyed the Princes fauour, & was so reconciled to *Cæsar*, that he committed his nephew to *Agrippas* charge, commanding him to attend him alwaies, whither soeuer he went. Being by this benefit bound and tyed to *Antonia*, he began to reuerence her nephew *Caius*, who was gracious in all mens eyes, and honoured in memory of his parents. At that time by chance there was one *Allius* a Samaritane, *Cæsars* free-man, of whom hee borrowed ten hundreth thousand drachmes of siluer, and paied *Antonia* her due, and kept the rest the more hono-

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.

Agrippa retireth himselfe to Flaccus.

Aristobulus draweth Agrippa into Flaccus disfauour.

Agrippa by Marsyas means borroweth mony of Protus.

Agrippa whilst Herennius Capito extorteth money at his hands, flieth to Alexandria by night.

Agrippa borroweth mony at Alexandria.

Agrippa arriueth at Puteol & is admitted to Cæsars presence.

Agrippa borrowes 200000 siluer drachmes of Antonia, Germanicus & Claudius mother.

Caius cõmended to Agrippas charge.

Allius Cæsars free-man lendeth Agrippa money.

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs Nativity, 39.

honourably to attend and wait on *Caius*. By whom being entertained with most inward familiarity, it hapned one day that riding in the same Coach with him, *Agrippa* wisht (for they two were alone) that *Tiberius* might shortly surrender the kingdom and Empire vnto *Caius*, who was each way more worthy then he. These words of his were ouerheard by the Coachman called *Eutychus*, who was *Agrippas* freeman, who for that time spake not a word thereof. But being afterwards accused for stealing *Agrippas* garment (as he indeed had done) and brought backe againe after he had fled away to *Piso* (who was the prefect of the citie) he asked him why he fled: who answered, that he had certaine secrets which he desired to reueale vnto *Cæsar*, that appertained to his profit and safety: for which cause he was sent by him in bonds to Capreas. *Tiberius* according to his dilatory manner, wherein no King or tyrant euer equalled him, held him prisoner. For neither did he presently admit any Embassadours, neither sent he successors to those, who were gouernours, and prefects of his prouinces, when the former were dead; and no lesse negligent was he in yeelding audience to his prisoners. But when his friends at any time questioned with him, why he vsed these accustomed delayes; he answered them, that he deferred the Embassadors after that sort, for feare least if he should speedily dispatch them, they should instantly returne with new; whereby it should come to passe, that hee should be continually troubled in entertaining and dismissing them.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13. Eutychus Agrippas freeman bethinkes him to accuse Agrippa to the Emperor.

G

H

And as touching his offices, he left them in their hands, to whom he had committed them, in regard of his subiects welfare. For naturally all magistracy is subiect to auarice: but in especiall strangers induce those, who exercise the same to gather, and ingrosse the more instantly, when as the time of their authority is short and of small assurance; whereas if they should continue in the same for a long time, in regard of the gaine they had made, and the much profits they had raised, they would be afterwards lesse greedy to extort further. Now if he should send others to succede them on a sudden, it were impossible for him to content them, notwithstanding their many bribes: whereas in giuing them time to fill their purses, when they had gotten well, they would abate the furious desire of lucre which they affected before. And to this purpose he told them an example of a poore man that was a Lazar, to whose wounds a great number of flies assembled themselues, and couered the same: at sight whereof some by fortune arriuing there, and hauing compassion of his misery, and supposing that the cause why he repulsed them not, proceeded from his disability, approched neere to help him: but he required them to let him alone. Wherupon they demanding the cause wherfore he that was hurt refused to be deliuered from so irksome an euill, he answered them, for that they should do him more wrong, if those flies were driuen away; for that being already full of blood they prick me not (said he) neither suck me so earnestly, but giue me some ease; whereas if new should alight on my wound which were hungry, and should seize my flesh in that desperate estate that I am, they would procure my death. For these causes he said, that seeing his subiects already consumed by so many exactions, he thought it a good policy in him, and a better prouision for them, not to send them new gouernours continually, who might after the manner of flies sucke them to the quick, especially if to their innated couetousnes hee should annex the feare of their sudden displacing. Now to approue that to be true which I haue declared of *Tiberius* disposition, this action of his may suffice to iustifie me. For hauing beene Emperour, for the space of twenty two yeares, all those gouernours which he sent into Iury were two, namely *Gratus* and *Pilate* his successor; neither demeaned he himselfe otherwise towards the rest of his subiects of the Empire.

For what cause Tiberius changed not his gouernours.

I

K

L

And as touching his prisoners, the reason why hee delayed so much to giue them audience, was to the end, that they who had been condemned to death, should not speedily be deliuered from those torments, wherewith he threatned them, and which they had deserued by their wickednes. For whilst he kept them in that paine, their mishap increased the more. For this cause *Eutychus* could not obtaine audience at his hands, but was long time detained prisoner. Afterwards in processe of time, *Tiberius* transported himselfe from Capreas to Tusculanum, which was distant from Rome some hundreth furlongs. There did *Agrippa* sollicite *Antonia*, to cause *Eutychus* to be called to his answer, as touching the accusation which he pretended against him. Now *Antonia* was in great fauour with *Tiberius*, both in regard of the affinity that was betweene them (in that she was *Drusus* wife, who was *Tiberius* brother) as in respect of her modesty. For she being young continued in her widowhood, and would not marry with any other, notwithstanding *Augustus* importuned her to wed; but liued alwaies in honour without blame. Besides that, shee had done *Tiberius* a great pleasure: for at such time as *Seianus* his friend, and a man in great account in those daies (by reason he had the gouernment of the army) practised a conspiracy

Why Cæsar would not giue audience to his prisoners.

Agrippa solliciteth Antonia to bring Eutychus to his answere.

Antonia very much honoured by Tiberius.

Antonia discouereth Seianus conspiracy to Cæsar.

M

A racy against him, whereunto diuers of the Senate, and of his freemen, and his men of warre likewise were accessary: yet brought she all their intents to nothing. This attempt had taken a great head, and *Seianus* had finished his purpose, had not *Antonia* vsed more aduised courage, then *Seianus* did in executing his treason. For hauing discouered the danger that threatned *Tiberius*, she wrote and sent her expresse letters by *Pallas* one of her trusty seruants vnto him to *Capreæ*, certifying him in particular the whole processe of the conspiracy. *Cæsar* hauing true vnderstanding thereof, caused *Seianus* and his confederats to be executed. Although therfore that before that time he honored *Antonia* greatly, yet did hee afterwards honour her farre more, in such sort as he trusted her in all things. When as therfore she entreated him to giue *Eutychus* audience: *Tiberius* answered, If, said he, *Eutychus* hath falsely obiected any thing against *Agrippa*, it sufficeth B that he endure that punishment which I haue enioyned him. But if in the torture hee maintaine that which he hath spoken to be true, it is to be feared least *Agrippa* intending to punish his freeman, do rather heap the punishment vpon his owne head. When *Antonia* had reported this answere of his to *Agrippa*, hee did the more instantly solicite her, requiring her that the matter might be brought to tryall. And for that *Agrippa* ceased not to importune her, *Antonia* took the occasion, which was this: *Tiberius* being after dinner time carryed in his litter, and hauing *Caius* and *Agrippa* before him, she walking foot by foot by the litter, besought him to call *Eutychus* to his tryall: whereunto he replyed: The gods (said he) know that that which I do, I do it not of mine owne wil, but for the necessity I am pressed with vpon your request: and hauing spoken thus, he commanded *Macron Seianus* successour to bring *Eutychus* before him: which was performed C with all expedition. Whereupon *Tiberius* asked him what he had to say against him, who had enfranchised him. My soueraign (said he) *Caius* that is here present, and *Agrippa* rode one day together in the same Coach, and I sate at their feet. After diuers discourses held between them, *Agrippa* began to speake after this manner vnto *Caius*; O said he, would God the day were come wherein the old man departing out of this world, would make you gouernour thereof: For his son *Tiberius* would be no hindrance vnto you, for him might you make away. Then should the world be happy, and I likewise haue my share in the felicity. *Tiberius* esteeming this his accusation to be true, and hauing of long time conceiued a grudge against *Agrippa*, for that notwithstanding he had commanded him to honor *Tiberius*, who was his nephew and *Drusus* son, *Agrip*- D *pa* had giuen small regard to his commandement, and had not honored him, but was wholly addicted vnto *Caius*. For which cause said he to *Macron*, bind me this fellow. He scarcely vnderstanding that which hee spake, and no waies suspecting that he should giue that commandement in respect of *Agrippa*, deferred the performance vntill such time as hee might more exactly vnderstand his mind. When as therefore *Cæsar* turned into the Hippodrome, and by chance met with *Agrippa* in the teeth: This is he (said he) *Macron*, whom I haue commanded to be bound, and demanding of him once more by whom he spake: It is *Agrippa* said he. Then had *Agrippa* recourse to submissiue and humble prayers, refreshing the memory of his sonne with whom he had been brought vp, and alledging the education he had vsed towards his nephew *Tiberius*: but he preuailed nothing, but was led away bound in those purple ornaments which he then wore.

At that time it was very hot weather, and being in distresse of wine he was extreamly thirsty, E and distressed, yea more then became one of his quality. Whereupon espying *Thaumastus* one of *Caius* seruants, who carried water in a pitcher; he required him to giue him drink: which when he had willingly bestowed on him, he dranke, and afterwards said vnto him. This seruice thou hast done me in giuing me drink, shall do thee good one day. For as soone as I shall escape out of these bonds, it shall not be long before I obtaine thy liberty at *Caius* hands, for that thou hast not neglected to doe mee seruice in this my imprisonment, as thou hast before time done mee whilest I was in my prosperity and dignity: Neither deceiued hee the mans expectation of his promise, but rewarded and gratified him. For afterwards, when he had obtaind the kingdom, he begged *Thaumastus* liberty at *Caius* hands, and made him superintendent of his affaires, and after his decease he gaue order that he should serue in the same place, with his sonne *Agrippa* and his F daughter *Berenice*; so that he died very old, and much honored. But this hapned afterward. But at that time *Agrippa* stood before the place bound with other companions, who were likewise in bonds: and thorough the grief he conceiued, he leaned against a certane tree, on which there sate an owle. One of those prisoners, who was by nation a German, beholding that bird, asked the souldier that was fettred with him, who he was that was apparelled in purple: and vnderstanding that his name was *Agrippa*, and that he was a Iew, and one of the nobility of that nation; he required the souldier, who to the end to guard him was chained with him, to suffer him to draw

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.

Agrippa vrgeth Eutychus triall, and for certaine speeches of his is cast into bonds.

Thaumastus Caius seruant giueth Agrippa drink, who he promiseth to procure his freedome.

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs Nativity, 39.

draw neer vnto *Agrippa*, and to haue a little conference with him, for that he had a great desire G
to aske him of certain things concerning the customes of his country. Which when he had ob-
tained, and hauing got neer him, he certified him by an interpreter of that which followeth:
Yong man (said he) the sudden change that hath befallen thee at this present, afflicteth and op-
“ presseth thee with great and grieuous torment; neither wilt thou easily beleeue that thou shalt
“ escape from thy misery: yet so doth the diuine prouidence dispose all things, that thou shalt
“ shortly be deliuered. Know therefore, and I sweare vnto thee by the gods both those of mine an-
A certaine German foretelleth Agrippa of his happy fortunes to come, and the manner of his death.
“ cestors, and those also, who haue residence and prefidence in this place, and who haue procured
“ vs this iron chaine, that I will tell thee all, not to yeeld thee pleasure by my vaine discourse, or to
“ entertaine thee with friuolesse consolation, knowing well that when these predictions shall hap-
“ pen to faile, they will breed thee more sorrow, then if thou hadst neuer heard of them. But I H
“ haue thought it good, yea although it were with mine owne danger, to declare vnto thee the
“ predictions of the gods. It cannot otherwise be, but that shortly thou shalt be deliuered from
“ these bonds, and shalt be aduanced to great honour and power; so that those, who at this day
“ haue compassion of thy calamity, shall beare enuy to thy glory, and thou shalt depart this life in
“ great felicity, and shalt leaue thy children mighty possessions. But beare this in thy remembrance,
“ that when thou shalt see this bird once more, thou must needly die within fiue dales after. These
“ are those things which the gods thinke meet to foretell thee by this bird. As for my selfe, I haue
“ supposed that I should do thee wrong if I should conceale this prediction from thee, hauing the
“ foreknowledge thereof. I haue therefore thought good to impart this ioy vnto thee, whereby tho-
“ row hope of thy future profit, thou maiest more easily endure thy present misfortune: for which L
“ cause I beseech thee, that as soone as thou shalt be partaker of this thy felicity, thou wilt endeuor
“ thy selfe to deliuer vs also from those aduersities.

This presage of the Germane seemed so ridiculous to *Agrippa*, as it afterwards deserued most mighty admiration. But *Agrippina* being sore grieued at the yong mans calamity, thought it not onely a difficult matter for her to entreat *Tiberius* for him, but altogether vnprofitable in regard she should be repulsed: yet wrought she so much with *Macron*, that hee was committed to the custody of such souldiers, who were of more reconciled behauiour, and had a Centurion appointed ouer them that suffered him to vse his daily bathings, and gaue his friends and seruants leaue to visit him, by whose seruice and kindnesse his necessities might be relieued. His friend *Silius* also was admitted to speake with him, and amongst his free-men *Marsyas* and *Stichus*, who K
brought him in such meates as hee was delighted withall, and couerings vnder colour to sell them: which by the permission of the souldiers, who had no lesse direction from *Macron*, they spred by night for him to take his rest vpon. See here the estate wherein *Agrippa* liued in prison
Agrippa liued six moneths in prison.
for the space of six moneths. But *Tiberius* being returned to Capreas beganne at first to be at-
Tiberius falleth sick, and sendeth for his sonnes.
tainted with a certaine lingring disease, and for that his sickneesse increased more and more, hee
began to conceiue a sinister hope of himselfe, and commanded *Euodus*, whom hee most honou-
red amongst all his free-men, to bring him his sonnes, because hee intended to talke with them
before he died. But the sooth is, that he had not any children of his own, but had adopted them.
For *Drusus*, who was his only childe, was already dead, and had left behinde him a sonne called
Tiberius, surnamed *Gemellus*. Hee had *Caius* also, his brother *Germanicus* sonne, who was in the L
Tiberius Gemellus the son of Drusus. Caius the gracious, Germanicus son.
flower of his age, and had trauelled very diligently in good disciplines. To him also the people
ascribed very much, in remembrance of the vertues of his deceased father; and as touching
himselfe, he was of a sweet conuersation, and so modest, that he was familiar and conuersant with
all men. Whereby it came to passe, that not onely the people, but the Senate also held him in
great estimation, as also all the subiects in euery seuerall Prouince. For they that spake with
him were drawne partly by his affability, partly by the fidelity they saw in him: so that when
he was dead, all of them mourned, not counterfeitly lamenting his losse, but with vnfained sor-
row; for that there was not any one that supposed not his death to be euery mans particular los.
He therfore demeaned himselfe so modestly towards all men, that his sonne after his death was
highly aduanced thereby. For among the rest the men of warre made their reckoning, that al- M
though it should cost them their liues to get him the Empire, they would not refuse the
Tiberius by an Augury vnderstandeth Caius succesſe and succession before his death.
hazard.

After that *Tiberius* had charged *Euodus* to bring him the two young men the next morrow by breake of day, he besought the gods of that place to giue him an euident signe whereby hee might know who should succeed him: For although he desired to leaue the Empire to his sons son; yet made he more account of that which God should make manifest vnto him. He there-

fore

A fore conceiued a preſage, that he, who the next day ſhould enter firſt to ſalute him, it ſhould be he, who in the Empire ſhould neceſſarily ſucceed him. And hauing ſettled this thing in his fantaſie, hee ſent vnto his little ſonnes Maſter, charging him to bring him vnto him by breake of day, ſuppoſing that God had ordained that the Empire ſhould bee his: but the matter fell out quite contrary to his expectation. For being in this thought, hee commanded *Euodus*, that as ſoone as hee might, and as ſoone as the day ſhould ariſe, hee ſhould ſuffer him of the two young Princes to enter in vnto him, who ſhould arriue the firſt. He walking out met with *Caius* before the chamber doore (for *Tiberius* was not there, who being ignorant of that which his grandfather thought, was buſie about his breakefaſt) and ſaid vnto him that the Emperour his father called for him, and withall ſuffered him to enter. When *Tiberius* beheld *Caius*, he ſuddenly be-

The yeare of the world 4001. after Chriſts birth 39.

B gan to conſider vpon the power of God, who depriued him of the means to diſpoſe of the Empire, according as he had determined with himſelfe, for that it lay not in his power: and hee lamented greatly, not ſo much for that hee ſaw his deliberation could not be brought to effect, as for that his ſonne *Tiberius* was diſtated of the Roman Empire; and beſides that, was in danger of his life. For he made reckoning that they, who were more ſtronger then he, would not ſuffer him to conuerſe among them, and that alliance could not aſſure him his life: for ſometimes for feare, and otherwhiles for hatred, ſome one would accuſe him, that hee went about and buſily ſought to ſeize the Empire; or that he had complotted ſome ſtratageme, leaſt he ſhould loſe the Empire with his life. In a word, *Tiberius* was very much addicted to Aſtrologicall predictions and natiuities; ſo that the greater part of thoſe things which he executed in all his life time, was

Tiberius addicted to the Mathematicks

C ordered thereby.

He ſeeing *Galba* one day comming towards him, ſpake this of him to certaine of his familiars: Behold the man that ſhall be one day honoured with the Roman Empire. And amongſt all the Emperors, he gaue greateſt credit to diuination, for that in certain things he had found the coniectures correſpondent to truth. But at that time he was grieuouſly diſquieted, by reaſon of the misfortune that had hapned; yea he was in ſuch ſort grieued, as if his grandchild had bin already loſt, and he blamed himſelfe for that he had ſought theſe preſages: for that he might haue died without falling into that diſaſter, in being ignorant of that which was to come: wheras now he ſhould die in the knowledge of their miſhaps, whom he loued moſt intirely. Being thus troubled

He foretelleth Galbas ſucceſſion in the Empire.

D to ſee that the ſoueraignty of the Empire ſhould contrary to his intention fall into their hands, who by his will ſhould not enioy the ſame; although it were with hearts griefe and contrary to his will, yet ſpake he to *Caius* after this manner which enſueth: My ſonne, although that *Tiberius* be more neerly allied vnto me then you are; yet notwithſtanding both by mine owe aduice, as alſo by the will of the immortall Gods, I commit vnto your hands the Empire of the Romans. I require you therefore that when you ſhall enioy the ſame, you forget not the good will I haue borne towards you, who haue eſtabliſhed you in ſo high and worthy a dignity; and charge you likewiſe that you forget not your Couſin *Tiberius*; but knowing that by the wil of the gods I am he, who after them am the author of ſo many goods, which haue befallen you, you returne me the like good will & affection: and that you likewiſe take care of *Tiberius*, by reaſon of your mutuall alliance: for you ought to know that *Tiberius* ſerueth you for a bulwarke to maintaine your

Tiberius recommendeth the Roman Empire, and Tiberius his grand child to Caius.

E Empire, and your owne life; and if he die, it will be the beginning of your miſhap. For it is a perilous matter for thoſe, who are raiſed to high dignities, to be ſole and without allies. Furthermore, the gods do neuer leaue them vnpuniſhed, who attempt or act any thing againſt the lawes of conſanguinity. Theſe were the laſt words which *Tiberius* ſpake to *Caius*, who promiſed him to performe all that which he required, notwithſtanding he meant nothing leſſe. For incontinently after he was inſtalled in the Empire, he cauſed *Tiberius* to be made away, bethinking him of thoſe diuinations: as alſo the ſame *Caius* died anon after by a conſpiracy that was practized againſt him. When that *Tiberius* had declared *Caius* his ſucceſſor in the Empire, he liued not many dayes after, and died after he had gouerned twenty two years, fiue moneths, and three daies. Thus *Caius* was the fourth Emperour.

Caius killeth Tiberius.

F The Romans hauing intelligence of *Tiberius* death, greatly reioyced at the good newes: yet durſt they not aſſure themſelues: and though of long time they would haue willingly redeemed the truth of theſe reports with a good ſumme of money; yet feared they leaſt the newes ſhould be falſe, and leaſt if they ſhewed themſelues too diligent in expreſſing their ſignes of ioy, they ſhould afterwards be accuſed for it, and loſe their liues thereby. For only *Tiberius* had done much miſchiefe to the noble families in Rome, being of himſelfe a man cholericke, implacable towards all men without any occaſion, hauing a naturall inclination ſo cruel, that the eaſieſt pain

Caius Caligula the fourth Roman Emperour.

Tiberius a tyrant.

where-

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs Nativity, 39.

wherunto he adiudged thoſe whome he condemned, was death: notwithwanding therfore that G each man tooke pleaſure to heare the newes, yet did each one conceale it, vntil ſuch time as they might be more fully aſſured; thorow the feare of thoſe miſeries they foreſawe, if the matter ſhould fall out otherwaies. But *Marſyas Agrippas* free-man, hauing certaine notice of *Tiberius* death, ranne ſpeedily to comfort his Maſter *Agrippa*, with theſe good newes, and meeting with him as he came out of the Bath, he made a ſigne vnto him, and told him, in the Hebrew tongue, the Lion was dead. *Agrippa* conceiuing that which he meant, was raviſhed with ioy, and ſaid vnto him: I will requite thee for all thoſe benefits I haue receiued at thy hands, and eſpecially for this good newes; prouided that it prooue true. The Centurion, who had the keeping of *Agrippa*, conſidering what expedition *Marſyas* had vſed in running, and the pleaſure that *Agrippa* had conceiued in his report, he began to ſuſpect ſome alteration, and asked them what had hapned: H and wheras they delaied to giue him an anſwer, he importuned him the more. Whereupon *Agrippa* told him plainely what he had heard, in that he had growne already into inward familiarity with him. The Centurion reioiced at this newes, as well as *Agrippa*, hoping to ſpeed the better therby, and made *Agrippa* good cheer: but whileſt they were in the midſt of their banquetting, and drunk freely; there came one vnto them, who told them that *Tiberius* was aliue, and that within few daies he would come to Rome. The Centurion troubled with this newes, for that he had committed a capitall crime in eating in the company of a priſoner, vpon the newes of *Cæſars* death, and by reioycing with him, he draue *Agrippa* out of the place where hee ſate, and reprochfully ſaid vnto him: Thinkeſt thou (ſaid he) that I know not how falſely thou ſpreadeſt rumor of *Cæſars* death? yes, be aſſured thou ſhalt anſwer thy lie with the loſſe of thy head. This I ſaid, he cauſed *Agrippa* to be bound, whom before time he had ſuffered to go at liberty; and ſhut him vp in more cloſe priſon, then he had been before: ſo that *Agrippa* was all that night long in this extreame miſery. The next day the rumour was ſpread thorow the whole City, that confirmed *Tiberius* death, and at that time euery one boldly proteſted it. There were ſome alſo, who offered ſacrifices for this cauſe, and there came letters alſo from *Caius*, which were addreſſed to the Senate, by which he certified them that *Tiberius* was dead, & how the Empire was cõmitted to his hands. He wrote another alſo to *Piſo*, who had the guard of the City, containing the like report: and beſides that commanding him to transferre *Agrippa* from the company of thoſe ſoldiers, by whom he was kept, to the ſame place where he was lodged before; ſo that from that time forwards, he waxed confident. For although he was as yet a priſoner, yet liued hee at his K owne diſcretion. *Caius* arriuing in Rome, brought with him *Tiberius* body, which hee burned moſt magnificently, according to the cuſtome of the countrey. And although hee were very willing to deliuer *Agrippa* the ſame day; yet was he diſſwaded from the ſame by *Antonia*, not for any ill will ſhe bare the priſoner, but in regard of *Caius* honour, leaſt thereby hee ſhould ſhew himſelfe to be glad of *Tiberius* death, in ſetting him at liberty ſo ſpeedily, whom hee had committed to priſon. When as therfore ſome few daies were ouer paſt, he ſent for him to his houſe, and cauſed him to be powld, and his garments changed, and that done, hee ſet a diademe vpon his head, and made him King of *Philips* Tetrarchy, to which he annexed *Lyſanias* Tetrarchy, and changed his chaine of iron into a chaine of gold of the ſame weight, and ſent *Marullus* into Iudæa to gouerne there. The ſecond yeare of *Caius* raigne, *Agrippa* asked licence to repaire into L Iudæa, to the intent he might diſpoſe of his kingdome, purpoſing to returne againe at ſuch time as he had diſpatched thoſe affaires. Which when the Emperour had granted him, he came into Iudæa, and was ſeene and ſaluted for a King beyond all mens expectation, ſeruing thereby for a moſt notable example vnto men to expreſſe vnto them how great the power of deſtiny is in humane affaires, conſidering the poore eſtate wherein hee had beene before, and the happineſſe which he enioyed at that time. Some tearmed him happy, in that hee reſolutely followed his hopes, otherſome could ſcareely beleeue that he was in this ſort aduanced.

Marſyas Agrippas free-man certifieth him of Tiberius death.

The rumor was ſpred in Rome that Tiberius was aliue.

Caius certifieth the Senate & Piſo of Tiberius death and his ſucceſſion, & willeth that Agrippa ſhould be ſent to his owne lodging.

Tiberius funerall.

Caius createth Agrippa king, & giueth him two Tetrarchies.

Agrippa departeth into his kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 4002. after the birth of Chriſt, 40.

CHAP. IX. M

Herod *the Tetrarch baniſhed.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. chap. 16.

Herodias Agrippas ſiſter enuieth her brothers happineſſe, & inciteth her huſband to ſeek a kingdome.

HErodias *Agrippas* ſiſter was maried to *Herod* the Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. Shee enuied her brother to ſee him raiſed to ſo great authority, and to farre greater dignity then her husband enioyed. For which cauſe ſhee was diſpleaſed, that her brother, who fled out of his countrey in that he wanted meanes to pay his debts, was returned in great honor, and

A and with greater ſubſtance. This charge endured ſhe with great hearts griefe, eſpecially, at ſuch time as ſhe ſaw him apparelled like a King, and inuironed with a great multitude of people, and impoſſible was it for her to hide the bitternes of her griefe; for which cauſe ſhe incited her huſband and perſwaded him to make a voiage to Rome, & to purchaſe as much as hee poſſeſſed. For ſaid ſhe, I cannot endure to liue, if *Agrippa Ariſtobulus* ſon condemned to death by the ſentence of his own father (ſo poor & indigent, that to redreſſe his neceſſities wherwith he was daily preſſed by his creditors, he was conſtrain'd at laſt to flie to Rome) ſhold return with ſuch titles of a king, and that her husband who was a kings ſon, & was called to the kingdom by his father, ſhould liue obſcure, & paſſe his life like a priuate man: Husband (ſaid ſhe) if heretofore it hath bin no preiudice to thee to liue in leſſe dignity, then erſt thy father hath done; now at leaſtwiſe, deſire that
B due honor which belongeth to thy family: neither thinke it to be ſufferable to ſubſcribe to him in eſtimatiõ, who in times paſt hath bin maintain'd by thy bounty. Neither ſuffer it to be thoght (thorow thine own ſlouth) that he in his neceſſity had better meanes and induſtry to obtaine an ample fortune, then you amidſt your mighty abundance; as if it redounded not to thy ſhame to be thought inferior to him at this time, who not long ſince, except by thy merty, had no meanes to liue. Let vs therefore haſtily repaire vnto Rome, & neither ſpare gold, ſiluer, or any other expence, for that it auaileth vs not ſo much to keep the ſame, as to imploy the ſame in the purchaſe of a kingdome. But *Herod* diſſwaded her as much as he might, for that he contented himſelfe to liue in quiet, and ſuſpected the confuſion that was at Rome, which he endeuoured as much as in him lay, to lay open to *Herodias*. But the more negligent ſhe ſaw him, the more inſtantly incited
C ſhe him to ſeek out the kingdom, and neuer gaue ſhe him ouer vntill ſhe had conformed him to her deſire: Whereunto he the rather liſtned, in that ſhe might not be drawne from her reſolution. Hauing therefore furniſhed himſelfe after the moſt magnificent manner, and ſpared no coſt, he repaired to Rome, and led *Herodias* his wife with him. *Agrippa* ſmelling their intent and the preparation they made, made his prouiſion likewiſe. And hauing notice that they were put to ſea, he ſent *Fortunatus* one of his freemen to Rome, with preſents to the Emperour, and certaine letters againſt *Herod*, with cõmiſſion to certifie *Caius* of euery particular, according as the occaſion ſhould ſerue. He embarking himſelfe after *Herod*, had a happy paſſage, and was onely preuented by him, but for the ſpace that *Herod* preſented himſelf to *Caius*: for he incontinently fol-
D lowed him, and deliuered his letters. For they arriued at one time at Puteol, and found *Caius* at Baia, a village of Campania, diſtant from Puteol ſome fiue ſtades, inriched with moſt royall and ſumptuous palaces, for that euery Emperor enforced himſelfe to exceed the honor of his predeceſſour, by reaſon of the hot bathes that naturally iſſued out of the earth, ſeruing both for the health of the body, and recreation of the ſpirits. Whileſt *Caius* talked with *Herod* in that he viſited him firſt, he receiued *Agrippas* letters, containing *Herods* accuſations; for they accuſed him of a conſpiracy made and complotted betwixt him and *Seianus*, ſince the beginning of *Tiberius* Empire: And how for the preſent he fauoured *Artabanus* King of the Parthians to the preiudice of the Emperor *Caius*: of this, the preparations *Herod* had ſtored vp in his Arcenals, gaue euident teſtimony, which were ſufficient to arme ſeuenty thouſand men of warre. *Caius* was ſore moued with theſe informations, and asked *Herod* if that which was informed him touching his warlike
E preparation, was true. He vnable to contradict the ſame in any thing, for feare hee ſhould bee conuicted of falſhod, auowed no leſſe. Whereupon *Caius* ſuppoſing the accuſation of his reuolt to be ſufficiently approued, depriued him of his Tetrarchy, and annexed it to *Agrippas* kingdom; beſtowing *Herods* ſubſtance alſo vpon him. He baniſhed him likewiſe for euer, and confined him in the citie of Lions in France: and vnderſtanding that *Herodias* was *Agrippas* ſiſter, he gaue her all that which in right appertained vnto her. And ſuppoſing that ſhee would not willingly accompany her husband in that his calamity, he told her that her brother ſhould be her warrant. But ſhe gaue him this reply: Mighty Emperor, you ſpeake magnificently, and as it well beſeemeth ſo great a maieſty, but there is a cauſe that hindreth me from partaking the benefit of that bounty, which you intend towards me, which is the affection that I beare vnto my husband,
F whom if I ſhould forſake in this his miſery, it would very il beſeem me, in that I haue bin a partner with him in his felicity. *Caius* diſpleaſed with this her reſolute anſwere, baniſhed her likewiſe with her husband, and gaue the confiſcation of her eſtate alſo to *Agrippa*. God did after this manner puniſh *Herodias*, in regard of that enuy which ſhe had conceiued againſt her brother, and plagued *Herod* in that he had ſo lightly liſtned to the fooliſh perſwaſions of a woman. But *Caius* gouerned the Empire, the firſt and ſecond yeare of his raigne, with moſt noble directions, behauing himſelfe graciouſly towardes all men, whereby hee obtained the good liking of the Romans

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Herod with Herodias repair to Rome.

Agrippa ſendeth Fortunatus with letters and preſents after him.

Baiæ are certaine bathes in Campania not far from Puteol.

Herod is accuſed for fauoring Artabanus the Parthian.

Herod is perpetually baniſhed & confined in Lions in France, and Agrippa is made Lord of his lands and goods, and Herodias deſpiſing Cæſars bounty accompanieth him in exile.

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Caius at the firſt gouerned the commonweale very happily, but afterwards vſurped diuine honors.

The yeare of the world, 4002. after Christs birth, 40.

mans, and the fauor of his other ſubiects. But in proceſſe of time the greatnes of his eſtate made him ſurpaſſe the limits of humane condition, and challenge to himſelfe the title of diuinity, whereby he gouerned all things in contempt of God. G

CHAP. X.

The ſedition of the Iewes and Grecians in the citie of Alexandria.

Philo & Ruffinus, chap. 15. & chap 17. Appion prince of the Alexandrians embaſſage accuſeth the Iewes becauſe they aſcribed not diuinity to Cæſar.

AND whereas there aroſe a ſedition betwixt the Iewes & Grecians, that inhabited Alexandria, three choſen Embaſſadours on either ſide were ſent vnto *Caius*. One of theſe Embaſſadours of Alexandria was *Appion*, who charged the Iewes with many outrages, and amongſt other things he alleadged that they made no reckoning of honouring *Cæſar*: And H that whereas all other ſubiects of the Romane Empire had erected altars and temples in honour of *Caius*, and in all other things had receiued him as a God, the Iews ſuppoſed it to be a diſhonor for them to honor his ſtatues, or ſweare by his name. After that *Appion* had vrged many things and inueyed grieuouſly againſt the Iewes, hoping that *Caius* would bee prouoked againſt them, as in all likelihood & appearance it ſhould haue fallen out, *Philo*, the chiefeſt among the Embaſſadors of the Iewes, a man of famous memory, and brother to *Alexander Alabarcha*, being experienced in Philoſophy, enforced himſelfe to anſwere thoſe accuſations which were vrged againſt the Iewes. But *Caius* cõmanded him ſilence, and willed him inſtantly to withdraw himſelfe; and was ſo ſore diſpleaſed, that it appeared very manifeſtly, that he intended ſome hainous reuenge againſt them. Wherupon *Philo* departed after he had bin grieuouſly taunted, and ſpake thus vnto I the Iewes that flocked about him. We muſt be of good courage, ſince *Caius* in words ſeemeth to be diſpleaſed with vs: for in effect he will arme God in our behalfe againſt himſelfe.

Philo Iudæus for the Iewes is ſhut out, & can get no audience, and committeth the cauſe to God.

CHAP. XI.

Caius *ſendeth* Petronius *into Syria to make warre againſt the Iewes, who ſhould refuſe his ſtatue.*

Alias, cap. 19. Cæſar ſendeth Petronius into Syria and commandeth him in ſpite of the Iewes to plant his ſtatue in Gods temple.

BVt *Caius*, being ſore diſpleaſed for that the Iewes onely deſpiſed his ordinances, ſent *Petronius* into Syria to ſucceed *Vitellius* in his room, charging him with a ſtrong army to in- K uade Iudæa; and if they willingly admitted his ſtatue, that then he ſhould place it in the temple of God; but if they denied the ſame, then that ouercomming them by warre he ſhould enforce them to condiſcend thereunto. As ſoone as *Petronius* came into Syria, hee endeuoured himſelfe to ſatisfie *Cæſars* command: and hauing aſſembled as great an army as hee could poſſibly leuy, and leading forth with him two legions of Romanſouldiers, he wintred at Ptolemais, intending vpon the firſt ſpring to inuade Iudæa. Al which he ſignified to *Caius* by his letters: who commending him for his induſtry, aduiſed him to vſe all expedition therein, and to make warre againſt thoſe who ſhould diſobey his commandements. Meane while diuers thouſands of the Iewes reſorted to *Petronius*, who ſoiourned at Ptolemais, beſeeching him not to cõſtrain them to do that thing which was contrary to their lawes, or to tranſgreſſe the ordinances of their forefa- L thers. For if (ſaid they) you haue wholly decreed to bring and erect this ſtatue in our temple, firſt depriue vs of our liues: and afterwards doe that which ſhall ſeem good in your eyes. For it

The Iewes repaire to Ptolemais, beſeeching him that he would not bring his ſtatue into the holy city.

» is impoſſible for vs as long as our ſoules remaine within our bodies, to permit that which is for-
» bidden by our lawes, or to ſuffer ſuch impiety in regard of that honour, which we owe vnto our
» lawmaker, and our predeceſſors, who haue ratified our lawes to the intent we ſhould increaſe in
» vertue. *Petronius* enraged at this their proteſtation, anſwered thus. If I were Emperour, and of
» mine owne minde enterpriſed this action, you had reaſon to vſe theſe kinds of inſinuations vnto
» me. But ſince *Cæſar* hath ſent me this commiſſion, there is no contradiction, but that I muſt o-
» bey his decrees: For if you reſiſt the ſame, you ſhall endure a moſt ſeuere and rigorous puniſh-
» ment for your diſobedience & contumacy. Hereunto the Iewes anſwered. My Lord (ſaid they) M
» ſince your pleaſure is ſuch as you will not in any ſort tranſgreſſe the command and contents of
» *Cæſars* letters, neither will we any waies violate or infringe the preſcript of our law, vnder hope
» of the diuine aſſiſtance, and in imitation of the vertue of our anceſtors: For wee are not ſo faint
» hearted, that vnder hope of a vaine & vntimely deſire of life, we ſhould breake thoſe lawes which
» almighty God hath propoſed vnto vs, vnder the reward of eternall felicity: for which cauſe we
» will endure all fortunes whatſoeuer; ſo as our country law and religion may remaine inuiolate,

and

A and we are ready to encounter any misfortune, vnder hope that God will assist vs, for whose honour we feare not to aduenture on any danger. This had wee rather doe, then by obeying thee through cowardise, to incur perpetuall ignominy; and that which is more, Gods wrath in neglect of his lawes, whose authority, euen in thine owne iudgement, is more to bee regarded then *Caius* commission. *Petronius* coniecturing by these their answers, how hard a matter it was to estrange them from their opinion, and perceiuing hee could not doe for *Caius* what he expected in the erection of his statue, without great bloudshed, whereby much murder and inconuenience might follow, he took certaine of his neerest and deerest friends with him, and posted to *Tiberias*, that he might more conueniently and circumspectly look into the Iews actions. They, fearing some imminent danger through the wars they expected from the Romans, and greater
B mischiefe through the breach of their laws, assembled once more many thousands of them, and met with *Petronius* at *Tiberias*, beseeching him he would not inforce them to that necessitie, nor defile their sacred City with forbidden images. Whereunto *Petronius* answered: Therefore (said he) will you fight with *Cæsar*, without regard either of his ability or your own weaknes? We will not fight (said they) but we will rather die then depart from our lawes. Whereupon prostrating themselues, and laying open their naked throats, they said they were ready to entertaine their deaths. In these tearmes continued they for the space of 40. daies, neglecting their husbandry, whereas at that time it was the chiefest seed-time. For it was most resolutely concluded among them, rather to suffer death then to admit the statue. Whil'st the matter stood vpon these tearmes, *Aristobulus*, *Agrippas* brother, and *Elcias* surnamed the Great, accom-
C panied with diuers of their houshould traine, and some of the chiefest among the Iewes, came vnto *Petronius*, beseeching him that hee would consider the obstinacie of the people: neither giue them occasion to draw them into desperate actions, but rather that hee would write vnto *Caius*, with what obstinacy the people refused the dedication of his image in the temple: and how giuing ouer the care of their husbandry, they prepared themselues for the warre, without any trust or confidēce in their own strength; being rather addressed to dy then to suffer so great an indignity to be offred to their religion. Besides, how giuing ouer their tillage there was nothing to be expected but robbery, whereas they should want meanes to pay their customes; by which meanes they hoped that *Cæsar* would bee moued to moderate his seueritie towards that nation, and not to giue them cause of rebellion: and that if hee might not bee moued from the
D prosecution of the warre, that then he might go forward with his businesse. This was the effect of *Aristobulus* request.

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The Iewes meet Petronius at Tiberias, beseeching him not to violate the sacred city with his images.

Aristobulus, king Agrippas brother, and Elcias, the high Priest, intreat Petronius in the Iewes behalfe.

But *Petronius*, partly in respect of their praiers who instantly vrged him, and the waightinesse of the action; partly in regard of the contentious purpose of the Iewes, supposing that it was a matter vnworthy a man to put so many thousands of men to death, to satisfy *Caius* vnbridled desire and insolence, and touched with the feare of God, and remorse of his owne conscience, he had rather to his owne danger informe the Emperour of the absurdity of the matter by his letters, being no waies ignorant of his wrathfull spirit and forwardnes in reuenge, except his furious passion and expectation were answered. For this thought he, that although it altered not his resolution, but happily inforc't his displeasure against him, in that he speedily executed not his
E command; yet that it was the duetie of a good man no, not to refuse an assured death, if so bee he might saue so guiltlesse and huge a multitude. When as therefore he had assembled the Iews together in Tiberias (when many thousands of them resorted thither) & disposed all those warlike forces that at that time gaue attendance on him round about him, he tould the Iewes first of all, not his owne, but the Emperours intent, who would haue them shortly taste his displeasure, and inforce them to bear the burden of his indignation, who were so bold as to contradict him. For himselfe, that it necessarily concerned him, that since by the Emperours fauour he had receiued so great honour, hee should not commit any thing contrarie to his command. I hold it (said he) a matter most iust to imploy my life & honor for you, to the end that so huge a number of men should not be drawn into danger of death: and I will respect the excellency of the laws
F of your fathers, for which you think you ought to entertaine war and danger: neither is it lawful to suffer the temple of God to be defil'd by the authority of princes. I wil therfore write to *Cæsar*, and certifie him of your minds: and in all that I may, I will assist you to obtaine your request. God (whose power surpasseth all industry and humane force) vouchsafe to conduct you, and make you constant in the obseruation of your laws, and grant that he, through excessiue desire of humane glorie, commit not any thing that may offend God. And if *Caius* be displeased, and inforce his inuitable displeasure against me, I will vndertake all danger, and endure all tor-

Petronius promiseth the Iewes to write vnto Caius in their behalfe, and exhorteth them to follow their husbandry.

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ments both in body and ſpirit, to the end that I may not behold ſo many vertuous men, as you G
are, periſh in your good and iuſt actions. Go therefore each of you and ply your worke, and till
your lands: my ſelfe will ſend vnto Rome, and both in my ſelfe & by my friends, I will imploy
my ſelf for you. After he had ſpoken thus, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, praying the chiefeſt amõgſt
them to encourage the husbandmen to ply their buſineſs, and to confirme the reſt of the people
in their good hope. Of himſelfe alſo he ceaſed not to animate them. And truly God ſhewed his
aſſiſtance to *Petronius*, and aſſiſted him in all his affaires. For as ſoone as hee had finiſhed his diſ-

After a long & continuall drought there fell a ſudden ſhower.

courſe vnto the Iewes, there ſuddenly fell a great raine beyond all humane expectation. For the
day was very faire, neither was there any appearance of raine in the ayre, and all that yeare long
there was an extreame drought; ſo that men were paſt hope to haue any moiſture, notwithſtan-
ding that ſometime there hapned certaine clouds in the heauens. At that time therefore the wa- H
ter fell in great abundance: and beſides the expectation and opinion of men, the Iewes conceiued
hope that *Petronius*, ſolliciting their cauſe, ſhould not be repulſed. But *Petronius* was more ama-

Petronius writeth to Caius.

zed then all the reſt, ſeeing euidently that God vndertooke the affaires of the Iewes, and gaue
them teſtimony of his manifeſt aſſiſtance; ſo that they that were their profeſſed aduerſaries, had
no means to contradict them, as hee himſelfe wrote to *Caius* at large, with inductions and exhor-
tations, to the end hee ſhould not drawe ſo many thouſand men into a deſperate reſolution and
vnhappy death. For without war it was impoſſible for him euer to make thẽ forſake their religi-
on. Furthermore, that he would not cut off & loſe the reuenue which he receiued of that nation;
and would not erect a trophy of an euerlaſting curſe and malediction againſt himſelfe. Ad-
ding moreouer, what the power of their God was: which hee had ſo cleerly declared, that no I
man ought to doubt, but that his mercifull hand was ouer them. This is the content of *Petronius*
letters.

Agrippa honoreth Caius in Rome, and in reward thereof Caius willeth him to demand ſomwhat, who deſireth nothing elſe then that Petronius commiſsion to erect the ſtatue ſhould be reuoked.

On the other ſide, King *Agrippa*, who at that time conuerſed at Rome, grew more and more
in fauour with *Caius*, hauing entertained him at a banquet, wherein hee enforced himſelfe to ex-
ceed all others in ſumptuouſnes, as in all other ſorts of delights and pleaſures; yea with ſuch fe-
ſtiuals entertained he him, that not only others, but alſo the Emperor himſelf could not attaine
to ſuch magnificence; ſo much enforced he himſelf to exceed all others through the great deſire
hee had to content and ſatisfie *Cæſar* in all things. *Caius* was abaſhed at this his courage and
magnificence, ſeeing *Agrippa* enforce himſelfe aboue his power and meanes to abound in ſiluer,
and all this to the intent to pleaſe him. For which cauſe *Cæſar* in requitall of his kindnes, inten- K
ding to honor *Agrippa* to his vttermoſt power, in granting him that which he moſt deſired, being
one day whet with wine, inuited him to drink a carouſe: adding theſe words; *Agrippa*, I haue
heretofore known the honor thou haſt ſhewed towards me, and thou haſt expreſſed the earneſt
» affection that thou beareſt me, in hazarding thy ſelfe in diuers dangers, into which thou haſt bin
» drawne during *Tiberius* life time; and haſt omitted nothing, no not in that which exceedeth thy
» power, to ſhew thy vertuous affection towards me. For which cauſe I thinke that it ſhould be a
» great ſhame for me, if I ſhould ſuffer my ſelfe to be ouercome by thee in kindneſs, without ſome
» anſwerable correſpondence: I will therfore put that in practice which I haue heretofore omit-
» ted. For all thoſe things that hitherto I haue beſtowed on thee, are of no reckoning. My will is
» that thy readineſs and vertue ſhould at this preſent be requited, by ſuch means as might for euer L
» make thee happy. Now he ſpake after this manner, hoping that *Agrippa* would beg ſome great
» Prouince at his hands, or the reuenues of ſome Cities.

But although he had already prepared his demand, yet did hee not diſcouer his intent, but
gaue *Caius* this ready anſwer, that wheras he had ſerued him to the diſlike of *Tiberius*, it was not
for the gaine he expected heretofore, and for the preſent alſo he did nothing vnder hope to be
rich, contenting himſelfe that he was in the Emperours good fauour. That the benefits he had
receiued by him, were great, yea exceeding all that which he durſt euer haue hoped. For (ſaid
he) although they be but ſmall in compariſon of your greatneſſe, yet in reſpect of my ſelfe, who
haue receiued them, and in my conceit and quality, they are very great. *Caius* being amazed at
this his courage, inſiſted the rather to perſwade him, that he would grant him all that he would M
require at his hands. Whereupon *Agrippa* ſaid: Drad Prince, ſince it is your good pleaſure
to thinke me worthy to be honored by your preſents, I will not requeſt any thing at your hands
that may tend to enrich me; for that by thoſe goods you haue already giuen me, I am greatly ho-
noured: but I beſeech and requeſt one thing at your hands, which will purchaſe you the reputa-
tion of piety, and will procure God to bee propitious vnto you in all your actions; and which
alſo will breed me much glory among thoſe, who ſhall heare that I haue not been refuſed in my

demand

A demaund, which concerneth me more then the neceſſities of this life. I therefore beſeech you that it will pleaſe you to giue commandement, that that ſtatue, which you haue charged *Petronius* to erect in the temple of the Iewes, may neuer be aduanced there. This was *Agrippas* requeſt, which to his great hazard he preſented the Emperour with, knowing very well how perilous a matter it was, and as much as concerned his life to demand any ſuch thing at *Caius* hands, that was not anſwerable to his humour. *Caius* on the one ſide mooued with the ſeruice *Agrippa* had done him, and on the other ſide ſeeing how great an indignity it ſhould be for him, if before ſuch an aſſembly of witneſſes, he ſhould deny that which he had ſo inſtantly preſſed *Agrippa* to requeſt, as if he ſodainly had repented himſelfe, and admiring *Agrippas* vertue (who hauing means within a little time to augment his particular eſtate, either by reuenues or other commodities, had preferred the common cauſe, the lawes of his country and piety before all theſe) he B granted him his ſupplication, and wrote to *Petronius*, praiſing him for that he had vſed ſuch diligence in aſſembling his armie, as alſo for all that whereof he had certified him, annexing theſe words: If (ſaid he) you haue already planted the ſtatue, as I commanded you, let it remain in the place: but if it be not done, be thou no more troubleſome to the Iewes, but diſmiſſe thine army, and repaire thou in perſon to that place whither I haue ſent thee. For I vrge no more the erection of that ſtatue for the deſire that I haue to gratifie *Agrippa*, whom I intirely honour, and in ſuch ſort, as it is impoſſible for me to contradict any thing whatſoeuer, that either he hath need of, or ſhall require. Theſe were the contents of thoſe letters, which *Caius* wrote to *Petronius*, before he vnderſtood that the Iewes bethought them of reuolt: for they made it knowne, that ra- C ther then they would endure the ſtatue, they would hazard a war againſt the Romans: vvhich when *Caius* vnderſtood, he was extreamly ſorowful: and being a man addicted to all villany, and eſtranged from all honeſty, and who gaue place to no good counſell, incontinently after he had conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt any man, and who likewiſe thought it a great good hap for him to accompliſh all that whatſoeuer he pleaſed, he wrote againe to *Petronius* to this effect: Since the preſents which the Iews haue giuen thee, haue preuailed more with thee then my commandements haue done, ſo as to pleaſe them thou haſt deſpiſed that which I haue enioined thee, I make thy ſelfe the iudge how much thou haſt deſerued to incur my diſpleaſure, to the end that thou mayſt ſerue for an example to all thoſe, who ſhall come after thee, that an Emperors commandement ought not in any ſort to be neglected. Although this Epiſtle was both written and D ſent, yet did not *Petronius* receiue the ſame during *Caius* life time, for that they that carried the ſame, were ſtaied by croſſe winds; ſo that *Petronius* receiued thoſe letters that certified him of *Caius* death, before he receiued the other. For God wold not forget *Petronius*, who expoſed himſelfe to great dangers for the loue of the Iewes, and the honour of God. And *Caius* being taken out of the world by Gods wrath being kindled againſt him, by reaſon that he affected diuine honors, receiued his reward; and *Petronius* obtained fauor both at Rome, and thorow all the whole gouernment, and eſpecially among the principall Senators, againſt whom *Caius* was accuſtomed to vomit his cholerick diſgraces. He died a little after he had written the letter to *Petronius*, by which he threatned and denounced him death. Hereafter will I declare the cauſe why he was taken out of this world, and the manner how treaſon was complotted and wrought E againſt him. The letter that brought tidings of *Caius* death, was deliuered to *Petronius* firſt, and incontinently after he receiued that vvherein he enioyned him to kil himſelfe. He highly reioiced at this his good hap, and *Caius* death, and admired Gods prouidence, who ſpeedily and happily had rewarded him both for the honor that he bare vnto his temple, as alſo for the aſſiſtance he vſed towards the Iewes. Behold how *Petronius* eſcaped from death, by an vnexpected means.

The yeare of the world. 4002. after Chriſts birth. 40.

Caius writeth to Petronius, charging him to murther himſelfe for neglecting his command.

Petronius receiues letters of Caius death before thoſe whereby hee was commanded to kill himſelfe.

CHAP. XII.

That which hapned to the Iewes which were at Babylon, and of the two brethren Aſinæus *and* Anilæus.

F

IN thoſe daies there hapned a grieuous commotion amongſt thoſe Iewes that inhabited Meſopotamia and Babylon, and ſuch ſlaughters & calamities as neuer the like hath bin declared in our former narrations; which in that I intend to report both particularly and ſeriouſly, I wil rippe vp the whole cauſe thereof from his firſt originall. There was a City called Nearda belonging to Babylon, ſtored with inhabitants, and enriched with many fruitfull poſſeſſions, ſufficient to ſuſtaine ſo great a multitude: Moreouer, it was ſuch as might be hardly

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 16. al. chap. 20.

A grieuous commotion among the Iewes in Meſopotamia and Babylon.

The yeare of the world, 4003. after Christs birth 41.

hardly inuaded by the enimy, both for that the riuer Euphrates hemmed it in on one side, as al- G
so for that it was defenced with very ſtrong wals. Vpon the ſame riuer alſo there ſtood another
city, called Niſibis, in which the Iewes, in reſpect of the ſtrength of the place, kept their Drag-
ma, which they were accuſtomed to offer vnto God, and the reſt of their votiue money. Theſe
two Cities therefore ſerued them for two ſtore-houſes; and from thence, according as time
required, they ſent the mony they had gathered to Ieruſalem, and committed the conuoy ther-
of to diuers thouſands of men, for feare leſt it ſhould bee taken away by the Parthians, who at
that time had the ſoueraignte in Babylon. Among theſe Iewes liued *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*, two
brethren, borne in Nearda, whoſe father being dead, their mother ſet them and bound them to
the weauers trade, for that among thoſe nations it was accounted no indignitie to follow that
trade: for both men and women exerciſe themſelues therein. It hapned, that their maſter, with H
whom they learnd their occupation, beat them one day, for that they came ſomewhat late vnto
their work. They taking this chaſtiſement of his as if a great iniurie had been done vnto them,
betook themſelues to their weapons, whereof there were great ſtore in that houſe, and retired
themſelues into a place where the ſloud diuideth it ſelfe into two parts, which naturally abound-
ded with excellent paſtures, and ſuch fruits as were reſerued for the vſe of winter. To theſe men
there flocked a number of needy perſons, whom they armed & became their captaines, and no
man oppoſed himſelfe againſt their inſolent proceedings. Being by this meanes growne abſo-
lute and impregnable, for that they had builded themſelues a ſtrong fortreſſe, they ſent vnto the
inhabitants, commanding them to pay them tribute for their cattel which they paſtured; ſo that
this tribute gaue ſufficient to entertaine them, promiſing to thoſe who obeyed them, all friend- I
ſhip, and that they would maintain them againſt all thoſe that ſhould iniure them, of what place
ſoeuer they were: but if they did not that which they commanded them, they threatned them
that they would kill all their cattell. The inhabitants of the countrey, knowing themſelues vna-
ble to croſſe them, obeied them, and ſent them the number of cattell which they required; ſo
that greater forces daily coupled themſelues with them, and they grew of that power, that they
could make their excurſions againſt thoſe whom they intended to hurt. Euery one reſpected
them, and they were feared by all men, ſo that their renown came at laſt to the eares of the king
of Parthia.

Neerda, Niſibis, two cities of Babylon.

Aſinæus and Anilæus, born in Neerda, retire into a certain place, and great companies flock vnto them.

Aſinæus and his companions beſet by the gouernors and princes of Babylon.

The Gouernor of Babylon likewiſe intending to cut off this miſchiefe before it grew to grea- K
ter head, aſſembled as many men as he could poſſible, both Parthians and Babylonians, & mar-
ched forth againſt them, with an intent to root them out before they ſhould haue any inkling
thereof, to prepare themſelues for their defence. Hauing therefore prepared his army, he lay in
ambuſh neere vnto a mariſh, and the next day following (which was the Sabbath, in which the
Iewes forbeare all kinde of work, he making his account that the enemy durſt not make head a-
gainſt him, but without fight he ſhould lead them away captiues) hee marched eaſily, thinking
to charge them vnawares. *Aſinæus*, who at that time by chance ſate idly with his fellowes, ha-
uing his Armes faſt by him: Ye men (ſaid he) me thinks I heare the neighing of horſes, not ſuch
as when they are in their heat, but as when they are backt by men. Moreouer, I hear the noiſe of
their bridles, & I feare leſt the enemies ſecretly ſtealing vpon vs, ſhould circumuent vs: let ther-
fore ſome one of vs go and diſcouer what the matter is, and certifie vs truly of that which he ſhal L
perceiue: I would I were found a lier in that which I haue told you. This ſaid, one of them
went out to eſpy what the noiſe intended; who reurning haſtily back againe, told him that he
had not falſly coniectured as touching the intent of the enemy, for that they were at hand, and
would not ſuffer themſelues any longer to be out-braued by them. He alſo declared, that there
was a mighty number of horſemen, who were aſſembled like a droue of beaſts, ſufficient & able
vtterly to ouercom *Aſinæus* and al his cõpany, foraſmuch as they were not in a readineſs to de-
fend themſelues: for that our lawe forbiddeth vs in any ſort to trauell on the ſabbath. *Aſinæus*
determined with himſelfe not to do that which the ſpy had ſaid, but thought that it was better
for them to behaue themſelues valiantly in that their neceſſity wherein they were plunged, and
that if they muſt needs dy, it better became them to make breach of their law, then to hearten M
their enemies by their ſubmiſſion. He therefore preſently betook himſelfe to his weapons, and
encouraged all thoſe that were about him, to make it knowne in effect what their valour vvas.
Wherupon all of them at once marched forth againſt the enimy, & ſlaughtred a great many of
them, for that they, deſpiſing *Aſinæus* and his followers, marched as if they went to lay hould on
men already vanquiſhed; but in the end they were conſtrained to betake them to flight.

Aſinæus, after he had encouraged his ſouldiers, putteth his enemies to flight.

When the bruit of this skirmiſh was brought to the eares of the King of Parthia, hee was
wholly

A wholly aſtoniſhed at the boldneſſe of theſe two brethren, and he had a deſire to ſee them, and to ſpeake with them. Hee therefore ſent one of the truſtieſt of his guard, to let them vnderſtand that although king *Artabanus* had beene iniured by them, in that they had inuaded his countrey, notwithſtanding ſaid this Embaſſadour, he making leſſe account of the diſpleaſure he hath conceiued againſt you, then of your vertue, hath ſent me vnto you to giue you my hand and troth in his name for ſafe conduct and ſecurity in your voyage, requiring you to be his friends: he conditioneth therefore with you without any deceit or fraud, promiſing you gifts and honours, and determineth to encreaſe your dignity by his power. *Aſinæus* refuſed to enterpriſe this voyage, but ſent his brother *Anilæus* with certaine preſents, ſuch as he could poſſibly finde. Hee therefore departed with the meſſenger, and preſented himſelfe before *Artabanus*; who ſeeing *Anilæus* come alone, asked him how it hapned that *Aſinæus* came not with him: and vnderſtanding that hee ſtayed in his mariſh thorow the feare that he had of him, hee ſwore by the gods of his anceſtors, that hee would do him no wrong, wiſhing them to giue credit to his promiſe, and he ſtretched out his hand, which is the greateſt ſigne which the kings of that countrey vſe to aſſure thoſe that parlie with them. For after they haue mutually giuen one another their hands, there is no ſiniſter practice to be feared, and they from whom a man expecteth any harme, are no more to bee feared at ſuch time as they haue giuen this teſtimony of aſſurance. That done, *Artabanus* ſent backe *Anilæus* to perſwade his brother *Aſinæus* to come to the court. *Artabanus* did this, ſuppoſing that this his amitie vvith the two brothers vvould bee a bridle for the Iewes, vvho otherwiſe might encroach vpon his gouernments. For, he feared leſt if any rebellion ſhould happen, and hee ſhould bee troubled in that warre, *Aſinæus* and they of Babylon ſhould growe more ſtrong, both by the voluntarie ſubmiſsion of the Iewes, as by force: and thereby ſhould doe him the more miſchiefe. Vpon this deliberation he ſent *Anilæus*, vvho eaſily perſvvaded his brother, giuing him to vnderſtand among other things, what good will the king bare him, and the oath that he had ſworne: ſo that both of them reſorted to *Artabanus*, who receiued them very graciouſly, admiring *Aſinæus* vertue, who had ſo great a courage to exerciſe his enterpriſes, conſidering eſpecially that he was a man of lowe ſtature, and vvho to look on ſeemed to be contemptible: and hee told his friends that vvithout compariſon, hee had a greater heart then his bodie.

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Aſinæus and *Anilæus* are ſought vnto by Artabanus for friendſhip.

And when as in banqueting he had named *Aſinæus*, and ſhewed him to *Abdagaſis* the generall of his armie, ſignifying vnto him with vvhat valour theſe brethren were endowed in feats of armes; *Abdagaſis* required that it might be lawfull for him to kill *Aſinæus*, to the end that he might puniſh the vvrongs hee had done to the eſtate of the Parthians. Neuer (ſayd the king) will I giue my conſent to betray a man, who hath committed himſelfe to my protection: and hath giuen me his hand, and who buildeth vpon the oath I haue paſt vnto him in the name of the gods. But if thou be a valiant man in feats of armes, thou haſt no need to make me forſweare my ſelfe, to the end I might doe iuſtice on him for his outrages committed againſt the Parthians: but at ſuch time as he and his brother ſhall depart from hence, aſſayle him, and ouercome him by thy valour, prouided that I be not priuie to thy attempt. And afterwards calling *Aſinæus* to him in the morning: It is time (ſaid he) that thou returne homeward, for feare thou prouokeſt diuers of the captaines of my court, which contrary to my will, vvill endeuour themſelues to kill thee. I commit the countrey of Babylon to thy protection and guard, which by thy care and vigilancie ſhall remaine exempt from all robberies, and other ſuch calamities. Reaſon it is that I procure thy good, becauſe I haue engaged mine honour and faith irreuocably vnto thee, not vpon any light matter, but for things that importune thee as neerely as thy life. This ſayd, he gaue him certain preſents, and incontinently diſmiſſed him. Now as ſoone as he returned home to his owne fortreſſe, he fortified the places, both thoſe which before time he had thorowly defenced, as the other which as yet no man had attempted to ſtrengthen: and in ſhort time he grew to that greatneſſe, as no one man of ſo obſcure fortune and beginning attained before him. Neither contented with the honors of the Babylonians, he was alſo held in great account by the captaines of the Parthians, who were ſent to gouerne in the neighbouring prouinces: yea ſo much encreaſed his authoritie with his power, that all Meſopotamia was at his command. In this felicity and encreaſing glory of his, he continued for the ſpace of fifteen yeeres: which neuer began to wane vntil ſuch time as neglecting the ancient ſtudie of vertue, and contemning the lawes of his forefathers, both hee and his factious followers being deuoured in pleaſure, yeelded themſelues captiue to forrain luſts. It fortuned that a certaine gouernour of thoſe Parthians came into that countrey, accompanied with his wife, not onely enriched and endowed with other perfections, but alſo admired for her incomparable

Abdagaſis would haue ſlain Aſinæus: but Artabanus will not permit him.

Artabanus committeth the territories of Babylon to Aſinæus charge and diſmiſſeth him with gifts.

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comparable comlineſs and beauty. Whom without euer ſeeing her, only by report of her beauty, *Anilæus* *Aſinæus* brother loued entirely: and when as by no one of his allurements he could obtaine her fauour, neither had any other hope to enioy the Lady, he could not bridle his vnruly luſt, but he made warre againſt her husband: and killing the Parthian in their firſt conflict, his wife became his, both in ſubiection and bed-ſeruice; which thing was the originall of many mighty calamities both to himſelf and towards his brother. For when as hauing loſt her former husband, ſhe was led away captiue, ſhe carried with her the images of the gods of her countrey, which ſhe highly eſteemed, according as it was the cuſtome of thoſe that inhabited that place, to haue their gods whom they adored in their houſes, whom at ſuch time as they trauell into a forraine countrey, they carry about with them. She therefore brought them with her, and vſed them, according to the faſhion of her countrey, at the firſt ſecretly: but after ſhe was knowne for *Anilæus* wife, then adored ſhe them according to the cuſtom, and with the ſame ſeruice which ſhe vſed during her firſt husbands daies, ſacrificing to her Gods.

Anilæus killeth a noble man of the Parthians, and leadeth away his wife.

Their chiefeſt friends ſeeing this, firſt of all reproued them, for that *Anilæus* committed ſuch things, as were no waies vſed among the Hebrewes, and altogether repugnant to their lawes, for that he had married a woman of a forraine nation, that contradicted and violated their accuſtomed religion: for which cauſe they aduiſed them to beware, leſt in ſubmitting themſelues too much to their vnbridled pleaſures, they ſhould loſe the honor & power they had receiued from God, euen vntill that preſent. But ſeeing their perſwaſions profited nothing, and that *Anilæus* likewiſe had villanouſly ſlaine one of his deereſt friends, who had ſomwhat too freely reproued him (who at ſuch time as he lay a dying, being touched with the zeale of the lawes of his anceſtors, and with griefe againſt his murtherer, wiſhed that *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus* and all their aſſociates might die the like death: they for that they were tranſgreſſers of the law; the other, for that they ſuccoured not themſelues in that oppreſſion, which they ſuffered for the maintenance of their lawes.) They were ſore diſpleaſed: yet notwithſtanding they contained themſelues, calling to their remembrance that their felicity proceeded from no other cauſe, but from the valour of thoſe brethren.

Anilæus being reproued for his wifes Idolatry killeth one of his friends.

But whē they vnderſtood that the Parthian gods were adored by this woman, they bethought them that it behoued them not any more to beare with *Anilæus*, in contempt of their laws: for which cauſe, adddreſſing themſelues to *Aſinæus* in great aſſemblies, they exclaimed againſt *Anilæus*; ſaying, that he ought, although at firſt he had no power to diſpoſe of himſelfe, yet now at laſt, to correct this error before it ſhould redound to their publike plague: for that both his mariage was diſallowed in all mens eies, as altogether contrary to their country lawes, and that the ſuperſtitious obſeruance of the gods, which the woman preſumed to vſe, was an apparant iniurie offered to the true God. But he, although he knew that his brothers fault would breed ſome great inconuenience, both to himſelfe and his followers, yet being ouercome with brotherly affection, he eaſily pardoned his brother, aſcribing his error to the violence of his vnbridled paſſion. But whereas daily more and more he was tired with exclamations, and greater reproofes, at length hee admoniſhed his brother of the matter, chiding him for that which was paſt, and willing him to amend the error hereafter, by ſending home the woman vnto her kinred. Yet did this admonition of his take no effect with him; for that the woman perceiuing that the rumour that was raiſed among the people was for her ſake, and being affraid leſt for her loue ſake *Anilæus* ſhould incurre ſome danger, ſhee poiſoned *Aſinæus*, to the end that her loue being in authority ſhe might more freely practiſe her impiety. Now when *Anilæus* had gotten the gouernment into his owne hands, he drew out his forces againſt certaine villages belonging to *Mithridates*, one of the chiefeſt among the Parthians, and *Artabanus* ſonne in lawe, which villages hee ſpoiled, and carried away moueables, men, ſheepe, and other riches. When *Mithridates*, who at that time was reſident in thoſe quarters, vnderſtood of the ſpoyle of his villages, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and the rather for that without any occaſion or proffer of iniury, *Anilæus* had aſſailed, him in contempt of his eſtate, who was a chiefe Peere of the Countrey: for which cauſe he incontinently aſſembled the greateſt power of horſe and footmen he could gather, to ſet vpon *Anilæus* and his aſſociates. Leading his forces therefore againſt one of his villages, he kept himſelfe in couert, to the end he might fight the next day; which was the Sabboth day, on which the Iewes attempt not any thing. Whereof when *Anilæus* was aduertiſed by a certain Syrian, who dwelt in an other village, who had exactly tolde him all *Mithridates* intent, and the place where he intended to banquet with his ſouldiers; after he had made his ſouldiers take their refection, he departed by night, to the end he might charge the Parthians before they might be aduertiſed of his

Anilæus is accuſed before his brother Aſinæus, but he winketh at his fault.

Aſinæus poiſoned by the Parthian woman.

Anilæus draweth his forces into Mithridates country, and ſpoileth his villages, and taketh him priſoner.

A his comming. He therefore ruſhed in vpon them about the fourth watch of the night, and ſlew thoſe whom he found aſleep, and the reſt being aſtoniſht hereat, were forced to ſaue themſelues by flight: he alſo tooke *Mithridates* priſoner, and cauſed him to be caried away naked on an Aſſe, which is one of the greateſt diſgraces which the Parthians imagine may bee offered them. Hauing after this diſgraceful maner carried him into a forreſt, ſome of his familiars perſwaded him to kill him: but *Anilæus* told them incontinently, that they ought to deale with him far otherwiſe; for that it behoued them not to kill a man, who was one of the chiefeſt among the nobility of the Parthians, and one who was moſt honored in regard of that affinity and alliance hee had with the king: that although all that which heretofore had bin offered to *Mithridates* were inſupportable; yet if they ſhould be the meanes of the ſafegard of his life, he would remit the iniuries,
B and remunerate them for their mercy in ſauing his life; whereas if they ſhould deale ſeuerely with him, the king would ſeek his reuenge, and make a horrible ſlaughter of all thoſe Iewes that inhabited Babylon: whom they ought to haue compaſſion of, both for that they are of their bloud, as for that if any miſchief ſhould befall them, they knew not whither to retire themſelues; whereas they might be aſſiſted with the flower and picked number of the men of their nation. Hauing thus diſcourſed and debated the matter in the eares of his ſouldiers, his opinion was approued, and they were perſwaded; and ſo *Mithridates* was ſent backe againe.

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Anilæus diſmiſſeth Mithridates.

But no ſooner returned he home vnto his houſe, but that his wife hit him in the teeth, that he liued but by the mercy of his enemies, notwithſtanding he were the kings ſonne in law: that he had made no reckoning to puniſh thoſe, who had ſo much iniured him: that he likewiſe conten-
C ted himſelfe to haue his life ſaued after he had bin priſoner to the Iewes. For which cauſe (ſaid ſhee) recouer thou thy former vertue and honour, which thou haſt heretofore loſt, or I ſweare by the gods of the king my father, that the bond of mariage which is betwixt thee and me, ſhall be diſſolued. "

Mithridates, vnable to indure theſe vſuall reproches, and on the other ſide, apprehending his wiues hauty courage, from whom he feared to be ſeparated, he aſſembled the greateſt power of men of war that he could poſſible, notwithſtanding it were againſt his will, and led them forth; ſuppoſing himſelf to be vnworthy of life, if he who was by nation a Parthian, ſhould be cowardly put to the worſt by the Iewes. When *Anilæus* vnderſtood that *Mithridates* came forth againſt him with a great force, he thought that it would redound greatly to his indignitie, if he ſhould
D lye lurking amidſt his marſhes; and hoping that he ſhould haue no worſe fortune againſt his enemies, then he had at the firſt, and building much vpon his ſouldiers, who were euer wont to get the vpper hand in their encountries, he likewiſe drew forth his armie: to them alſo certaine other adioined themſelues, who ſought nought elſe but pillage, and hoped that with their only preſence they might diſmay their enemy.

But after they had marched about ninety ſtades, and paſſed thorow a country that was ſcant of water, and were about the heat of the midday trauailed with thirſt: *Mithridates* army came in ſight, and charged them euen at that time, vvhen they fainted for want of drinke, and thorow the extreamity of heat; ſo as they could ſcarcely wield their weapons. At that time *Anilæus* ſouldiers encountring with *Mithridates* freſh men, were ſhamefully put to flight: whereby it came
E to paſſe, that a great number of them was murthered, and many thouſand men put to the ſword. But *Anilæus* himſelf, and all thoſe of his company, retired themſelues in great haſte into a foreſt, leauing *Mithridates* Lord and Maſter of the field, vvhereof he was very ioifull. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, an infinite number of lavvleſſe men reſorted to *Anilæus*, vvho ſet little by their liues, prouided there might no limit be propoſed to their vnbridled licentiouſneſſe; ſo that he gathered a greater number of men, then thoſe vvhom he had loſt: yet vvere they farre different in valour from the former: for they vvere men vvholly ignorant of vvarlike diſcipline: notwithſtanding, hee beeing accompanied with theſe men, vvent and ſet vpon certaine boroughs of the Babylonians, which were vvholly deſtroied by his rapine and violence. For vvhich cauſe, the Babylonians and his other enemies, ſent vnto Nearda to the Ievves that vvere there, requiring
F that *Anilæus* might be deliuered into their hands: vvherunto condeſcending not (for although they had a wil to perform their requeſt, yet it lay not in their povver to deliuer him) they required that they might liue in peace. And to intreat of the conditions of peace, the Babylonians ſent certaine men to confer with *Anilæus*. They hauing ſurvaied the place vvherein *Anilæus* kept, aſſayled both himſelfe & his followers by night, and ſlew all thoſe they encountred with, without reſiſt, and amongſt the reſt *Anilæus*. When the Babylonians ſaw that they vvere deliuered from the oppreſſion of *Anilæus*, vvho till that time had been as it vvere a bridle vnto them, to reſtraine;

A great number of diſſolute perſons flocke to Anilæus, with whom he ſpoileth certaine boroughs of the Babylonians.

The Babylonians require Anilæus, that they may puniſh him: they aſſayle & ſlay him.

and

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and curbe the hatred they conceiued against the Iewes,with whom they had oftentimes been at G
oddes, by reason of the contrariety of their religions, whereby it grew that they oftentimes fell
at debate vpon each opportunitie, wherein they met.

The Iewes afflicted by the Babylonians repaire to Seleucia.

At that time therfore that *Anilæus* men were discomfited, the Babylonians set vpon the Iewes on all sides; who seeing themselues in danger by reason of the insolence of the Babylonians, against whom they were too weak to make resist, & on the other side vnable to liue amongst them, they went and dwelt at Seleucia, a citie famous in regard of *Seleucus* the sonne of *Nicanor*, who builded it. In that citie dwelt diuers Macedons, diuers Greekes, and a great number of Syrians. The Iewes fled thither, and soiourned there about some fiue yeeres, without any molestation: but in the sixt yeere, when the plague grew rife in Babylon, the Ievves that remained there, were enforced to seeke them some new habitation; and that remoove of theirs into the citie of H
Seleucia was the cause likewise of their further mischiefe,as I will make manifest. The Greekes who dwel in Seleucia,are ordinarily at debate with the Syrians,and haue alwaies the vpper hand; but after that the Iews came to inhabite in that place,in a certain sedition that arose among them, the Syrians had the vpper hand,by the meanes of the Iewes,who ioined their forces with theirs, who of themselues were valiant and good souldiers.

The Greekes who had been repulsed in this tumult, seeing they had but one only meanes left them to maintaine their former honour, but to breake that league of friendship which was betweene the Syrians and the Iewes, deuised in priuate each one with those Syrians, vvith vvhom they were acquainted, promising to liue in peace and amity vvith them, vvhereunto they condescended willingly. For the chiefest of these two nations concluded the peace, which presently I
after followed,to the end that on both parts they should ioine in hatred against the Iews. So that altogether charging them at vnawares, they slew more then fiftie thousand of them: and all of them were slaine, except some few, who thorow the mercy of their friends, and warrantize of their neighbors were suffered to escape. These retired themselues to Ctesiphon a city of Greece, that was not farre from Seleucia,where the king soiourneth euery yeere, and keepeth the greatest part of his moueables;hoping in that place thorow the reuerence of the king they might remain in more safety and security. All the nation of the Iewes that were in these quarters stood in great feare: For the Babylonians and the Seleucians, with all the Assyrians of that country, accorded among themselues to make a generall war against the Iewes; whereby it came to passe that they assembled themselues at Nearda and Nisibis, trusting themselues to the strength of these fortresses, which were inhabited also by men who were expert in armes. See here vvhat the estate of those Iewes was, who remained in Babylon. K

Fiftie thousand Iewes slaine in Seleucia.

The Iews that were saued repaire to Ctesiphon.

The Iewes retire into Nearda & Nisibis.

THE XIX. BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS. L

The Contents of the Chapters of the 19. Booke.

1 *How* Caius *was slaine by* Chæreas.
2 *How* Claudius *obtained the Empire.*
3 *Dissension betwixt the Senate and the people.*
4 *How* Claudius *aduanced* Agrippa *to his fathers kingdome, and his Edict in fauour of the Iewes.* M
5 Agrippas *returne into Iudæa.*
6 Petronius *Epistle to* Doritas *in the behalfe of the Iewes.*
7 Agrippas *actions vntill the time of his death.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How Caius *was ſlaine by* Chæreas.

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Caius did not onely expreſſe and manifeſt his furie towards thoſe Iewes that dwelt in Ieruſalem, and in other neighbouring places; but alſo through all the countries both by land & ſea, which were ſubiect to the Roman Empire, filling the whole world with an infinite number of miſchiefes; yea, ſuch and ſo hainous, as the like heereof hitherto haue neuer been heard of. But Rome in eſpeciall felt the force of his furie, which partooke no leſſe calamity and miſery, then any other citie: but eſpecially the Senatours, Patricians, and noble men were plagued. They alſo that were called Roman knights, who in wealth and dignity were next vnto the Senators, for that out of their number ſuch men were choſen, who were to ſupply the Senat, were vexed with intolerable iniuries. For with ignominies they were detracted, with baniſhments and confiſcations weakned, and by ſlaughters wholly exterminated. He likewiſe vſurped the Name of God, commanding his ſubiects to dignifie him with more then humane honors; and aſcending the Capitol, which amongſt all the temples in Rome is moſt religiouſly honoured, he was ſo bold as to ſalute *Iupiter*, and to call him brother. Many ſuch impieties committed he, by which he expreſſed, that his vnbridled and bouudleſſe madnes did neuer forſake him. Amongſt his other mad pranks that hee plaied, this is worthy of memorie: for on a time, thinking it to be too much trouble for him to croſſe the ſea between Puteol a city in Campania, and Miſenum another towne ſeated by the ſea ſhore, in a galley; and otherwiſe eſteeming it a thing correſpondent to his greatnes, who was Emperour, to exact that ſuperiority on the ſea, which was anſwerable to his ſoueraigntie on the land, betwixt one cape of the ſea vnto another, for the ſpace of thirty furlongs or ſtades, betwixt which the gulfe had his courſe, hee cauſed a bridge to be built, on which he commanded himſelfe to be drawne in a chariot, as if that way were anſwerable to the dignity of his deity. Hee left not one temple of Greece whatſoeuer, that he ſpoiled not of thoſe excellent pictures or imagery that was therein; Giuing a commiſſion, that all ſtatues, and whatſoeuer ornaments or gifts, and preſents that were dedicated in any temple, ſhould be brought vnto him; ſaying, that ſuch things as were admirable, ſhould be reſerued for a place of admiration, ſuch as was the city of Rome: with theſe ſpoiles of the temples decked he his palace and gardens, and generally, all his houſes and palaces that he had in Italy. He vvas ſo impudent alſo, as to giue direction, that *Iupiter Olympius* ſtatue, vvhich the Greeks had in great eſtimation, and *Phidias* the Athenian caruer had made, ſhould be tranſported to Rome. But *Memmius Regulus*, to vvhom he directed this commiſſion, executed it not, becauſe the Maſons informed him, that vvithout ſpoiling it they could not remoue it from the place. It is reported alſo, that he vvas hindred fro this execution by ſuch prodigies as are almoſt incredible: which he certified *Caius* of, giuing him to vnderſtand, what the occaſion was that had moued him to diſobey him therein: and whil'ſt he was in danger of death for this his delay, the ſudden and ſucceſsfull death of *Caius* warranted him from the ſame. Yea, ſo far ſtretched his vnbridled fury, that hauing a daughter newly born, he cauſd her to be caried into the Capitoll, and laid at the feet of the Image of *Iupiter*; ſaying, that that childe was common betwixt him and *Iupiter*, leauing the iudgement to all men, which of the two parents was the greateſt. And notwithſtanding all theſe his miſdemeanours, yet did men tolerate him.

He gaue liberty to ſlaues alſo to accuſe their maſters of whatſoeuer crimes they would: which was ſo much the more hateful, becauſe all things were done by *Cæſars* authority, & to his good liking: ſo that *Pollux*, who was *Claudius* bondman, durſt accuſe him, and *Caius* the Emperour was contented among the Iudges to heare his vncle brought in queſtion for his life, hoping (although it fel out otherwiſe) to pick out an occaſion to put him to death. For hauing filled all the countries of his Empire with falſe accuſations, and all ſorts of miſchiefs, & giuing ſlaues a prerogatiue aboue their maſters; their lords deuiſed many conſpiracies againſt him, ſome for ſpite, and with an intent to reuenge them of thoſe iniuries they had receiued: other ſome pretending by his death to preuent thoſe inconueniences that threatned them. In a word; his death concerned the ſecurity of the lawes, and the ſafety of all men: and had he not been ſpeedily cut off, our nation had almoſt been vtterly exterminated. For which cauſe I thought good to make an exact and ample declaration of euery occurrent, namely, for that the knowledge thereof maketh very much towards the manifeſtation of Gods power and will, which bring conſolation vnto thoſe who

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Caius tyranny towards the Iewes.

Caius tyranny towards the Senators and Patricians.

Caius calleth himſelfe Iupiters brother.

Caius ſpoiled all the temples of Greece.

Caius commandeth Memmius Regulus to tranſferre Iupiter Olympius to Rome.

Caius compareth himſelfe with Iupiter.

Caius gaue ſlaues free liberty to accuſe their maſters, and countenanced Pollux to accuſe his maſter Claudius.

Many conſpiracies againſt Caius.

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who are in aduersitie, and keep them within the bounds of modesty, who suppose that their prosperity should continue alwaies firme, and although they neglect vertue, think that no euil may befall them. Three plots of conspiracy were intended against him, and purposed to his vtter ruine, each of which was attempted by men of great reckoning. For *Æmilius Regulus*, who was borne in Corduba in Spaine, was fully resolued to kill him, himselfe, or to make him away by the meanes of his confederates. *Chæreas Cassius*, Colonell ouer a thousand men, was the chiefe-taine of another band; and *Annius Minucianus* was in no lesse readinesse to doe his vttermost herein. The cause that mou'd them to accord thus altogether in hatred against *Caius*, was, that in respect of *Regulus*, hee was by nature a detester of all iniquitie: for he was a man endowed with great magnanimitie, and beautified with a liberal spirit; so as he dissembled not any of his counsels, but communicated them with many, who either were his friends, or valiant men fit for execution. And as touching *Minucianus*, he was induced to seeke his reuenge, through the desire he had to do iustice on him in *Lepidus* behalfe, who had bin one of his especiall friends, and one of the rarest men that were euer found among the Roman citizens (whom *Caius* had put to death through the feare he had conceiued of him) knowing wel that all they, against whom *Caius* was incensed, could not escape with lesse indignity than loss of life. As for the third man *Chæreas*, he could not endure the shame and reproach of cowardise that *Caius* had obiected against him, but feared besides, that his friendship & inward familiarity with *Caius* would draw him into manifest dangers: for which cause & his own security & honors sake, he thought good to make him away. Generally, all of them were resolued to rid the world of *Caius*, & bring an end to his pride and tyrannical power, for their hope was that their attempt should haue good successe: which if it happily fell out, their country & common-weale should reap the fruits thereof, for whose security and safety, it became them to hazard thẽselues, though it were with losse of their heads. But aboue all the rest, *Chæreas* was egged on with a desire he had to grow famous, and through the facility & conuenient means he had to finish the same, because his Colonels room gaue him most secure access vnto him. About that time the Circensian games were solemnized, which is a kind of pastime which the Romans very willingly behold, and to this intent they resort to the place of these exercises, and the common people is wont to demand somewhat at their Emperors hands, which they desire to obtaine; and they, after they haue examined their requests, do neuer refuse them. Now they required with instant and importunate supplications, that *Caius* would discharge them of their taxations, and moderate the excessiue tributes which they paid: but he would giue no care vnto them, and caused those to be apprehended who called vpon the matter most earnestly, sending his Guard, some of them one way, some of them another, to put them to the sword. After he had giuen this commandement, and they who receiued the charge had fully executed it, a great number of men were slaine. The people seeing this, ceased to exclaime any more, setting light by their goods; and seeing before their eyes, that their refusall would be the cause of their death. These cõsiderations incited *Chæreas* the more to execute his enterprise, to the end he might finish his furious and lawless life, whose pleasure was al mens iniurie and preiudice. And very oftentimes was he determined to set vpon him whil'st he banquetted, yet he deferred to do the same, not for that he failed or fainted in his resolution, but because he expected some fit opportunity to hit him home, and speed him to the death. He liued Captaine of *Caius* Guard a long time, yet took he small pleasure in conuersing with him.

But after that *Caius* had appointed him to gather in his tributes, and that money which was confiscate, he seemed to haue lesse occasion then before: for at that time he had doubled their paiments, in the execution whereof he followed his owne nature rather then *Cæsars* command, and spared those of whom he ought to haue compassion for their pouerty sake. *Caius* was sore displeased herewith, and obiected against him, that the cause why he delaied the bringing in of his money, was his cowardise and negligence: And among other outrages that he offered him, as oft as he gaue him the watch-word, as he vsually went to fetch it once a day vpon his watch day, he gaue him the names of women, and other that were full of ignominie, notwithstanding that he himselfe was not exempt from note of no lesse daintinesse. For in certaine ceremonies which he himselfe had established, he attir'd himselfe like a woman, and was disguised with certaine vailes, whereby hee might the better counterfait that sex, and yet notwithstanding durst he obiect this dishonor to *Chæreas*. As oftentimes as *Chæreas* receiued the watch-word, so often times grew he in choler: which was increased the more at such time, as he deliuerd the same to his companions, who openly mocked and iested at him. For when it was his turne to receiue the word from *Cæsars* mouth, he ordinarily fitted him with such a one as might moue laughter, which

Three conspiracies against Caius.
Æmilius Regulus.
Calsius Chæreas.
Annius Minucianus.

The Circensian games.
Caius causeth diuers to be murthered, who request mitigation of their exactions.

Chæreas for many causes is incited against Caius.

A which made him the bolder to conſpire with his confederates, in that hee had iuſt occaſion to be diſpleaſed: among theſe was a Senator, and one that had paſt all honors and offices, otherwiſe an Epicure & louer of delights. Him did *Timidius* accuſe (in that he was his enimy) that he had vſed certaine iniurious ſpeeches againſt *Caius*: and for proofe hereof, he alledged *Quintilia* for his witnes, a woman amongſt all ſtageplaiers dearly beloued by many, but in eſpeciall, by *Popedius* by reaſon of her incomparable beauty: and for that ſhe refuſed to beare witnes in a matter falſly obiected againſt him, whom ſhe intirely loued, *Timidius* required, that ſhe might bee examined by torture. *Caius*, prouoked herewith, commanded *Chæreas* with all expedition and diligence to ſee *Quintilia* tortured: and the rather gaue he *Chæreas* theſe commiſſions to kill and torment thoſe whom he pleaſed, for that he had conceiued this opinion, that he would acquit him-

B ſelfe with more cruelty, to the end he might exempt himſelfe of that reproach of faint-heartednes which was wrongfully inforced againſt him.

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Popedius is accuſed of a crime by Timidius vnto Cæſar.

Whil'ſt thus *Quintilia* was led forth to bee tortured, ſhee trod vpon the foot of one of thoſe who were of the confederacie, giuing him to vnderſtand that he ſhould be of good courage, for that there was no feare that ſhee would bewray any thing in torture, but would endure it with great conſtancy: notwithſtanding, *Chæreas* tormented her cruelly, which he rather performed by conſtraint then of his owne free will. And ſeeing hee could inforce nothing out of her, hee brought her back to *Caius* in ſo pitifull an eſtate, that all they that beheld her had compaſſion on her. *Caius* likewiſe himſelfe was moued, and bethinking him of thoſe paines ſhe had indured, he deſiſted from the enqueſt and accuſation which was proſecuted againſt *Popedius* and *Quintilia*,

Caius commandeth Quintiliana to be tortured, who cõfeſſeth nothing.

C and gaue her a certain ſumme of mony, to comfort her againſt the indiſpoſition that might happen by reaſon of her torments, which ſhe had ſo courageouſly endured.

Popedius is abſolued.

This diſpleaſed *Chæreas* very much, as if he had been the cauſe of all thoſe euils that had happened to thoſe two perſons, hauing been ſo great, that to heale them it behooued *Cæſar* to miniſter a medicine. He conſulted therefore with *Clement*, who was captaine of the footmen, and *Papinius*, who had the command of the guard, and ſpake vnto them to this effect: We haue (ſaid hee) O *Clement*, imploied our ſelues to the vttermoſt for the Emperors ſafety: for by our prouidence and trauel we haue wrought ſo much, that of all thoſe, who haue conſpired againſt him, ſome of them haue bin ſlaine: the reſt in ſuch ſort tormented & martyred, that *Caius* himſelfe had compaſſion on them. But what reward or honour receiue we for all theſe ſeruices? *Clement*, hearing

Chæreas conferreth with Clement and Papinius.

D theſe words, held his peace, giuing manifeſt teſtimonie by his looks, and the change of his colour, that that he was greatly aſhamed he had ſo long time obeyed the Emperours commandements: and whil'ſt he thought with himſelfe that it was no policy for him to open his mouth againſt *Caius* cruelty, *Chæreas* emboldned himſelfe to diſcouer the calamities and dangers wherin both the city and the whole Empire were plunged, telling him that the common report was, that *Caius* was the cauſe of them: but (ſaid he) thoſe that will narrowly examine the truth, wil iudge that I, and *Papinius* that ſtandeth by me, and you, *Clement*, more then we, haue cauſed the Romans torment, and the worlds miſery, for that of our own will we haue bin miniſters of *Caius* commands; and although the means lieth in vs to make an end of thoſe violẽces that are committed againſt the citizens, and iniuries to the whole world: yet we ſerue him for his guard and

E hangmen, inſtead of men of warre. And we beare armes, not to maintaine our libertie, and the Roman Empire, but to preſerue him, who keeps their bodies & mindes in ſeruitude: and euery day are we ſoiled in their bloud who are ſlaine and tortured, vntill ſuch time as ſome one ſerue vs with the ſame ſauce, to ſatisfie *Caius* cruelty. For it is not for the good will he beareth vs, that he maketh vſe of vs: but that which is more, we are ſuſpected by him, and he will cauſe vs to be ſlaine, as he hath done others. For his diſpleaſure is not limited by iuſtice, but by his will: wee alſo ſhall ſerue him for a mark to aime at. For which cauſe, it behoueth vs to prouide for the ſecuritie and liberty of all men, and eſpecially to warrant our ſelues againſt thoſe dangers that threatens vs.

Clement declared by apparent ſignes, that he thought well of *Chæreas* reſolution, but he coun-

F ſelled him to make no words of it, for feare the rumour thereof ſhould bee ſpread among the people, and the ſecret ſhould be diſcouered before the execution: and leſt that *Caius* getting an inkling thereof, they ſhould all of them be drawn into danger of death; and in the meane while, it behooued them to hope that ſome good fortune would fall out to their furtherance: and that for himſelfe, his age had taken from him the neceſſary courage that belonged to ſuch enterpriſes. It may be (ſaid he) that I may furniſh you with ſome aduice more ſecure then yours is, *Chæreas*: for a more honeſter then it is, who is he that can propoſe? This ſaid, *Clement* returned to his houſe,

houſe, ruminating with himſelfe vpon thoſe words which hee had both heard and ſpoken. But *Chæreas* wext fearfull, and conferred with the Colonell, *Cornelius Sabinus*, whom he knew to be a man of reputation, a louer of liberty, and greatly diſcontented with the eſtate about the miſeries of the common-weal; and ſeeing it was neceſſary to attempt that with al expedition which he had intended, hee thought good to impart the matter to him; fearing leſt *Clement* ſhould diſcouer all the conſpiracy, conſidering that delay & procraſtination would be but an occaſion to hinder the action. When as therfore he perceiu'd him to giue willing eare to all that which hee intended, and that already he was confirmed with no leſſe reſolution then himſelfe was; but in that he knew not with whom he might familiarly cõmunicate the ſame, he ſaid nothing: whereas otherwiſe he was ready, not only to conceale that which he had heard, but alſo declared that which he had in his hart, he was ſo much the more incouraged. For which cauſe, without further delay they went to *Minucianus*, who was conformable vnto them in vertue, good affection, and great courage; and who beſides that, was ſuſpected by *Caius* by reaſon of *Lepidus* death. For *Minucianus* and *Lepidus* were very great friends, and had been aſſociates in the ſame dangers. For *Caius* was feared by all thoſe who had any publike office, ſparing none of them in particular or in generall, but made them all grone vnder the burthen of his fury.

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Cornelius Sabinus.

Annius Minucianus.

Now they knew well one another, that all of them were diſpleaſed to ſee the common-weale in that eſtate: but the apprehenſion of the danger ſuffred them not to manifeſt the hatred that each one of them bare to *Caius*, although their ſecret conceit engendred among them a certain amity. For before that time, as often as they mette together, they were accuſtomed to eſteeme *Minucianus* for the moſt honourable man of the company; as in truth, among all the citizens of Rome he was the moſt famous, valiant and beſt eſteemed among them: being therefore aſſembled at that time, he was firſt of all requeſted to ſpeake his opinion. For which cauſe hee asked *Chæreas* what the watch-word was hee had receiued that day (for all the city knew very well what mockery *Caius* vſually vſed in giuing *Chæreas* the watch-word) *Chæreas*, notwithſtanding this diſgrace, failed not to anſwer him, relying on the wiſedom of *Minucianus*, and ſaid vnto him;

„ But giue you mee for the watch-word Liberty; meane while I giue you thankes for that you
„ haue awakened me more ſpeedily then of my ſelfe I haue accuſtomed to be. You need not now
„ any further inforce your ſelf to incite me by your words, ſith both you & I haue vndertaken the
„ ſame reſolution. Before we were aſſembled in this place, our thoughts were vnited. Behold here
„ my ſword, that is girt vnto my ſide; this ſhall ſuffize for vs both. And if you pleaſe, you ſhall be
„ my captaine, and I will march vnder your command, & wil follow you vnder aſſurance of your
„ aſſiſtance and wiſdome. They, who haue valiant hearts, neuer want armes: for it is a confident
„ courage that makes the weapon walk. That which enkindleth me thus to this action, is not the
„ conſideration of my particular intereſt: for I haue not the leiſure to think on thoſe dangers that
„ threaten me, through the griefe that I conceiue, to ſee the libertie of my countrey changed into
„ ſeruitude, and the force of the lawes wholly aboliſhed, and all ſorts of men aſſigned to death by
„ the cruelty of *Caius*. It is I that deſerue to be truſted in this execution, and I make you my iudge,
„ ſith you haue the like intention as I haue.

Chæreas, with certain others, intend to kill Caius.

Minucianus perceiuing with what affection *Chæreas* ſpake, embraced him with all loue; and after he had praiſed him, he exhorted him to continue his conſtancie: then departed they one frõ the other, with praiers and wiſhes; and at that time there hapned a preſage that confirmed them the more. For as *Chæreas* entred into the Senate, ſome one among the people caſt out a word, that redoubled his courage: Diſpatch (ſaid he) that which thou haſt to do: for God will aſſiſt thee. *Chereas* was ſomewhat affraid, leſt ſome one of his aſſociates had betraied him. But at laſt, he thought it was ſome one of thoſe, who, being priuy to his reſolution, gaue him a watch-word to animate him the more; or that it was God, who, gouerning and obſeruing humane affaires, puſhed him forward. After he had imparted this his deliberation to diuers; ſundry Senatours, knights, and men of war, being aduertiſed hereof, were in armes. For there was not any one that ſuppoſed not that *Caius* death was the greateſt good hap the common-weale could expect. For which cauſe, al of them enforc't themſelues, as much as they could, to aſſiſt that execution with courageous and vertuous reſolution: & as forward were they in affection as in power; in words as in effect; deſiring each of them to be partakers in the diſpatch of a tyrant. For *Caliſthus* alſo, who was *Caius* free-man, & raiſed him to great authority, yea, ſuch as he almoſt equald him, adioined himſelfe to them for the fear he apprehended of all men, & for thoſe great riches which he had gatherd together, for that he was a man of a corrupt conſcience, & eaſily won by bribes & preſents, doing wrong to all men, & abuſing the power he had againſt whõſoeuer he pleaſed,

Caliſthus, Caius freeman, certifies Claudius that Caius commanded him to poiſon him.

contrary

A contrary to all right and reaſon. Beſides, for that he knew the vnbridled nature of *Caius*, who hauing once conceiued an ill opinion of any man, could neuer afterwards be diſſwaded or reconciled. Amongſt diuers other dangers that he had to apprehend, the greatnes of the danger of his riches was not the leaſt, which was the cauſe that made him ſerue *Claudius*, & ſecretly to follow him vnder hope, that after *Caius* death, he ſhould be his ſucceſſor in the Empire, and that at that time he ſhould by him be maintained in the ſame eſtate, which he enioyed: and by this meanes thought hee to obtaine his amity and good liking, by giuing him to vnderſtand how *Caius* had commanded him to poyſon him, and how he had inuented infinit delaies to deferre this execution. As for mine owne part, I thinke that *Caliſthus* forged this matter. For if *Caius* had pretended to kill *Claudius*, he had not been diſſwaded by *Caliſthus* allegations, who had incontinently B receiued his reward, if he had deferred to execute his Maſters command, with all expedition in a matter ſo acceptable to him. So it is, that the prouidence of God would not permit *Caius* to execute that rage againſt *Claudius*, and *Caliſthus* was thereby thanked for a benefite which he no waies deſerued.

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Thoſe that were about *Chæreas* day by day, followed the action very ſlowly, notwithſtanding that he willingly delayed not, but thought all occaſions fit to finiſh his purpoſe in, for that hee might aſſaile him at ſuch time as he aſcended vp into the Capitol, or euen then when he ſolemnized thoſe ceremonies, which he had inſtituted in honor of his daughter, or at ſuch time as he ſtood in the palace to ſcatter gold, and ſiluer money among the people, by caſting him from the toppe of the palace into the market place, or at ſuch time as he celebrated thoſe myſteries, that C were introduced by him. For no man ſuſpected *Chæreas*, ſo diſcreetly had he behaued himſelfe in all things: and he perſwaded himſelfe that no man would haue thought, that he ſhould lay violent hands on *Caius*. And although he had done nothing to any effect; yet ſo it is, that the power of the gods was ſufficient to giue him force, and to kill him without drawing weapon. *Chæreas* was ſore diſpleaſed againſt his companions, in reſpect that hee feared that they would let ſlip their occaſions; and although they perfectly knew that he trauailed for the maintenance of the lawes, and for the good of them all: yet did they requeſt him to delay a little; for feare leſt in the execution he ſhould in ſome ſort miſcarry, and for that cauſe the citie might be brought in trouble, by the informations that would be made of that act; and that finally when *Caius* ſhould be D ſo much the better defenced againſt them, they ſhold not know how to ſhew their vertue, when the time required that they ſhould aſſault and ſet vpon him. They therfore thought it good that the opportunity to ſet forward this buſineſs, ſhould be the time in which the games of the palace were celebrated, which were ſolemnized in honour of *Cæſar*, who firſt of all diſannulled the peoples authority, and appropriated it to himſelfe. This ſolemnity is celebrated in a Tent before the palace, where the noble citizens with their wiues and children remained to behold the ſport, and *Cæſar* himſelfe likewiſe. At that time concluded they that it would be an eaſie matter for them, when as ſo many thouſands of people ſhould bee ſhut vp in ſo narrow a place; ſo that he, who would ſtep formoſt to giue the ſtroke, might very eaſily be ſuccoured, for that he could haue no force in armes, although his guard ſhould haue the courage and deſire to defend him. *Chæreas* reſolued vpon this, and it was concluded that the firſt day of thoſe ſports that E were next at hand, the deed ſhould be done: but their aduenture was greater then their concluſion. For the delay was ſuch, as the third day was almoſt paſt, and hardly could they be drawne to attempt the matter on the third day. At which time *Chæreas* aſſembled all the confederates, and told them that the opportunity of time that ouerſlipt them, accuſed and reproached them of ſlackneſſe in that execution, which had been ſo vertuouſly reſolued amongſt them: and that it was to be feared, leaſt if any ſhould be diſcouered, the whole matter ſhould waxe fruſtrate: by which meanes *Caius* might grow more cruell then hee was before. See we not (ſaid he) that by how much liberty we take from our ſelues, by ſo much we augment *Caius* tyranny? whereas we ought firſt of all to obtaine ſecurity for our ſelues, and afterwards purchaſe perpetuall felicity to others, the greateſt glory whereof ſhall redound vnto our ſelues. Now they hauing nothing F to reply againſt ſo honorable a reſolution, and yet notwithſtanding no waies enforcing themſelues towards the action, but remaining altogether diſmaied without one word ſpeaking, *Chæreas* ſpake thus:

Chæreas expecteth the occaſion to aſſaile Caius.

The finall concluſion of the confederates as touching Caius death.

Moſt noble and generous Gentlemen, what is the cauſe that we linger and delay in this ſort? ſee you not that this day is the laſt day of the games, and that *Caius* is ready to depart to ſea? For he hath determined to ſaile into Alexandria, and to ſee Ægypt: verily it will be a ſmall honour for vs, if we ſuffer him to eſcape our hands, to the end that both by land and ſea, he may triumph

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ouer the Romans vaine boaſt and negligence. How can we chuſe but condemn our ſelues iuſtly, G and chalenge nothing but diſhonour, if ſome Egyptian ſuppoſing that men of free condition could not any longer endure his inſolence, ſhould put the matter in execution? For mine owne part, I will dreame no longer vpon your conſultations, but this very day I will hazard my ſelfe; "and betide me what can, I will ſuſtaine all fortunes with pleaſure and courage. For I am a man "of that minde, that no danger can be ſo great or grieuous to daunt mee, as that *Caius* ſhould bee "ſlaine, during my life time, and I ſhould be depriued of ſo deſerued an honour, which ſo worthy "an attempt may chalenge. This ſaid, hee departed with an intent to attempt and end the matter, and encouraged the reſt to do the like; ſo that all of them were deſirous to ſet hand to the enterpriſe, without any further delay. The cuſtome was, that the captains of the guard entred the palace with their ſwords by their ſides, and in ſuch equipage they asked the Emperour the watch- H word. At that time it fortuned that it was *Chæreas* turne to fet the word; when as a great number of people flocked to the palace, to take vp their places to behold the games with great preaſe and noyſe; wherein *Caius* was greatly delighted: for there was no diſtinction of place either for Senators or Knights, but each one ſate together confuſedly, men and women, ſlaues & freemen. *Caius*, arriuing there firſt, had offered ſacrifice in honour of *Cæſar Auguſtus*, in dignifyng whom likewiſe thoſe ſports were ſolemnized. It came to paſſe that whileſt thoſe beaſts were embowelled, that were appointed for ſacrifice, *Aſprenas* gowne; who at that time was Senator, was beſprinkled with blood: whereat *Caius* began to laugh; yet notwithſtanding, this was a preſage for *Aſprenas*. For he was ſlain that very day that *Caius* was. It is reported that *Caius* at that time, contrary to his own nature, behaued himſelfe moſt affably towards all men; ſo that all the aſſiſtants I were aſtoniſhed to behold the curteſie that he vſed. After the ſacrifice was done, hee ſate him down to behold the paſtimes, & had about him the moſt noble of his friends & familiars. Now was there euery yeare a Theater builded, according to this form & faſhion that enſueth: it had two gates, the one towards the open yard; the other opening vpon the porch, by which the actors had their egreſſe and regreſſe, without diſturbance of thoſe who ſate to behold the paſtime: There was within the ſame a certain ſeuerall roome, ſeparated from the reſt, where the plaiers & muſicians kept. When the people were ſeated, & *Chæreas* with the captains were neer about *Cæſar*, who ſate on the right ſide of the Theater: *Batibius* one of the Senators, a man very expert in feats of Armes, asked *Cluuitus* priuily in his eare, who ſate by him & had in like ſort bin Conſul, whether he heard any newes? who anſwering him, that he had heard nothing, on this this day K (ſaid *Batibius*) ſhal the tragedy be plaid of a tyrants death. *Cluuitus* made him this reply in *Homers* words: *Whiſt; leaſt ſome Greeke ſhould liſten to our talke.*

Caius ſacrificeth to Auguſtus Cæſar.
Aſprenas.
The Theater.
Batibius.
Cluuitus.

Now whileſt ſome one darted certaine apples and rare and precious birds at the people, *Caius* tooke great pleaſure to behold how they ſtroue one with another round about him, buffetting one another to ſee who ſhould get the ſame: but at that preſent there chanced two preſages: for the ſport that was repreſented was of a Iudge, who was apprehended and crucified, and in the dance they repreſented *Cynera*, who was ſlaine with *Myrrha* her daughter: and there was a great quantitie of blood gathered to counterfait both the murther of the Iudge that was crucified, as alſo of *Cynera*. It is affirmed likewiſe, that the day was the very ſame, whereon *Philip* the ſon of L *Amyntas* King of Macedon, had been ſlaine by *Pauſanias* one of his familiars, at ſuch time as he entred the Theater. Whileſt *Caius* was incertaine with himſelfe whether he ſhould remaine vntil the ſports were finiſht, for that it was the laſt day of them, or rather ſhould reſort to the bath, and after he had taken his refection returne back againe thither, as he had done before time; *Minucianus* ſitting next vnto him, fearing leaſt the occaſion ſhould be ouerſlipt, aroſe for that he had ſeene *Chæreas* depart out of doores, with an intent to goe and encourage him. But *Caius* catcht him by the gown, ſaying, Whither go you my friend? At which time for the reuerence ſake that he bare vnto *Cæſar*, he ſate him down againe: but the feare that he had grew ſo forcible, that he aroſe againe; ſo that *Caius* could not detaine him, ſuppoſing that he departed thence to diſpatch ſome important buſineſs. At that time did *Aſprenas* counſaile *Cæſar* to repaire to the bath, telling M him that after his refection hee might returne thither againe; all which hee did, being deſirous that the reſolution might take effect. They that were with *Chæreas* were already diſpoſed to take aduantage of the time, and were agreed each of them to ſtand prepared and in a readineſſe, in a place appointed, to the intent to act the tragedy: and the delay was very grieuous vnto them, for that it was already three a clock after noone. So that *Chæreas* ſeeing that *Caius* lingred ſo long, intended to go in vnto him and aſſaile him in his ſeat: but he conceiued that he could not bring that to paſſe without great loſſe and murther of Senators, and Knights that were there preſent.

Now

A Now although he had this apprehenſion; yet addreſſed he himſelf to the execution therof, ſuppoſing that the loſſe that might happen by the death of ſome one, would be well recompenced by the ſecurity and liberty, that would redound vnto all men. When as therefore they were in a readineſs to enter the Theater, newes was brought them that *Caius* was riſen to come forth; by means whereof there aroſe ſom noyſe. For which cauſe the confederates turned backe into the Theater, and appeaſed the people, telling them that they diſpleaſed & annoyed the Emperour: but the effect was, to draw him aſide from all thoſe, who might yeeld him any aſſiſtance; and ſo to ſet vpon him. Before *Caius* marched *Claudius* his vncle, and *M. Minucius* his ſiſters husband and *Valerius*, who at that time was Proconſul, who might not any waies be be drawen from their place, although they had the will, by reaſon of the place and dignity which they held. *Caius* fol-
B lowed after them, accompanied with *Paulus Arruntius*. Now when he was entred into the palace, he left the ready way where his officers were, and *Claudius* with his aſſociates held: he turned aſide by an vnfrequented way to the bathes, vpon purpoſe to ſee certaine yong boyes, who were come out of Aſia, and were ſent him out of that country, partly to ſing in thoſe ceremonies that were inſtituted by him, and partly to dance in armes about the Theater; and in that place *Chereas* came and encountred him, asking him the watch-word: which *Caius* gaue him very reprochfully according to his cuſtome. For which cauſe without any further delay, *Chereas* aſſayling him both in word and act, drew his ſword and gaue him a great wound, which notwithſtanding was not mortal: ſome ſay that *Chereas* purpoſely wounded him after that ſort, becauſe he would not kill him at once, but to his further torment increaſe the number of his wounds: but I can not
C beleeue the ſame, for that in ſuch executions a man hath no leaſure to determine how to ſtrike. And if *Chereas* had ſuch an intention, I account him the verieſt foole that might be, for that hee rather tooke his pleaſure to content his deſpite, then readily to deliuer both himſelfe & others, who by his delay in being of his confederacy might be drawen into hazard. For if *Caius* had not beene ſuddenly ſlaine, hee could not haue wanted meanes of reſcous, and it ſhould ſeeme that *Chereas* had not pretended to doe ſo much miſchiefe to *Caius*, as to himſelfe and his fellow confederates. And being in this incertainty, whether his enterpriſe ſhould haue fallen out happily or no, he had without reaſon both vndone himſelfe and loſt the occaſion: whereas hauing happily hit home, he might without a word ſpeaking, warrantize himſelfe againſt thoſe, who would
D offend him. But let each man think what beſt pleaſeth him. *Caius* feeling the griefe of the wound (for he was ſtrooken betwixt the ſhoulder and the neck, and his ſword could not pearce further, by reaſon that it hit vpon the firſt bone of the breaſt) he cryed not in any ſort, neither called for any of his friends, whether it were that he diſtruſted them all, or that he had ſom other thought, and in lamenting himſelfe he paſt onward. But he was met by *Cornelius Sabinus*, who was already prepared to encounter him, who thruſt him downe vpon his knees: whereupon all of them enuironed him round about, and with mutuall exhortations encouraged one another to do their vttermoſt in murthering him. At length in all mens opinion they agreed on this, that it was *Aquila* that gaue him the deadly wound, that ſeuered his ſoule from his body. But this act ought to be attributed to *Chereas*. For although diuers ſet to their hands in the action, yet was he the firſt,
E who had bethought him of the action, hauing long time before any of them premeditated the ſame, after what ſort it ſhould be attempted: and he alſo was the firſt that durſt boldly impart it vnto others, and who after they had allowed of his reſolution aſſembled them: and when as euery one was to ſpeake his opinion, he concluded the ſame very diſcreetly, and had alwaies done farre more then the reſt; ſo that by his earneſt and honourable perſwaſions, he encouraged thoſe that were faint-hearted, ſince at ſuch time as the opportunity preſented it ſelfe to ſet hand to the execution, hee was the firſt that attempted it, and who valiantly ſtrooke and made an eaſie way to the reſt, who found *Caius* calme enough, in that he was a man almoſt thorowly ſlaine. For which cauſe, it is neceſſary, that all that which others haue done ſhould be aſcribed to *Chereas* aduice, vertue and diligence.

Thus died *Caius*, being ſlaughtered with many mortall wouuds: now when *Chereas* and his
F companions had diſpatched him, they perceiued well that it would bee impoſſible for them to ſaue themſelues, if ſo bee they ſhould returne by the way that they came; ſo much were they raviſhed with that which they had done. For they drew themſelues into no ſmall danger, by murthering an Emperour, who was cheriſhed and beloued thorow the folly of the common people, and whoſe death the men of warre would not leaue vnpuniſhed. Now in that the waies were narrow where the murther was done, and they themſelues alſo were hindered by reaſon of the great number of people, and officers and ſouldiers that gaue their attendance that day in gar-

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Caius ſlain.

Aquila gaue Caius his deaths wound: but Chereas was the author of the act.

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ding the Emperor, they tooke another way & retired themselues into *Germanicus* lodging, who G was *Caius* father, whom they had lately slaughtered. This house adioyned vpon the palace. For although the palace was but one, yet consisted it of diuers lodgings which were builded by seuerall Emperours; whose names, whether they had begun or finished the workes, were imposed on the same buildings. When as therefore they were escaped from the preasse, they were in safety as long as the inconuenience that had befallen the Emperour was as yet hidden. The first report of his death came to the Germans who were of his guard, being a company chosen out of that nation named the Celtique band, for the preseruation of the Emperours person. These men are very prone vnto wrath, and amongst all other Barbarians, it is a rare thing in them to examine the causes of their execution: otherwise they are men strong in body, and who in the warres alwaies giue the first onset, yeelding great aduantage to those on whose side they fight. H They hauing notice of *Caius* murther, were vehemently aggrieued therat, for that it is their manner to censure all things, not according to right, but as they are answerable to their own profits: *Caius* in especiall was dearely beloued by them, in that he had obtained their fauour by bestowing much money vpon them. Their captaine was one called *Sabinus*, who was not aduanced to that estate, either for his vertue or the nobility of his ancestors (for he was but a feneer) but for his mighty strength and huge body. They therfore ran about with their naked swords searching for *Caius* murtherers from house to house: and meeting with *Asprenas* at first, whose gowne (as we haue said) was bebloodied with the blood of the slaughtered sacrifice, which was a presage that boaded him but little good fortune, they heawed him in peeces. The second was *Norbanus* (who for his nobility and ancestors might deriue his titles from the noblest Citizens, a- I mongst whom were diuers generals of armies) who seeing they made no reckoning of his dignity, and being of himselfe endowed with great force and strength, hee tooke a sword from one of them which first assailed him, with whom he grapled, and made them know that he intended they should buy his blood very deerely: and in deede so had hee done, but that being inuironed by diuers, who assailed him at once, he was beaten down and slaughtered with many deadly wounds. The third was *Anteius*, one of the number of the Senators, who with some others met not with these men by chance, as the two other had done; but to shew the hatred that hee bare vnto *Caius*, and the pleasure that he tooke to see him lie dead, was come out of his house, being egged on with enuy to feed his eyes with that spectacle. For *Caius* had banished *Anteius* father, whose name likewise was *Anteius*, and not content therewith hee had sent his souldiers to K kill him. He therefore with great pleasure beheld the slaughtered carcasse of this tyrant: but hearing the vprore that was raised in euery part of the house, he thought good to hide himselfe; yet might he not auoid the narrow search of the Germans, who were so displeased, that they slew all those whom they met with, whether they were guilty or guiltles of the fact. Thus were these three made away.

Chæreas with his confederates retireth into Germanicus house.

The Germans Cæsars guard.

Sabinus with his Germane souldiers seeketh for those that slew Caius.

Asprenas cut in peeces.

Norbanus.

Anteius.

What sort of people they were that lamented Caius death.

But after the rumour of *Caius* death was heard in the Theater, euery one was amazed, and could scarcely beliue it. For although diuers of them were very glad, that he was taken out of the world, perswading themselues that it would highly profit them; yet did their feare hinder their beliefe. On the other side, there were some, who desiring not that any such mishap should befall *Cæsar*, and conceiuing in their thoughts, that it was impossible to be done, for that there L was no man so hardy, as to enterprise the same; they supposed the report to bee vtterly vntrue. Of this minde were certaine women and children, slaues and souldiers. These, by reason they receiued wages at his hand, and tyrannized with him, being his ministers in all those outrages that he offered to many good citizens, in partaking the bootie and other aduantages that *Caius* drew vnto him. As for the women and children, they were of that opinion, by reason that such kinde of people take delight in plaies, iests, donations of flesh, and other such pastimes, which *Caius* in word pretended to do to gratifie the common people, but in effect it was to haue means to satisfie his rage and cruelty. He was also gratious among the seruants & slaues, for that by him they had the liberty to accuse and contemne their Masters, and were therein countenanced by *Caius*. For when they falsely accused their Masters, they were easily beleeued: and when they M discouered their Masters treasures, in recompence of their discouery they were not only made free by him, but also sent home with rich and ample rewards. For the reward that was assigned them, was the eighth part of those goods that were confiscated. As for certaine of the nobility, although the matter seemed true to some of them, for that before time they were priuy to that which the rest intended, and notwithstanding they desired that the enterprise should be effected: yet kept they all things close, and gaue no signe of ioy, nor made any shew that they heard

that

A that which was reported. For ſom of them feared leſt if they ſhould be fruſtrated of their hope, they ſhould bring themſelues in danger of puniſhment, for that they had diſcouered their intent ſooner then they ſhould haue done. They likewiſe who knew the enterpriſe and were confederates with the actors; yet did they more cloſely conceal it the one from the other, fearing leſt if they ſhould diſcouer the matter to any one of thoſe, who drew any commodity from *Caius* tyranny, they might bewray them: whereby if *Caius* ſhould be yet aliue, they might incurre the danger of puniſhment. For the voice was, that he had been wounded in certaine places; yet that he was not ſlaine; but as yet aliue, and among his Phiſitians hands, who dreſſed his wounds. No man therefore durſt liberally diſcouer the ſecrets of his heart to his neighbour: for they that ſpred thoſe reports were either friends (and for that cauſe were ſuſpected as fauourers of his ty-
B ranny) or enemies, and by that meanes in that they were but ſiniſterly affected towards *Caius*, there was no certainty to be gathered of that which they ſaid. There aroſe alſo another report, which abaſhed and beat downe the hearts and hopes of the nobility, namely that *Caius* ſetting light by the danger wherein he was, and as little alſo by the wounds he had receiued, was come into the market place all bloody as he was, and after that manner declaimed before the people. See here how they that ſpred theſe rumors, preferred their coniectures, which were void of all reaſon; which diſtracted thoſe vncertainly that heard the ſame, according as they were affectioned. This notwithſtanding no man remooued from his place, for feare leaſt they ſhould be ſuddenly accuſed, knowing well that they ſhould be cenſured, not according to their thoughts and affections, but according to the diſpoſition of their iudges and accuſers.

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Diuers rumors of Cæſars death.

C But after that the troupe of Germans had inuironed the Theater with their naked ſwords, all the aſſiſtants expected nothing but death; and as ſoone as any man entred, they were ſeized with ſuch an amazement, as if they had already felt the ſtrokes; ſo that they knew not what to do, hauing no heart to depart from thence: and otherwiſe perſwading themſelues, that if they ſtayed there any longer, it would breed them further danger. Finally, when the ſouldiers were entred into the Theater by force, all the whole aſſembly cried out, and beſought them, proteſting that whatſoeuer was done it was beſides their knowledge, whether it were either attempted by conſpiracy, or any other means. They therfore moſt humbly intreated them, that they would ſpare them, and not inflict the penalty of the guilty on thoſe that were innocent: for their owne parts,
D they beſought them to ſearch out thoſe, who had cõmitted the act, if any ſuch thing were committed. And thus ſpake they with teares, beating their breaſts, and calling the gods to witneſſe, alledging all that which the preſent danger ſuggeſted them with, and as much as ſuch as pleaded for their liues could profer. By theſe perſwaſions of theirs the ſouldiers fury was abated; ſo that they began to repent themſelues of that which they had executed in the Theater: for this alſo was a cruelty, as they themſelues (notwithſtanding their barbarous inciuility) ſuppoſed it to be; which was, that the heads of *Aſprenus* and other that were ſlaine, were carried and ſet vpon an Altar. Whereat all the aſſiſtants were moſt grieuouſly diſcontented, remembring themſelues of the dignity of the men, and hauing compaſſion of that which had befallen them; conſidering alſo that they themſelues were not farre off from dangers, being vncertaine whether they ſhould ſaue themſelues: whereby it came to paſſe, that ſome of thoſe, who had for good cauſe hated
E *Caius*, durſt not freely reioyce at his death, becauſe they were vpon the point to loſe their owne liues, hauing as yet no appearance of any ſafety.

The German ſouldiers reſort to the Theater.

At length *Aruntius*, a man who was gratious among the people, and was one of the common cryers, who had a ſtrong voice, and by crying ſuch goods as were to be ſolde, had gathered ſo great ſubſtance, as that he was accounted one of the richeſt men in Rome, and in great eſtimation amongſt all men in that behalfe, entred the Theater in a mourning habit, and after a lamentable manner: and although hee inwardly hated *Caius*; yet for the feare he conceiued leaſt hee ſhould loſe his goods, and in conſideration of the preſent danger, he diſſembled his ioy, wearing all thoſe garments of mourning, and vſing no leſſe lamentation then if hee had bemoaned the death of his deareſt friend. After this manner came he into the Theater, publiſhing *Caius* death,
F to the intent that the people might not be ignorant of that which had hapned: after this, he began to repreſſe the rage of the Germans, and commanded their captaines and tribunes to put vp their ſwords, certifying them of the Emperours death, which act of his did manifeſtly ſaue the liues of all thoſe, who were aſſembled in the Theater; and all them likewiſe, whom they could haue met with. For if they had had but the leaſt ſurmiſe, that *Caius* had as yet beene aliue, there was not any ſort of cruelty which they had not committed. For they bare him ſo great loue and affection, that to warrantize him frõ that miſhap, they would haue redeemed him with the loſſe

Aruntius entreth the Theater, and ſignifieth the Emperours death.

The Germans fury awakened, by the death of Caius is pacified.

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of their own liues. But as soon as they vnderstood that he was dead, they repressed their furious rage, which egged them forward to reuenge: knowing that it auailed them nothing to discouer their affections towards him, in that he could yeeld them no requital. Besides, the feare they had least that in pursuit of their tyrannous murthers, the Senate should be incensed against them, if so be the gouernment of the estate should bee returned into their hands, made them containe themselues. Thus was the fury of these Germans appeased for the death of *Caius*. G

Chæreas, Minucianus, and Clement consult about Cæsars death.

Meane while *Chæreas* (who feared very much least *Minucianus* should fall into the Germans hands, and in their fury be slaughtered by them) sought for him among the souldiers, enquiring of euery one whether they knew if hee were slaine or no. Whereupon *Minucianus* and *Clement* were brought vnto him, who in his presence commended *Chæreas* exploit, and gaue him thanks in the name of the whole Senate, who witnessed that it was to the generall benefit and good of the cõmon-weale, and that the greatest persons were beholding to him, for that he had neither wanted good aduice in his deliberation, nor courage to execute his resolution; alledging that the nature of tyrannie was such, that being puffed vp with a short pleasure of vniust & intolerable rule, it finally (as being hated by all good men) determined and ended in misery, as it manifestly appeared in that which had befallen *Caius*; who before any thing was either deuised, practized or executed against him, was already hatefull to all men, and had in such sort violated all lawes, that his greatest friends were resolued to take armes against him, who in appearance had depriued him of life, when both in truth and in effect it was he himself, who was the author of his owne ruine. H

Arcion a certain Physician dismisseth some.

Hereupon all they arose who were in the Theater, and raised great noise and trouble in seeking to saue themselues. The occasion was, that a certaine Physician called *Arcion*, being called out to goe and dresse certaine men that were wounded, making a shew as if he went to goe and prepare such things, as were necessary for those that were wounded, made those issue out with him who sate neerest vnto him: but the truth was that hee did it to the end to draw them out of the present danger. Meane while the Senate assembled themselues in the palace, and the people flocked together to make enquiry after those, who had murthered *Caius*: the people with an intire and simple intent, the Senate onely to vse some formall proceeding. For *Valerius Asiaticus*, who had otherwhiles been Consul, came forth among the people, who were in an vprore; and supposing it a strange matter that no man knew who had slaine the Emperour, whilest euery one enquired who it was that had done the deed: O said he, would it had bin I that had done it. But the Consuls published an edict, containing the accusations that were presented against *Caius*, commanding the people and souldiers, who were as yet in the Theater, to retire themselues to their lodgings. And the people were put in great hope, that they should be eased of those taxations, wherewith before time they had been burthened: and the men of warre were promised honours and dignities, if they would containe themselues in their accustomed order, and stirre vp no further trouble. For it was to be feared least if they had been further fleshed in slaughters, the Citie should haue fallen into some great danger through rapines & the spoiles both of houses and temples. But by this time all the whole order of the Senate were assembled, especially those who were confederates in *Caius* murther; who seemed to gather courage, and to speake boldly as if the gouernment of the estate had been fallen into their hands. I

The Senate and people enquire after those that slew Caius.

Valerius Asiaticus wisheth he had been the Author. K L

CHAP. II.

Claudius *tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2. The souldiers elect Claudius Emperour.

WHileſt the estate of the Empire was thus distracted, *Claudius* was suddenly fetcht out of his house: For the souldiers assembling themselues together, and conferring among themselues what was requisit to be done, perceiued that it was impossible, that so many and so waighty affairs of the common-weale should be wel disposed by a popular gouernment; and that this change also would yeeld them little profit, if some of those who were in authority should happen to obtain the soueraigne gouernment. Furthermore, that it would be euery way preiudiciall vnto them, if they had not a part of the gouernance, & a hand in the administration of the common-weale. Whileſt therefore the soueraigne authority remained as yet vndisposed, they thought meet to elect *Claudius*, who was *Caius* vncle, for their Emperour; who was a man of that reputation, that none of those, who had been assembled in the Senate, was more capable then he was, both in regard of the vertue of his ancestors, as also in respect of the doctrin wher- M

with

A with he was endowed. Who likewiſe being by them exalted to the dignity of the Empire, wold honor them, and with all anſwerable bounty acknowledge their good deſerts. This concluſion of theirs was both admitted, and preſently executed: ſo that *Claudius* was receiued and elected Emperour by the men of warre. But *Cnaius Sentius Saturninus* hauing intelligence that *Claudius* was in this ſort elected (who in appearance ſeemed vertuouſly to contradict, but in effect deſired nothing more) preſented himſelfe before the Senate: and being neither amated nor amazed in any ſort, he freely ſpake his minde, and as it became his birth and nobility, he ſpake vnto the aſſembly after the manner that enſueth. *The yeare of the world 4005. after Chriſts birth 43.*

You Lords of Rome, although it be an incredible matter, that the liberty which hath ſo long time been vnexpected, ſhould returne and viſit vs; yet ſo it is, that wee ſee the excellency there- B of, although it be vncertaine how long time the Gods will beſtow it on vs: which is ſuch, that it may reioyce vs for the preſent, what iſſue ſoeuer it may haue hereafter. For to them that know what vertue is, it is no ſmall felicity to liue one houre in freedome of mind, and in a free country gouerned by ſuch lawes, which in times paſt haue made our cõmon-weale to flouriſh. For mine owne part, I cannot remember our ancient liberty, for that I was borne after the ſubuerſion thereof: But I infinitly deſire to haue the happy fruition of that which we enioy at this preſent. And I think them alſo very happy, who are borne and brought vp in vertuous ſtudies. I likewiſe ſuppoſe that a ſecond honour next to the immortall Gods is to be aſcribed to them, by whoſe vertue at laſt though very late euen in this our age, wee haue obtained the felicity to enioy the ſame: which happineſs would God with our inheritances we might bequeath to our poſterity. C For in in regard of our ſelues, this day ſufficeth vs both, as well all thoſe that are yong as they alſo who are old. For the aged ſhall forſake this life with more pleaſure, in that they haue had the knowledge of that bleſſing which is annexed to their liberty: and the yonger ſhall be furniſhed with a royall example in admiring & knowing their vertues, by whom we enioy this benefit of freedom. For in regard of the preſent time, there is not any thing that we ought more earneſtly to affect, then to liue vertuouſly. For only vertue is the thing that confirmeth men in their liber- tie. I cannot ſpeake of the time paſt, but only by hearſay: but for that I haue ſeen with mine eies, and perceiued by my obſeruation, I know how great miſchiefes tyrannies do ordinarily breed in a politike eſtate: for they vtterly extinguiſh all vertue, and depriue freemen of all that perfect D magnanimity that may be in them, and teach both to flatter & to feare, for that the cõmon-weal is abandonted not to the wiſdome of the lawes, but to the fury of intemperate gouernours. For ſince *Iulius Cæſar* bent his thoughts to ouerthrow the popular gouernment in Rome, and violated that happy courſe of law, whereby our ſtate was policied, the common-weale hath been ouer- throwne. For in ſubiecting the law to his good liking, and himſelf to his particular deſires, there is not any kind of miſery & miſchiefe, that hath not ouerthrown our citie; ſo that his ſucceſſors haue imploied themſelues to the vttermoſt, and with a certain emulation, to aboliſh the lawes of our countrey, ſtriuing which of them might deſpoile our cõmon-weale of her nobleſt citizens: for that they haue made their account, that their ſecurity conſiſted in communicating their ſe- crets with ſuch as were baſe and abiect, abaſing not only the hauty courages of thoſe men, who were famous for their nobility and vertue, but alſo by ſlaughtering a great number of them by E all ſorts of puniſhment: and whileſt each of them laboured to be abſolute in their command, they enforced themſelues to oppreſſe the common-weale.

But amongſt all the reſt, *Caius*, who this day hath loſt the benefit of life, hath wrought greater miſchiefes himſelfe alone, then any other, by inforcing his brutiſh and beaſtly wrath not onely againſt the common citizens, but alſo againſt his own parents and friends; demeaning himſelfe alike towards all men, and manifeſting his vniuſtice in that he purſued them with moſt iniury, who were moſt innocent: and by this meanes grew hatefull not onely to men, but alſo to the immortall Gods. For it is not enough for tyrants to ſatisfie their concupiſcence, to vſe all ſorts of outrages, to rauiſh both mens wealth and their wiues; but alſo their gaine and glory is, when they may vtterly ruinate both their fortunes and families, who are their enemies. For all liber- F tie is oppoſed againſt tyranny, and it is impoſſible (notwithſtanding all the miſeries that may be imagined or offered) that freemen ſhould accord with tyrants, how little time ſoeuer it be that they haue exerciſed their tyrannie. They alſo know too well with how many miſchiefes they haue entangled their ſubiects (although they haue not the ſpirits to reuenge themſelues of thoſe wrongs that are done vnto them) and being well aſſured into what incombrances they haue drawne them, perſwade themſelues, that they haue but one only meanes left them to warrantize themſelues from ſuſpicions; and to procure their owne ſecurity, which is, to put them to death,

Cnaius Sentius Saturninus declaimeth in the Senate.

Liberty a precious thing.

Liberty purchaſed by vertue. Tyrannies breed many miſchiefes in common-weales.

Iulius Cæſar.

if

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if they may possibly doe it. Sith therefore at this present you are deliuered from so many mis- G
chiefes, and are no more subiect, except to one another (which is a pledge of concord for the present, and of security in time to come, and glory vnto him that hath redressed the estate) you shall deale very well and wisely in my opinion to prouide for the common-weale, foreseeing very diligently all that which concerneth the good and profit thereof. It is free for any man to speake his opinion of that which displeaseth him, for that there is no superiour to countermand their sayings, or that is exempt from reproofe if hee offend against the common-weale, or that may threaten with the authority of an Emperor for that shall be said. For what else in these later times hath increased and furthered our ouer-topping tyranny, then their slouthfull feare, who durst in no sort oppose themselues against his lust? For being entangled by a certain kind of plea-
sure of a quiet life, and accustomed to liue after the manner of slaues, and being afraid also to dy H
vertuously, and desirous to liue with shame, we are fallen into these scarce sufferable calamities, and into such mischiefes as haue concerned vs too neerly. First of all therfore, you ought to ho-
nour those, who haue slaine the tyrant, by dignifying them with as great honors as may be ima-
gined, and especially *Chæreas*. For he only hath bin the man, who by the power of the gods, and thorow his great wisdome & valour, hath giuen you your liberty. Neither ought you to forget him, but to heap honors on his head, yea especiall fauours, as to the man who first of all consulted, and first of all hazarded himselfe against a tyrant for your liberty. It is an honest & wel-
beseeming action in men of free hearts, to restore and repay condigne kindnes for the benefites that they haue receiued: such is this man in your behalfe, not like to *Brutus* & *Cassius*, who mur-
thered *Cæsar*; for they were the originals of seditions & ciuill wars in this citie: and this man by I
the death of a tyrant, hath not only at once deliuered you of him, but also hath cut off all those mischiefs that arose by him.

An exhortation to maintain liberty.

Chæreas to be honored for his noble attempt.

Thus spake *Sentius*, and his aduice was entertained with great applause, not onely by the Senators, but the knights also that were there present. Whereupon a certaine Senator called *Trebellius Maximus* arose, and stepping to him, pulled off the ring which *Sentius* had on his finger, wherein was inchased a stone with *Caius* picture in it, which *Sentius* had forgot to pull off: so intent was he about that which he both said and did: and by this meanes the engraued image was broken. Now for that it was late, *Chæreas* demanded the watch-word at the Consuls hands, who gaue him the word Liberty. Thus all of them were astonished at this change, and could scarcely belieue that which had hapned. For since that time that the popular gouernment had been abo- K
lished, the Consuls had neuer giuen the watchword vntill that present time. For before the city was oppressed by tyranny, the Consuls commanded the men of warre. After that *Chæreas* had receiued the word, he gaue it to his souldiers, who subscribed to the Senats authority: of these there were about foure companies, which preferred the lawfull gouernment before a tyranny, who also retired themselues to their chieftaines. As for their parts, the people returned to their seuerall houses, full of ioy, hope and courage, for that they had regained the gouernment of the state, which belonged vnto them, and not to any particular gouernour. In a word, *Chæreas* was their only hope: He foreseeing that there would some mischiefe follow, if *Caius* wife & daugh-
ter should remaine aliue; and that if all his friends and family should not be vtterly extinguished, L
all those who shold be spared, would serue to no other end, but to the ruine of the cómon-weale and the lawes: and on the other side, desiring to see a finall end of that which he had begun, and to satisfie that hatred he had conceiued against *Caius*, he sent *Iulius Lupus* one of the captains of the guard, to kil both his wife & daughter, which he did. And the cause why he gaue this charge chiefly to *Lupus*, was, for that *Lupus* was *Clements* kinsman, who was a confederate in the execu-
tion of *Caius*; to the end that partaking after this manner the death of the tyrant, hee might be knowne to haue dealt as forwardly for the common-weale, as if from the beginning he had bin a counseller and agent in the conspiracy. Notwithstanding, there were some of his companions of that opinion, that it should be but cruelty to deale with a woman in that sort, for that *Caius* had offended thorow the corruption of his owne nature, and not by the counsell of his wife; and M
that all those euils which he committed in the common-weale, by desolating the flower therof was his owne offence, not hers.

Chæreas requireth a watch-word at the Consuls hands.

Chæreas sendeth Iulius Lupus to kill Caius wife & daughter.

Thre were others that accused her to be the cause of all that which *Caius* had committed, alledging that she had giuen him an amorous drink, by which he was tied & entangled in such sort vnto her, and so led and transported by her loue, that she gouerned all that which concerned the estate of Rome, and the world subiect to Rome; but her defenders preuailed nothing. For finally it was resolued, that she should lose her life.

To

A To finish this tragedy, *Lupus* was dispatcht, who lost no time in the accomplishment of their intent who had sent him, for feare he had to be blamed, and accounted but coldly affectionate towards the good of the common-weale. As soon as therfore he came into the palace, he found *Cæsonia*, *Caius* widow, lying fast by the body of her slaughtered husband, destitute of all that which the law gratifieth those that are dead with, altogether bloody & greatly afflicted, hauing her daughter fast couched by her. Being in this estate, she was heard to vtter no other words, but that she blamed *Caius*, for that he had not giuen credit to that counsell which she had giuen him so often: which words of hers, were by certaine of them interpreted two waies. For some of them thought that she meant, that she had counselled her husband to giue ouer his cruelty, and murthers which he exercised against his citizens; and that in his gouernment he shold vse a tem-
B pered measure with vertue, for feare least his subiects misliking of his manners, should seeke his destruction. Others took it as if she had encouraged *Caius* to set vpon the cõspirators & kill them, without any delay; yea, before they had committed any offence, and by that means prouide for his security. They therefore said, that *Cæsonia* blamed *Caius* for that hee had behaued himselfe too carelesly, in that wherein she had counselled him. Such were the words *Cæsonia* spake, and such was the exposition, as diuers men interpreted the same.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

Cæsonia accuseth Caius for that he would not giue credit to her counsels.

She seeing *Lupus* comming, shewed him *Caius* body, and besought him with teares and complaints to come no neerer. But perceiuing that he cõtinued in his resolution, & made no account of her words, but did that for which he came; after that she knew the cause of his arriuall, she offred her naked throat vnto him, with a great courage, vsing such supplications as they ordinarily
C do who despair of their liues. For she willed him to defer no longer, to finish that tragedy which his companions had begun, & died in this sort courageously by the hand of *Lupus*: and after her was her daughter slain, which was very yong. This did *Lupus* certifie *Chæreas* of with all expedition. This was *Caius* end, after he had liued foure years, wanting foure months. Before such time as he obtained the Empire, he was an intemperate & wicked man, and addicted to his pleasure, a fauourer of tale-bearers, exceeding fearefull, and for that cause, when he got the vpper hand of any man, he was ready to kill him. He esteemed this the only fruit of his power, when he abused the same against innocents; and gathered or heaped vp great spoiles and booties by wicked and vniust murthers, rapines and oppressions; lifting himselfe aboue all humane authority, and af-
D fecting to be esteemed as a God, suffering himselfe to be transported by the peoples praises. Furthermore, all that which the law condemned and punished, as a thing most detestable, that made he vse of to punish vertue with. He neuer remembred any friendship that had beene done him, how great soeuer it either was or had bin, at such time as he was in his choler, and was apt to inflict punishments in his rage on iust and vpright men. All that which was answerable to vertue, was odious in his eyes: In all things that him listed hee had so violent appetites, that it was impossible to contradict him; so that hee was not ashamed to vse the vnlawfull company of his owne sister: whereby it came to passe, that the citizens of Rome began to hate him extreamly; for that the like matter had not been seene nor heard of: of a long time men could not beleeue the same, yet notwithstanding they sufficiently expressed the hatred they bare against the fact he had committed. It cannot be said of him, that he builded any work beseeming his royall magni-
E ficence worthy the mentioning, or profitable either to the present or future world, except some ports that he made neer to Rhegium and Sicilia, for harbour of such ships as came & went into Egypt for corne, which doubtlesse is a goodly and mighty work, and very profitable for such as trauell by sea. True it is that it was not brought to perfection, but only halfe finished, because the workmen trauelled leasurely. But the chiefe cause thereof was, that he spent his study in vnprofitable matters, and loued rather to consume his substance to feed his owne priuate lusts wherin he tooke great delight, then to erect and build any goodly or famous worke, which might haue redounded to the profit of the common-weale. Otherwise he was a man well spoken, and very expert in the Greek & vulgar Roman tongues, apprehending presently that which others said: and although they had spent long time in discouering their mindes; yet answered he them vpon
F the instant, and in affaires of consequence hee had such a mouing perswasion and power, as no man could exceed him; both in regard of his quick spirit & easie apprehension, as of the exercise and paine he had takea. For being *Tiberius* brothers sonne, whose successour also hee was, hee was enforced to be studious, seeing that *Tiberius*, who was of the same years, was in like manner excellently learned. *Caius* therfore inforced himselfe to imitate the Emperor *Tiberius* whose neere kinsman he was, and surpassed all those that were in Rome at that time; yet notwithstanding all these great aduantages, which his good instruction had bred in him, could not hinder the

Caius a wicked man.

Caius giuen ouer to lust.

Caius builded a hauen.

Caius an excellent Orator.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativity, 43.

the misfortune that befel him, by the abuse of his authority. So rare a thing it is to see them, who G
haue liberty to do what they list without punishment, to gouerne themselues with modesty. In
the beginning he took delight in the friendship of very honest men, to get credit & reputation,
thinking to outstrip the most excellent: but after he was giuen ouer to licentiousnes, the affecti-
on that he bare them was changed, and in steed thereof he grew in hatred of them from day to
day: whereby they were inforced to conspire against him, and seeke his ruine.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

Now, as I haue heretofore declared, *Claudius* vnderstanding of that which had befallen *Caius*
his Nephew, and seeing all his house wholly troubled, for this occasion was in such distrust, that
he knew not what to do to saue himselfe: but went and hid himselfe in a certain corner, where he
was surprised, hauing no other cause to apprehend his danger, except his nobility. For during the
time that he liued a priuate man, hee behaued himselfe modestly, kindly, and fauourably vnto all H
men, being well seen in the Sciences, and principally in the Greeke tongue, shunning as much as
in him lay all tumult & train that might breed trouble. When as therfore the people at that time
were wholly amazed at the trouble, and the palace was replenished with souldier-like fury and
feare, & nothing raigned more in generall then confusion & disorder; the souldiers of the guard,
who were the most experienced & hardy amongst the men of warre, consulted amongst them-
selues what course they were to take. Neither were they much discontented with *Caius* death,
in that they supposed that vpon iust occasion, he was done to death: for which cause they rather
bethought themselues on that which concerned their estates, and how they might assure them-
selues in those dangers, seeing the Germans were wholly bent against those, who had slaughterd
Caius; rather incited thereunto of their owne cruell natures, then of any good affection they had I
towards the welfare of the common-weale. All which things troubled *Claudius*, and put him in
feare of his life, the rather for that hee saw *Asprenas* head, and the rest of the nobility that were
massacred, carried about to be seen: for this cause he kept himselfe in a certain place, which was
only accessible by certaine steps or staires, and hid himselfe therein, because it was obscure. In
that place one of the souldiers of the palace, called *Gratus*, being vnable to discerne who he was
in regard of the obscurity of the place, and supposing him to be some one that desired to be con-
cealed, he drew neere vnto him, to the intent he might the better know him: And when as *Clau-
dius* besought him that he would depart and leaue him, he passed the more onwards, and laying
hold of him and drawing him into the light, knew him, crying out to those that followed him:
This is *Germanicus*, let vs take hold of him, and create him Emperour. *Claudius* perceiuing that he K
was ready to be attached, & fearing least they should put him to death in the like maner as they
had done *Caius*, besought them that they would pardon him, protesting vnto them his innocen-
cie, and how he had in no sort been either accessary or agent in that which had bin done. Wher-
upon *Gratus* beginning to smile, took him by the hand, saying, that he had no cause in that sort
to suspect his life: For (said he) it behoueth thee to pull vp thy spirits, and to bethink thee how
to gouerne an Empire, of which the gods (who haue the care of the whole world) haue despoi-
led *Caius*, to reward thy vertue with. Arise therefore and take possession of the throne of thine
ancestors. This said, he lifted him on his shoulders, for that *Claudius* could not walk on foot tho-
row the feare and ioy that he had conceiued of that which had been told him.

Vpon these speeches diuers of the souldiers of the guard assembled about *Gratus*: and perceiu- L
ing that it was *Claudius*, whom they supposed to be dragged to his death, they had compassion
of him as on an innocent, for that they knew him to be a man of milde nature, who all the time
of his life intermedled with nothing, and who in like sort had been often in great danger during
Caius life. There were others of them that said, that the iudgement of his matter pertained to the
Consuls: whereupon, although a great number of souldiers flocked about him, and the simple
people that were vnarmed, fled from them; yet could not *Claudius* goe onward in his way; so
weake and feeble felt he himselfe in his whole body. It fortuned likewise, that they who caried
his litter, perceiuing his flight, fled away for feare, and left him; so little hope had they that their
Master should escape with his life, whom they saw to be thus drawn by the soldiers. Now when
Gratus & his associats were arriued in the court of the palace, which (as it is reported) is the place M
which was first of all inhabited in Rome, they began to thinke vpon that which was to be done:
thither also there flocked a great number of other soldiers vnto them, who tooke pleasure to be-
hold *Claudius*, enforcing themselues to place him in the imperiall dignity, in regard of that good
affection which they bare to *Germanicus* his brother, whose memory was much honored among
all those, who had at any time conuersed with him. Moreouer, they ripped vp how many auariti-
ous acts the Senate had cõmitted, & how great errors the chiefest Senators had defaulted in, be-

Claudius against his will drawen vnto the Empire.

The cause that induced the army to make Claudius Emperor.

fore

A fore the publike gouernement was changed. Moreouer, they conſidered vpon the danger and difficulty of their actions then in hand, for that the gouernment being adminiſtred by one only man, would be dangerous for them if he ſhould obtaine the ſame by any other meanes; whereas if *Claudius* ſhould enioy the ſame by their permiſſion and good will, he would haue them in remembrance who had fauoured him, and would recompence them according to their merits. This was the effect of their diſcourſe, which they held among themſelues, or when they met with one another. Finally, all of them at length concluded vpon this aduice, and enuironed *Claudius*, and lifting him vp vpon their ſhoulders, they carried him into the army, to the intent that no man might hinder them to finiſh that which they intended. There fell a debate alſo betwixt the Senators and citizens: For the Senat deſirous to recouer their former dignity, and enforcing themB ſelues to auoid the ſeruitude that had befallen them by the out-rage of tyrants, intended the maintenance of their offered good fortune. Contrariwiſe, the people enuied them that dignity. And knowing that their Emperors ſhould be as it were certaine bridles, to reſtraine the auarice of the Senate, and the refuge of the people, they were very glad to ſee that *Claudius* was aduanced: making their account that if he were created Emperour, they ſhould auoid a ciuill warre, like vnto that which hapned in *Pompeius* time.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Chriſts birth, 43.

Claudius cattried on mens ſhoulders into the army.

Difference betwixt the citizens and Senators.

The Senat knowing that *Claudius* was carried into the army by the ſoldiers, choſe out ſome of their order, and now ſent them as meſſengers in their behalfe, to ſignifie vnto him that he ought to vſe no violence in obtaining the Empire, but rather to remit the charge of the common-weal to the Senat. That he both was and ſhould be one of the Senators, and haue the conduct of the C common-weale, and diſpoſe it according to law, perſwading him to call vnto his remembrance thoſe grieuous miſchiefes, which the former tyrants had wrought in the common-weale, and what dangers he himſelfe had alſo ſuffered with them, during the raigne of *Caius* their late Emperor. That it ſhould ill become him, who had deteſted the fury of others tyranny at ſuch time as they vſed outrages, now willingly to be drawne to oppoſe himſelfe againſt his country. That if he would obey them, and continue to expreſſe the vertue and conſtancy of his life, which in times paſt he led with commendation, he ſhould obtain thoſe honors which free Citizens could affoord him; and in ſuffering himſelfe to be gouerned by lawes, to the end he might haue part in the commandement, and to be commanded in his turne, he ſhould obtaine the praiſe of vertue. D That if he ſhould not be diſſwaded by the ſlaughter of *Caius*, which was freſh in memory, for their own parts they would hinder his proceedings as much as in them lay. They alſo alledged, that they were furniſhed with men of war, with ſtore of armor, and a great number of domeſticall ſeruants, all which they would imploy againſt him: But ouer and aboue theſe things, they had farre greater helps, namely their hope, and good fortune, and the gods, who are wont to fight for thoſe who maintaine vertue and goodnes. They ſolemnly proteſted alſo for their own parts, that they were of that mind, that there was nothing more honeſt & iuſt, then to fight for their liberty and country. The Embaſſadors that brought this meſſage, were *Veranius* and *Broccus*, who both of them were Tribunes of the people. They proſtrating themſelues on their knees before him, humbly beſought him that he would not draw the common-weale into ciuill warre. And ſeeing that *Claudius* was incloſed with a great company of men of warre, in reſpect of whom the E Conſuls were of no force, they beſought him that it would pleaſe him to demand the gouernment at the Senates hands, and receiue it from them if he were reſolued to be Emperor; for that it would be an act more holy, and coupled with iuſtice & good hap, if he ſhould obtain the ſame with their good will, and not in deſpight of thoſe, who would vouchſafe it him willingly.

The Senate perſwade Claudius to reſigne the dignity offered him.

CHAP. III.

The ſedition that aroſe between the Senate and the people.

ALthough *Claudius* knew with what preſumption the Senat had ſent this Embaſſage, yet did he modeſtly entertaine the ſame for the preſent. But ſuppoſing that it ſtood very F little with his ſecurity to commit himſelfe to their truſt, and being encouraged by the exhortation of the ſouldiers, who promiſed him their vtmoſt endeuour, and by the incitation of king *Agrippa*, he determin'd in no ſort to let the ſoueraignty eſcape out of his hands, in that it was ſo willingly & freely beſtowed on him when he thought leaſt on it. After that *Agrippa* had performed al thoſe duties vnto *Caius* which were requiſit for ſuch a one as had bin by him aduanced to honor, & hauing taken his bodie & laid it in a litter, he brought him out before the ſouldiers of his guard, and certified them that *Caius* was yet aliue, and for that he found himſelfe

Claudius denieth to giue ouer the dignity that was offered him. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4. al. 3.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativity, 43.

selfe sick of those wounds which he had receiued, he sent to seek for Physitions. But afterward, G vnderstanding that *Claudius* was taken by the men of war, he thrust so much that he got himselfe passage, and came vnto him, whom he found altogether dismaid, & ready to surrender all things into the Senats hands, and incouraged him and incited him to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire which the men of war had offered him. Which done, he departed, and was suddenly sent for by the Senate, whither he resorted altogether perfumed with odors, as if at that time he were returned from some banquet, and had known nothing of that which had hapned: He therfore asked the Senators what was become of *Claudius*, who certified him of the truth; & besides that required him to giue them his opinion and counsell as touching the present affaires: his answere was, that he was ready to aduenture his life in the behalfe of the Senate; yet by the way he told them that they ought to haue an especiall regard of the common-weale, rather then all the H pleasure they could pretend; and that they who would be Lords of an Empire, had need of armes & men to maintaine themselues, least being weake and vnfurnished, they should be deceiued in their expectations. The Senat replied that they had great store of furniture, and that they would contribute money; that they had good store of men of war, to whom they would annex their slaues and giue them liberty. But *Agrippa* replied, would God, graue fathers, that you were able to performe the matters you intend; yet will I not feare to discouer that vnto you, which concerneth you neerely. You know well that the army which is with *Claudius*, consisteth of such men, who haue beene long time trained vp in feates of armes; and that those that are to fight on your side, are but men gathered together, and such as you couple them with are the very scum of your slaues, who are both intractable and vntrained. Wee shall therefore enter fight against I expert souldiers, and commit our fortunes to such men as scarcely knowe how to draw their swords: I rather think it meet that we send vnto *Claudius* such men, as may perswade him to giue ouer the Empire. And to performe this message, behold my selfe in a readinesse to be commanded by you.

Claudius confirmed in his resolutions by Agrippa.

Agrippa telleth the Senat his opinion.

To this effect spake *Agrippa*; And hereunto the Senators accorded, and sent him to *Claudius*, appointing him certaine others to accompany him. As soone as he came to *Claudius*, he secretly discouered vnto him in what perplexity the Senate was, & gaue him instructions to answer and demeane himselfe like an Emperor, and to shew his dignity & power. Whereupon *Claudius* gaue the Embassadors this answer; That he wondred not that the Senat were so vnwilling to be commanded by a soueraigne, in regard of that cruelty which the forepassed Emperorus had vsed to K their destruction. But for the present, they should taste of his mercy, and feel his moderate rule: and they should liue vnder the gouernment of such a one, who although in name he had the imperiall authority; yet that in effect he would gouerne all things by their disposition. For which cause he wished them in no sort to distrust him, whom as they themselues could witnes, they haue seen and known to haue dealt vertuously & iustly in many affaires, although the state of times had been farre different. Those that were sent from the Senate hearing these words, returned backe againe. But *Claudius* instantly assembled his men of warre, and exacted an oath of fidelity from them, bestowing on euery one of them who were of his guard in way of largesse, fiue thousand drachmes, amounting to some 25. pound a man of our sterling money. Hee presented their cap- I. taines also with presents answerable to their qualities, promising to performe no lesse bounty to all the rest of the men of war, in what place soeuer they were. Hereupon the Consuls assembled the Senate in the temple of *Iupiter* the victorious, before day, and some of them hid themselues through the feare they had of that which should be spoken: othersome departed out of the city, and resorted to their country farmes, foreseeing with themselues the issue of all these things: and perceiuing that their hope of liberty was lost, they thought it far better for them to be exempt from danger, and to passe their life in repose, though it were with subiection, then to be altogether vncertaine of their security & safety, by maintaining the dignity of the Senators: yet about some hundreth of them drew them selues together and no more. Now whilest they were consulting vpon that which they were to do, they suddenly heard a shout of souldiers that were assembled round about them, requiring the Senate to chuse them an Emperor, and not to suffer their state to be lost through a multitude of gouernours: and to this effect spake they, lest the gouernment should be giuen to diuers and not to one. This course of theirs gaue little content to the Senators, both in regard of the losse of that liberty which they expected, as thorow the good liking they had of *Claudius*; notwithstanding there were some that pretended some hope to be aduanced both in respect of the nobility of their race, as in regard of their alliance that they had by marriage with the *Cæsars*. For *Marcus Minucianus* a man of himselfe of noble descent, and who had

Agrippa with some others is sent to Claudius.

Claudius answere to the Embassadors.

The souldiers oathes taken.

The souldiers require a Monarch at the Senats hands.

A had married *Iulia Caius* ſiſter, ſtood vp to demaund the ſoueraigne gouernment: but the Conſuls reſtrained him, alledging excuſe vpon excuſe. Another *Minutianus* alſo one of *Caius* tutors withdrewe *Valerius Aſiaticus* from thinking on thoſe things: and there had hapned as great a ſlaughter as had euer beene heard of, had any of theſe had the liberty to deſire the Empire, or oppoſe themſelues againſt *Claudius*. For amongſt other, the fencers, who were of no ſmall number, they of the watch, and the ſailers ioyned themſelues together with the men of warre. They therefore that pretended to demand the Empire, gaue ouer their ſuites, partly in the cities behalfe, partly for their owne priuate ſecuritie ſake.

The yeare of the world, 4605. after Chriſts birth 43.

Some affect the Empire.

About the day ſpring *Chæreas* and his companions went forth to debate the matter with the ſoldiers: but they ſeeing by the beckoning with their hands they would draw them to ſilence,
B and were vpon the inſtant to fall into diſcourſe, made a great noyſe to cut them off from proceeding any further, for that all of them were earneſtly affected to haue an Emperour & Soueraign Lord, and required with all expedition that they might haue one proclaimed and knowne. At that time the Senate were ſo diſtracted, both for the maner how they ſhold command, as for the meanes they ought to vſe to cauſe them ſelues to be obeied, conſidering the ſouldiers ſet light by them; and thoſe that were confederates in the death of *Caius* ſuffered not the Senate to obey the ſouldiers. At length *Chæreas* being vnable to conceale his paſſion wherwith he was ſurpriſed, & hearing that they asked for a monarch, promiſed that he wold giue them one, if they wold bring him a token from *Eutychus*, who was the wagoner to the greene band, whom *Caius* had loued extreamly, in ſomuch as he imployed his ſouldiers in ſeruile labours, as to build him ſtables for his
C horſes, & reproched them with diuers like matters, telling them that he wold bring them *Claudius* head, ſhewing them that it was a matter ill beſeeming them, if after a mad man they ſhould cõmend the Empire to a foole. Yet none of theſe words could diuert them from their purpoſe: but all of them drew their ſwords, & with diſplaied enſignes marched towards *Claudius* to vnite themſelues with thoſe, who had already bound themſelues by an oath to ſerue him faithfully. So that the Senate was abãdoned, & deſtitute of al defence, ſo as ther was no difference betwixt priuate men & Conſuls. All of them were aſtoniſhed & confuſed, not knowing what to do, becauſe they had thus prouoked *Claudius* diſpleaſure againſt them. And now fell they to reuiling one ano
D ther, in teſtimonie of the repentance they conceiued for theſe their proceedings. Wherupon *Sabinus* one of thoſe who had murthered *Caius*, aroſe & proteſted that he would ſooner cut his own throat, then conſent to the eſtabliſhment of *Claudius*, or behold with his eies the miſery & thraldome of his country: he likewiſe encouraged *Chæreas*, telling him that he had deſerued very little by cutting off *Caius*, if he thought to liue without the liberty of his country. To which he anſwered, that he made no account of his life, yet that he intended to ſound *Claudius* mind, & with this reſolution they concluded. Meane while certaine of the Senators ſought on euerie ſide to break thorow the midſt & thickeſt of the ſouldiers to go and do reuerence and homage to *Claudius*: amongſt whom was *Q. Pompeius* one of the Conſuls, whom the men of war accuſed to be one of
E the principal actors to incite the Senate to recouer their liberty, and they drew their ſwords againſt him. And if *Claudius* had not reſtrained them, they had ſurely diſpatched him: but he made him ſit downe by him, and by that meanes deliuered him from the daunger. The other Senators, who accompanied him, were not entertained thus honourably, but ſome of them were wounded euen then when they preſſed forth to ſalute *Claudius*. *Aponius* retired himſelfe ſore wounded, and the reſt were in great daunger to loſe their liues. But king *Agrippa* drawing neere vnto *Claudius*, deſired him to vſe as much lenitie as was poſſible in him towardes the Senators, for that if any miſchiefe ſhould betide them, hee ſhould haue no other perſons to commaund. To the which counſel of his, *Claudius* gaue place, and aſſembled the Senat in the Palace, cauſing himſelfe to be caried thorow the citie in the company of his ſoldiers, who marched before him, doing much miſchiefe to the common people. But amongſt thoſe that ſlewe *Caius*, *Chæreas* and *Sabinus* were come out into the ſtreets, notwithſtãding they were forbidden by *Pollio*, whõ not long before *Claudius* had made captaine of his guard. And as ſoone as *Claudius* came into the
F palace, whither he aſſembled his friends, he pronounced ſentence againſt *Chæreas*. For although his action was accounted both generous and noble, yet was hee condemned for this, becauſe he was perfidious: whereupon hee was adiudged to die, to giue example to others, to the ende that Princes and Emperours may hereafter liue in ſafetie. He was therefore led to his death with *Lupus*, and diuers other Romanes. It is ſaid of *Chæreas* that he endured this accident with a great courage, which he expreſſed not onely in that he chaunged not his countenance, but alſo by the reproches which he gaue *Lupus* who wept. For when as *Lupus* was putting off of his cloaths, and

The ſouldiers with diſplaied enſignes repair to Claudius.

Sabinus rather choſeth death then to allow of Claudius.

Q. Pompeius the Conſul with others reſort to Claudius.

Claudius is perſwaded by Agrippa to vſe the Senators more mildly.

Thoſe that murthered Caius are executed.

The yeare of the world,4005. after Christs birth 43.

complained of the cold that he felt,he taunted him thus,alluding to his name which was *Lupus*; That neuer any cold did harme to a woolfe. Furthermore,when he came to the place of execution,where a great number of people were gathered together to behould the spectacle, he asked the souldier that was appointed to behead him,if he were a cunning headsman,and whether hee had a new sword,wishing him to vse that wherewith he murthered *Caius*. His death was happy, for hee receiued but one stroke; whereas *Lupus* was faint-harted,and receiued diuers, because he stretched not out his neck freely. Some fewe daies after,at such time as the Romans solemnized their expiations, and that euery one honoured the memory of his dead friend, they gaue *Chæreas* a part of that honour, and cast his portion into the fire, saying, that was to deface and purge their ingratitude,wherof they were guiltie towards him. Thus ended *Chæreas* his life. But for *Sabinus*, although *Claudius* had not onely absolued him, but also suffered him to exercise his office, as before time he had done: yet thought he that he should do amisse & against iustice, if hee falsified his faith to his associates and confederates; for which cause hee shortned his owne daies, thrusting his sword thorow his body to the very hilts.

Sabinus killeth himselfe.

CHAP. IIII.

Claudius *confirmeth* Agrippa *in his fathers kingdome.*

Hedio & Rufsinus,chap.5. al.4.

IN continently after this,*Claudius* cashierd all those of the souldiers whom hee suspected; and published an edict, by which he confirmed the kingdome to *Agrippa*, that *Caius* had giuen him,accompanying his bounty with many praises; annexing moreouer vnto his gouernment all that which *Herod* his grandfather had possessed, to wit, Iudæa, and Samaria,which in that they were as one lawfull inheritance, appertained vnto him. He gaue him also out of his own dominions,Abela & al the countreyabout the mount Libanus, that in times past appertained to *Lysanias*. And he caused the alliance that was past betwixt them twaine to be engrauen and registred in an open place of the city of Rome. He tooke from *Antiochus* the kingdom that he had, & gaue him in exchange a portion of Cilicia & Comagena. He set *Alexander Lysimachus Alebarcha* at liberty, who had beene his olde friend,and sometimes gouernour in Arabia,and otherwhiles his mother *Antonius* steward, who had been committed prisoner thorow *Caius* displeasure, and married *Bernice Agrippas* daughter, with his sonne *Marcus*: which after the death of *Marcus*,who died before he was espoused, was afterwards maried with her father *Agrippas* allowance to *Herod* his brother, for whom *Agrippa* begd of *Claudius* the kingdome of Chalcis. At that very time the Iewes,that were in the Citie of Alexandria, mutined against the Greekes. For after *Caius* death the nation of the Iewes,which had beene oppressed during his raigne,and iniuriously dealt withall by the Alexandrines,recouered their former courage, and instantly fell to armes. For which cause *Claudius* gaue commission to the gouernor of Egypt, to pacifie and appease that vprore. He sent also his letters patents into Alexandria and Syria, at the request of the two kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, to this effect. *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus*, Father of the people, signifieth this that followeth. Vnderstanding that the Iewes inhabitants in Alexandria,and for this cause called Alexandrines,haue at all times enioyed the selfesame priuilegdes of the City,which the ancient and first Alexandrines haue had: Which fauours they haue obtained by the largess of those princes,that were our predecessors,as it hath been plainly made knowne vnto vs,as well by letters which haue been written vnto vs,as by confirmed decrees: And that since Alexandria hath beene annexed to our Empire by *Caesar Augustus*, their priuiledges haue continued in force during the seuerall successions of many of our gouernours, which rights of theirs haue neuer beene called in question, no not in that time when *Aquila* was gouernour in Alexandria: Since in like sort *Caesar Augustus* hath not letted them, but when the chiefetaine of their nation was dead, they might establish other substitutes and gouernours in his place, willing that all of them should yeelde him obedience in obseruation of their lawes and customes, without constraint or impulsion to doe any thing contrarie to their religion: yet notwithstanding the Alexandrines haue mutined against the Iewes,beeing in the Citie of Alexandria in the time of the Emperour *Caius*,by reason of the folly and frenzie of *Caius*,who disgraced & oppressed the nation of the Iewes, because they would not violate their religion, nor acknowledge the said *Caius* for a god. Our will & pleasure is,that no one of the priuiledges of the nation of the Iewes be abolished,by reason of *Caius* frenzie; but my minde is to maintaine those which heretofore haue beene giuen them, to the ende they may continue and liue according to their auncient lawes and customes: Commanding you and euerie one of you very

Claudius giueth Agrippa Iudæa,Samaria,and Lysanias countrey.

Antiochus king of Comagena. Alexander Lysimachus, Alabarcha.

Herod Agrippas brother created king of Chalcis.

Sedition in Alexandria betwixt the Greekes and Iewes.

Claudius edict in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

A very carefully to prouide, that after the publication of this our ordinance, they bee in no sorte troubled. This was the tenour of that ordinance which was made in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativitie, 43.

But that which was generally made in fauour of those, who were dispersed thorow the whole world, was to this effect: *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, High priest, Father of the people, elected Consul the second time, signifieth that which ensueth.* Our well beloued friends, the kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, haue required vs that we will permit all those Iewes, that liue vnder the Roman Empire, to vse the same lawes and priuiledges which they haue vsed heretofore, as we haue granted to the Iewes, that dwell in Alexandria. Which suite of theirs wee haue willingle granted, not onely in fauour of those that require the same, but also for that I thinke them B worthy such a grace: for whome I haue bin intreated in regard of the fidelitie & friendship they haue alwaies expressed towards the Romans. My pleasure therfore is, that no Citie either Grecian or otherwise, shal deny any priuiledge, from whence they shal be excluded, for that since the Emperour *Augustus* time they haue neuer beene exempted from them. It standeth with reason therefore, that henceforth the Iewes, who liue vnder our Empire of what place soeuer they bee, may obserue their auncient customes, without any contradiction: Giuing them to vnderstand, that hereafter they vse our clemencie so much the more moderatly, without neglecting the religion of other nations, in retaining their owne. And our will is, that this present ordinance bee published by the magistrates of Cities, Colonies and countries of Italy, and bee sent vnto kings and forraine princes, by fit embassadours, within thirtie daees at the least, to the ende that they C should be in such sort set vp, that they may be seene and read by all those that passe by.

Claudius edict in the behalfe of the Iewes scattered thorow the whole empire.

CHAP. V.

Aggrippas *returne into Iudaa.*

BY these edicts of *Claudius Cæsar*, which he sent both to Alexandria and other parts of the world, it plainely appeareth how well affected he was towards the nation of the Iewes. And presently after this, after he had dignified *Agrippa* with all kinds of honour, he sent him backe into his kingdome to gouerne the same, commaunding all his presidents and lieutenants in his prouinces, thorow which hee was to passe, to giue him a friendly & honorable conuoy. But he hauing wisely and happily dispatched his affaires, returned in all haste. As soone as D he came to Ierusalem, he offered his sacrifices of thankesgiuing which he had vowed, without omitting any thing that was cõmanded by the law. He caused also diuers Nazarites to be pould, and offered in gift that chaine of gold that *Caius* had giuen him: which was of the same waight the yron chaine was of wherewith his royall hands were manacled, in memorie of the aduersity he had past, and the testimony of the exchange thereof into better fortune: commaunding that it should be hanged vp in the temple, and ouer the chamber of the treasurie, to testifie vnto those that should behould the same, that the highest estates are subiect to alterations, and that God can raise men again from obscuritie to happie fortune. For this chain that hanged in the temple, being consecrated to God, manifestly expressed vnto all men, that king *Aggrippa* was vpon a verie E small occasion despoiled of his former dignitie, and made prisoner: and then a little while after, that he, being deliuered from his bonds, was raised and exalted to a famous kingdom; to signifie thereby, that humaine affaires are of that nature, that that which is the greatest may be easily ouerthrowne, and that which is declining may recouer againe his auncient honour and dignity. When as therfore *Agrippa* had duely and deuoutly acknowledged Gods mercies, he deposed the hie priest *Theophilus* the son of *Ananus*, and bestowed that honour on *Simon* surnamed *Cantharа* the son of *Boethus*. This *Simon* had two brothers, & *Boethus* was their father, whose daughter had bin married to king *Herod*, as heretofore it hath bin spoken. *Simon* held the priesthood with his brethren and his father, in such sort, as before time the three sons of *Simon* hie priest, son of *Onias* had done, during the Empire of the Macedonians, as wee haue declared in our former bookes. F After the king had giuen order for the priesthod, he thought good to recompence the good affection that they of Ierusalem had borne vnto him: for which cause he acquited them of those tributes that euerie family paid, knowing well that it became him to shew kindnesse vnto them, who had been faithfull and well affected towards him. He created *Silas*, who had been his companion in many dangers, generall of all his army. Not long after, certaine young men that were Dorites vnder the colour of constancie in case of religion, who also had dayly expressed in their actions an vnbridled rashnesse, brought the image of *Cæsar* into the temple of the Iewes, and erected

Claudius sendeth Agrippa into his kingdome.

Agrippa hangeth vp his goulden chain ouer the treasury chamber in the temple.

Simon the son of Boethus placed in Theophilus room. Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 6.

Agrippa releaseth the tributes to those of Ierusalem.

Silas.

The Dorites place Cæsars statue in the synagogue of the Iewes, and thereby vehemently offend both Agrippa & Petronius.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

erected it in that place; which insolence of theirs highly offended *Agrippa*, who construed it as G
an act that tended to the abolition of the religion of their countrey: for which cause, with al expedition he repaired to *Petronius*, who was gouernour of Syria, & complained against these Dorites, who was no lesse displeased with the action then hee himselfe. For he supposed that such breach of religion was the meanes to further impietie, and for that cause hee wrote to those which had attempted this innouation somewhat sharply, to this effect following.

CHAP. VI.

Petronius *letters vvritten to the Dorites, in the behalfe of the Iewes.*

Alias, cap. 5. P. Petronius writeth to the Dorites to send them vnto him who haue broke Cæsars edict.

Pvblius Petronius, lieutenant to *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus*, to the Ma- H
gistrates of the countrey of Doria, health: Whereas *Cæsar* hath published an edict, by which he permitteth the Iewes to liue according to their lawes and customes, some one amongst you haue been so presumptuous to contradict the same in effect (although in wordes you protest that you obey him) and doe all that which you can to hinder the Iewes from enioying their Synagogue, in so much as in the same you haue planted *Cæsars* image, not onely thereby opposing your selues against the Iewes, but also against the Emperour himselfe, whose image might haue beene better placed in his owne temple, then in a forraine temple: and you haue placed it in their Synagogue; whereas by right euery one ought to bee master of his place, according to *Cæsars* iudgement: For it should be verie ridiculous in me to alleadge mine owne iudgement after that of *Cæsars*, who hath granted the Iewes the libertie to liue according to their I
lawes and customes, and hath commanded that they should conuerse in equall freedome among the Greekes. For these causes I commaund you, that they, who haue bin so bold as to contemne *Augustus* decree (against whome their owne magistrates haue beene displeased, excusing themselues that this accident hapned not by their motion, but by the furie of the commonpeople) be brought before me by the captaine *Proculus Vitellius*, to yeeld a reason of that which they haue done; exhorting the magistrates that if they wil not be accounted parties in this contempt, they labour to discouer those that are guiltie, vnto *Proculus*, & giue order that no sedition or violence be offered thereupon. Which notwithstanding it seemeth that they affect, although we and the most honoured king *Agrippa*, whom I take for my good and special friend, labour nothing more K
then that the nation of the Iewes should not assemble and take armes vnder colour of their defence. And to the end that whatsoeuer *Augustus* hath ordained as touching this matter, may bee the better knowne vnto all men, I haue annexed his edict which he published in Alexandria: and although they are sufficiently knowne vnto all men, yet hath the most honoured king *Agrippa* read them vnto me at such time, as I sate in my tribunall seat; concluding according to right, that the Iewes ought not to be excluded nor hindred from enioying those benefits, which are granted vnto them by *Cæsar*: I therefore charge all men, that hence forward they take heed least they seeke any occasion of mutinie or sedition, and that euerie one liue according to his religion. See here how *Petronius* proceeded in this matter, both to amend that which was past, as also to pre- L
uent that which was to come, that none should be so bold to attempt the like. After this, *Agrippa* tooke the priesthood from *Simon Canthara*, and gaue it againe to *Ionathan* the sonne of *Anani*, whom he esteemed to bee more worthy then the other. But *Ionathan* declared that hee was not desirous of this dignitie, for in effect hee refused it, saying: O king, I most willingly acknowledge the honour which it pleaseth you to bestowe vpon me, and know wel that it is a dignitie which of your owne freewill you bestow vpon me; notwithstanding that God iudgeth me vnworthy. It sufficeth me that I haue once beene inuested with the sacred habite: for at that time I wore it with more holinesse, then I can now receiue it at this present; yet notwithstanding if it please you to know one that is more worthie of this honour then my selfe, I will informe you of one. M
My liege, I haue a brother, who towards God and you is pure and innocent, whom I dare commend vnto you for a most fit man for that dignitie. The king tooke great pleasure in these his words, & leauing *Ionathan* he bestowed the priesthod on *Matthias* his brother, according as *Ionathan* aduised him: and not long after this, *Marsus* succeeded in *Petronius* roome, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of Syria.

Ionathan the sonne of Ananus is restored to the priesthood & refuseth it, and prayeth that his brother Matthias may minister therin

Marsus prefect of Syria.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. VII.

Agrippas *acts vntill the time of his death.*

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativitie, 43.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Silas was made generall ouer the kings army: and for that he had alwaies been faithful vnto him, and had neuer forsaken him in any daunger that was offered, without partaking the vtmost extremitie, but had alwaies aduentured on the greatest perils in respect of his intire & constant resolution; he made his account, that being so firme a friend to the king, he should also be partaker and companion with him in the honour. For which cause in all things whatsoeuer, he submitted not himselfe to the king, but chalenged to himselfe a liberty to speake
B what him listed. For this cause hee grew hatefull in the kings sight, for that in particular he boasted of himselfe beyond measure, and oftentimes refreshed the memorie of those aduersities the king had past, the rather to expresse how affectionate he had been toward him, and his continuall talke was nothing else but of those trauailes he had endured. Now for that hee obserued no measure in this his discourse, the king took it as an iniury intended to his honour, & was offended with the vnbridled licence of the mans prattle. For nothing soundeth more harsh in a mans eare, then the memorie of his forepassed miserie, & it is but the fault of a foole to rip vp the courtesies he hath emploied on another man. Finally, *Silas* grieuously prouoked the kings displeasure against himself, that rather subscribing to his wrath then his wit, he not onely dispossessed *Silas* of his generals roome, but also sent him bound into his countrey in that place to be held prisoner.
C This notwithstanding, time asswaged his displeasure, & the king drawing himself into better cõsideration, and remembring himselfe how many trauels *Silas* had endured in his behalf, he reuoked the sentence that he had pronounced. At such time therfore as he was ready to celebrate the festiuall day of his birth, and all his subiects were addressed to take their pleasure, hee speedily sent for *Silas*, to the end he might be partaker therof, and banquet with them. But *Silas*, who was of a free nature, supposing that he had iust cause to bee displeased, concealed it not from those who were sent vnto him, but spake vnto them after this manner. To what honour doth the king inuite me at this present, to the intent incontinently to depriue me thereof? for he hath not onely depriued me of those honours which he bestowed vpon me, in acknowledgement of the good affection I haue alwaies shewed vnto him; but he hath altogether spoyled me, and contumeliously intreated me: but if he thinke that he can restraine me from speaking freely, hee deceiueth
D himselfe. For my conscience knoweth how many hazards I haue deliuered him from; and as long as I breath, I will ring it in all mens eares, how many trauels I haue endured for his conseruation and honour, in recompence wherof I am at this day in bonds, and shut vp in an obscure prison, which I will neuer forget. Yea and when my soule shall depart out of this body, she shall beare with her the remembrance of those benefits I haue imployed on him. These words spake he with a loud voice; willing them to relate the same vnto king *Agrippa*; who seeing that hee was grounded in an incurable folly, left him in prison.

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Silas by too much reuiuing the kings miseries, and misfortunes, and ripping vp his owne deserts groweth into the kings hatred, & is sent prisoner into his countrey.

Agrippa sendeth for Silas out of prison, who dissembling not his displeasure is left still in prison.

After this the king began to fortifie the walles of Ierusalem, on the side of the new towne, vpon the common charge; increasing them both in length and bredth: & might he haue thorowly finished them, it had been a fortresse inuincible, by all humane force. But *Marsus* the gouernour of Syria certified *Cæsar* what the worke was; and *Claudius* suspecting some commotion, wrote expresly to *Agrippa*, commaunding him thence forward to desist from further building of the walles, according to that forme wherin he beganne: whereunto he would not disobey. This king *Agrippa* was of a nature so ready to exercise liberalitie, and tooke so great pleasure to vse his magnificence towards all sorts of nations, that the great expences he was at, obtained him great reputation. So that his whole pleasure and delight was, to shew courtesie vnto all men, & to purchase good esteem, being euery way different in nature & disposition from king *Herod* his predecessor. For *Herod* was naturally malicious, extream in punishing men, & irreconciliable to those with whom he was displeased, manifestly expressing that hee loued the Grecians better then the
F Iewes. For he beautified those cities that belonged to strangers, and gaue them money, and erected them bathes, and sumptuous Theaters, and Temples, and in some of them galleries: but as touching the cities of the Iewes, he bestowed not this bountie on any of them, no not the least reparation or gift that was worthy the speaking of. Contrariwise, king *Agrippa* was verie courteous and lowly, & equally imparted his bountie vnto all men. He was courteous vnto strangers, and testified no lesse by the bountie he bestowed on them. To his countrimen he behaued himselfe affably, and in especiall hee was mercifull to all those that were in miserie. For which cause

Agrippa fortifieth the wals of Ierusalem. Claudius commandeth Agrippa to desist from building the wals.

Agrippa fauored the Iewes more then Herode.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

his ordinary court & the place he tooke moſt pleaſure in, was Ieruſalem. He was a diligent obſer- G
uer of the lawes of his countrey, and liued religiouſly, & with as great piety as was poſſible: nei-
ther paſſed there one day wherin he offered not ſacrifice. It happened at one time that a certaine
cunning lawyer, who was called *Simon*, and dwelt in Ieruſalem, had aſſembled the people by rea-
ſon of the kings abſence, who for the preſent was in Cæſarea: In which aſſembly hee alleadged
many things againſt him, that he was a prophane man, and that vpon iuſt cauſe hee was for-
bidden to enter the temple, in that it was not lawfull nor decent for thoſe that were vncleane, to
enter thereinto. Theſe words of *Simons* thus wrongfully vrged againſt him, were ſignified to the
king by certaine letters ſent him, by the gouernour of the citie: when as therefore he ſate him
downe in the Theater, he commanded that verie *Simon* to ſit next him, and in peaceable & kinde
manner he ſpake thus vnto him. Tell me, I pray thee, what thing thou ſeeſt fault worthy, or done
contrarie to the law, in that which is done heere? *Simon* hauing not any thing to reply, beſought H
him to pardon him. The king grew friends with him farre ſooner then it could be imagined, re-
ſoluing with himſelfe that mercie doth farre better become a king, then wrath; and that mode-
ration is more requiſite, then haughtie courage; ſo as after he had beſtowed certaine preſents
on *Simon*, hee dimiſſed him. Now although hee had many reparations in diuers places; yet
honoured he thoſe of Beryth aboue all the reſt, and builded them a Theater ſurpaſſing all other
in ſumptuouſnes and beautie: and beſides that, he made them a ſumptuous Amphitheater, and
baths and porches: in which hee neither ſpared coſt, neither ſcantled the beautie and greatnes
of the works in any ſort. The dedication alſo of theſe things was celebrated with great pompe
and magnificence: he alſo made great ſhewes and plaies in the Theater, in which there were all
ſorts of muſicke and recreation. He made alſo diuers turnaments in the Amphitheater, expreſſing I
in all things the greatnes of his magnificence; and being deſirous to delight the people with a
combate, he gathered all the malefactors that he might get, and made two ſeuerall companies of
ſeuen hundreth a peece, & brought them together to fight, to the ende that in skirmiſhing they
might receiue their puniſhment; and beſides, that by this warlike exerciſe he might preſent the
people with a paſtime concluded with the puniſhment of wicked men: for each of theſe com-
batants ſlue one another.

Alias cap. 6. Agrippa honoreth Beryth with good ornaments.

Medio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

After that he had finiſhed theſe aboue named buildings in Beryth, he reſorted to Tiberias a ci-
tie of Galilee, and was admired of all the other kings, ſo that *Antiochus* king of Comagena came
to viſite him: the like did *Samſigeran* king of the Emeſenians: *Cotys* king of Armenia the leſſe; and K
Polemon Lord of Pontus: and beſides all theſe, *Herod* prince of Chalcis and his brother, all
whom he receiued and entertained moſt magnificently and amiably, to ſhew his greatneſſe; to
the end that all men might perceiue, that hee was deſeruedly honoured with the preſence of
ſo many kings. And during the time that theſe princes were with him, *Marſus* the gouernour of
Syria viſited him likewiſe, whom to the end he might expreſſe the reuerence he bare to the Ro-
mans he met with, ſeuen furlongs off frō the citie. This interview of ſo many kings was the ori-
ginall of that diſcontent that grew betwixt him & *Marſus*; for whileſt he ſate in his litter, he ſent
for theſe other Kings. But *Marſus* ſuſpected this concord and ſo great amitie, ſuppoſing that this
agreement of ſo many kings would bee no waies profitable or beneficiall to the Romans. For L
which cauſe he preſently ſent vnto them, charging them with all expedition to returne each of
them into their owne countries: which ſtrict commiſſion of his *Agrippa* took in ill part, and for
this occaſion he conceiued ſcarce kindly of *Marſus*. He tooke the prieſthood from *Matthias*, and
gaue it to *Aelioneus* the ſon of *Cithæus*. After he had raigned three whole yeeres ouer Iudæa, hee
came to Cæſarea, which in times paſt was called the tower of Straton, and there made he ſports
in honour of *Cæſar*, ordaining a certaine feaſt for his conſeruation, to the celebration whereof
there were aſſembled a great number of thoſe, who vvere of eſtate & dignitie thorow the whole
countrey. On the ſecond day of this ſolemnitie, he ſhewed himſelfe being apparelled in a Robe
of ſiluer, made with admirable workmanſhip; and came in the ſame to the Theater in the mor- M
ning: Wheras the firſt reflex of the riſing of the ſun beating vpon his Robe, he ſhined after ſuch
a ſort, that all thoſe that beheld him were ſeized with reuerence and feare. Whereupon certaine
ſycophants (which did not a little diſhonour him) exclaimed one on the one ſide, the other on
the other, ſaluting him for a God, and in ſpeaking to him cried out thus: Bee mercifull vnto vs:
hitherto haue we feared thee as a man, but henceforward we will confeſſe & acknowledge thee
to be of a nature more excellent then mortall frailtie can attaine vnto. *Agrippa* reproued them
not for vſing theſe words: neither reiected he their palpable and deteſtable flattery. But not long
after, he looking vpwards, perceiued an owle ouer his head perched vpon a cord, and knewe the
ſame

Agrippa is displeaſed with Marius for ſending away the kings.

Alias, cap. 7. Aelioneus the ſonne of Cithæus made high prieſt. Agrippa is ſaluted in the Theater for a God, and ſpieth the owle which the German foretold him of, that fiue daies after he ſhould die.

A same incontinently, that he was but a message of his misfortune: wheras before time he had d e- nounced vnto him his felicitie, & conceiued thereupon a most heartie & inward griefe. And so- denly he was seized with a terrible griping in his belly, which began with very great vehemen- cie: for which cause tuming his eies towards his friends, he spake vnto them after this manner: Behould him (said he) whome you esteeme for a God, condemned to die, and destiny shall ap- parently conuince you of those flattering and false speaches, which you haue lately vsed in my behalfe. For I, who by you haue beene adored as one immortall, am vnder the hands of death. But I must willingly entertaine that which God pleaseth to send me: For I haue not liued in ob- scuritie, but in so great and wonderfull felicitie, that each one of you haue tearmed and held me happy.

The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nati- uitie, 43.

B Whileſt hee spake thus, his griefes augmented in such sort as hee was brought almost to his last: for which cause with all expedition he was conuaied into his royall palace, and the rumor was spred in euery place, that very shortly he would be dead. For which cause the people with their wiues and children put on sackcloth, according to the custome of the countrey, to the end they might sollicit Gods mercy in the kings behalfe, and all the Citie was filled with teares and lamentations. The king that lay in an vpper chamber, and looking downe into the court, sawe them lying thus on the earth, could not refraine himselfe from teares. And after hee had for the space of fiue daies without ceasing beene tormented with griping in his belly, hee gaue vp the ghost in the fiftie fourth yeere of his age, and the seuenth yeere of his raigne. For he had raigned foure yeeres vnder the Empire of *Caius Cæsar* (hauing first of all gouerned *Philips* Tetrar-

The yeare of the world, 4009. after Christs birth 47.

C chy three yeeres, to which was annexed the signiorie of *Herod* in the fourth yeere) and three yeeres vnder the Empire of *Claudius Cæsar*, during which time he gouerned ouer the aboue na- med countries: and moreouer ouer Iuda, Samaria and Cæsarea. His reuenue amounted to twelue hundreth myriades, besides which, he made many loanes. For in that he was very liberal in giuing, he spent farre more then his reuenue, and spared not any thing to shew himselfe mag- nificent. Before the people knew of his death, *Herod* his brother prince of Chalcis, and *Chelcias* the kings lieutenant and friend, agreed betweene themselues to send *Ariſto* one of their trustiest seruants to kill *Silas*, who was their enemie, as if they had beene commaunded by the king.

1200. Myria- des amount to 15 tunnes of gold. Herod the prince of Chal cis and Chel- cias kill Silas

Thus died king *Agrippa*, leauing behinde him a son called *Agrippa*, seuenteene yeers old; and three daughters, one of which that was called *Bernice*, was married to *Herod* his fathers brother, when she was sixteene yeeres old. The two other were *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*: this *Mariamme*

Hedio & Ruf- finus, chap. 9. al. cap. 8. Agrippas chil- dren aliue.

D being of the age of ten yeeres, was promised in marriage by her father, to *Iulius Archelaus Chel- cias* sonne: and *Drusilla* which was sixe yeeres olde, was promised also to *Epiphanes*, sonne to the king of Comagena.

After *Agrippas* death, they of Cæsarea & Sebaste forgot themselues of those benefits they had receiued from him, and vsed him no lesse despitefully, then as if he had been their vtter enemy. For they reprochfully abused him after his death, & reuiled him in such sort as it is vnseemelie to report the same. Furthermore, all the men of warre, who were at that time many in number, went vnto the kings lodging, and with one accord seized the statues of the kings daughters, & carried them to the brothell house; where after they had placed them, they vttered all the in-

The Cæsareās and Sebastiās reuile Agrippa being dead.

E dignites they could possibly, practicing such shamefull matters, as they may not bee expres- sed. Besides this, resting themselues in the publike places, they banquetted in the open street, wearing chaplets of flowers on their heads, & perfuming themselues with odours to sacrifice to *Charon*, drinking to one another for ioy that the king was dead. Thus expressed they their ingra- titude not onely towards their king *Agrippa*, who had bestowed so many liberalities on them; but also towards *Herod* his grandfather, who had builded their Cities, and to his extream charge erected their ports and temples. At that time *Agrippa*, the deceased *Agrippas* son was at Rome & was brought vp vnder the Emperour *Claudius*. When *Cæsar* vnderstood how those of Cæsarea & Sebaste had iniuriously dealt with *Agrippa*, he was sore displeased, & mooued with their ingrati-

Agrippa Agrippas son. Claudius inté deth to send yong Agrippa into his fa- thers king- dome, but is disswaded, and sendeth Cu- pius Fadus for president into Iudæa, and those parts.

F tude: & his purpose was, to send the younger *Agrippa* with al expedition to take possession of the kingdome of his father, and therewithall to discharge himselfe of his oath: but diuers of his free- men and friends, who were in great credit with him, disswaded him from the same, alleadging that it would be a dangerous matter to commit the greatnesse of such a kingdome to a young man, who scarcely had as yet attained to the age of eighteene yeeres: and for whome it was im- possible to support the care of so great a kingdome, considering that if he were at mans estate, he should finde himselfe ouerburthened with the charge of a kingdome. This aduice of theirs was allowed by *Cæsar*, and for this cause hee sent *Cuspius Fadus* to gouerne Iudæa, and the whole

realme;

The yeere of the world, 4009. after Christs birth, 47.

realme; honouring his dead friend in this, in that he would not suffer *Marsus*, who had beene his enemie, to enter into his kingdome. He gaue especiall commission also, that *Fadus* should sharply punish those of Cæsarea & Sebaste, for the outrages they had offered to his deceased friend, and the excesse that was committed against his daughters, who were yet liuing; commaunding him to transporte the companies of the Cæsareans and Sebastens, & the fiue Roman legions into the countrey of Pontus to serue in that place, and to take those Romane souldiers that bare armes in Syria, to serue in their place: yet notwithstanding this cõmandement of his they were not displaced. For they sent Embassadours to *Claudius* to appease him, and by this meanes they obtained the fauour to remaine in Iudæa. After this they gaue an entrance to those most grieuous mischiefs and calamities that befell the Iewes: for they spred the seed of that warre, which was awakened vnder *Florus* gouernment. And for that cause after that *Vespasian* had obtained the victorie, as it shall be hereafter declared, he caused them to depart out of that prouince, and made them seeke their habitation elsewhere.

The Iewes themselues were the cause of those wars which began vnder Florus.

THE XX. BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 20. Booke.

1 *The dissension between the Philadelphians and the Iewes: and of the Ephode which was the sacerdotall stole.*
2 *How* Helena *Queene of* Adiabena *and her sonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.*
3 *The Gouernour* Tiberius Alexander *punisheth the sonnes of* Iudas *of Galilee.*
4 *How a great number of the Iewes were slaine about the temple.*
5 *The sedition of the Iewes against the Samaritans.*
6 *The actions of* Fœlix, *president of Iudæa.*
7 *The gouernment of* Porcius Festus *in Iudæa, and of certaine murtherers.*
8 Albinus *gouernment.*
9 *How* Florus, *vvho succeeded* Albinus, *inforced so many iniuries against the Iewes, that they were constrained to fall to armes.*

CHAP. I.

The dissension betweene the Philadelphians and the Iewes: and of the Ephode vvhich vvas the sacerdotall stole.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Cassius Longinus prefect of Syria.

AFter King *Agrippas* decease (as we haue heeretofore declared in our former booke) the Emperour *Claudius* sent *Cassius Longinus* to succed *Marsus* in the gouernment of Syria, whom he displaced of that honour in memory of *Agrippa*, who during his life time had oftentimes required by his letters, that he should not suffer *Marsus* to gouerne the estate of Syria. As soone as *Cuspius Fadus* came into Iewrie to take charge of that countrey, which hee was to gouerne vnder *Cæsar*, he found the Iewes that dwelt on the other side of Iordan in an vprore, who had taken armes against the Philadelphians, about the limits of a certaine village called Mia, which was stored with valiant men at armes. Now had those who inhabite beyond Iordan, armed themselues in this manner, without the consent of their gouernors; and had slain a great number of the Philadelphians. Which when *Fadus* vnderstood, he was sore displeased, for that they had not reserued the cause to his hearing, and opened their griefes they had conceiued against the Philadelphians, but were so bolde of their owne authoritie, and without feare to betake themselues to their weapons. Hauing therfore apprehended some three

Fadus punisheth the Iewes for their insurrection against the Philadelphians.

of

A of them who had beene principals and authors of the ſedition, hee comaunded them to priſon, and executed one of them called *Annibas*, and baniſhed the other two whoſe names were *Amaram* and *Eleazar*.

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Annibas executed, Amaramus and Eleazar baniſhed.

Anon after this, *Tholomæus* the Archthiefe was alſo taken, and brought vnto him, who comaunded him to be executed, in that hee had done many robberies in Idumæa and Arabia; and by this meanes all the countrey of Iudæa was cleared of all theeues, by the care and prouidence of *Fadus*. After this he ſent for the high prieſts, and the gouernours of Ieruſalem, commanding them, according to the Emperours direction, that they ſhould deliuer vp into the Caſtle of Antonia the long and ſacred robe, which the high prieſt onely was accuſtomed to weare; to the end that it might be at the Romanes diſpoſition, as in times paſt it had beene. This commaund of his

Tholomæus the archtheef.

B they durſt not contradict; yet notwithſtanding, they required *Fadus* and *Longinus* (who at that time was come to Ieruſalem with a great power, for feare the Iewes, by reaſon of this iniunction, ſhould growe to rebellion) firſt that it might be lawful for them to ſend their Embaſſadors vnto *Cæſar*, to beſeech him that the ſacred robe might remaine in their cuſtodie. Secondly, that it might pleaſe them to expect the anſwer which *Cæſar* would returne vpon this their requeſt. *Fadus* gaue them this anſwere, that hee permitted them to ſend their Embaſſadours to Rome, prouided, that before hand they deliuered him their children for hoſtages. Which when they had readily performed, the Embaſſadors were ſent away. Now when they came to Rome, the younger *Agrippa* (who was his ſonne that lately died) knowing the cauſe of their comming, and beeing ordinarily accuſtomed to attend vpon *Cæſar* (according as we haue heretofore declared)

Fadus requireth the high preſts garment ſhould be deliuered into the power of the Romás & kept in the caſtle of Antonia.

Alias, cap. 2.

C beſought *Cæſar*, that hee would grant the Iewes their requeſt, as touching the ſacred Robe, and that it might pleaſe him to ſignifie no leſſe vnto *Fadus*. On this his petition *Claudius* gaue the Embaſſadours audience, and tolde them that he fauoured their ſuit, willing them to be thankfull to *Agrippa*, vpon whoſe ſuit he reſpected them, and allowed of their demaunds; and beſides this anſwere, he deliuered them a letter to this effect.

The Iewes deliuer pledges to the intent they might be permitted to ſend letters to Cæſar.

Claudius vpon the younger Agrippas motion granteth the Iewes liberty to haue the cuſtodie of the hie prieſts veſtments.

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, Conſeruer of the people, Conſul created the fift time, Emperour the fourth time, Father of the countrey the tenth time, to the Magiſtrates of Ieruſalem, the Senate, people, and all the nation of the Iewes; Health. Being required by our welbeloued *Agrippa*, whom I both haue, and at this preſent doe bring vp with me, and whom I know to be moſt deuout; I haue heard your Embaſſadours, who were admitted to my preſence by his meanes, and haue receiued their thanks for the benefits I haue beſtowed on your nation: I haue alſo willingly in-

D clined to that inſtant and expreſſe requeſt you haue made vnto me; and it is my pleaſure the ſacred Robe of the high prieſt, & the holy Miter remaine in your cuſtodie, in ſuch manner, as our moſt deere and right honoured friend *Vitellius* heretofore ordained: To which demand of yours I vouchſafe my allowance: firſt in regard of mine owne pietie, and for that I deſire that euerie one ſhould ſerue God according to his owne religion: for that I am reſolued, that in ſo doing I ſhall gratifie king *Herod* & yong *Ariſtobulus*, whoſe pietie towards me I am priuie to, & whoſe good affection towards you I can witneſſe, with whome I haue had diuers occaſions of friendſhip, both in regard of their vertue, as for the honour that I beare vnto them. I haue alſo written to this effect to *Cuſpius Fadus* mine Agent: The names of thoſe who haue receiued my

E letters, are *Cornelius* the ſonne of *Ceron*, *Trypon* the ſonne of *Theudion*, *Dorotheus* he ſonne of *Nathanael*, and *Iohn* the ſonne of *Iohn*. Giuen the eight and twentith of Iune, in the yeere wherein *Ruſus* and *Pompeius Syluanus* were Conſuls. At that ſame time *Herod*, who was *Agrippas* brother that had lately deceaſed, to whoſe hands in times paſt the gouernment of Chalcis had beene committed, required the emperour *Claudius* to grant him the power ouer the temple, and the ſacred veſtments and neceſſaries, and the authoritie of chooſing the high prieſt. All which he obtained, and from that time forward vntil the end of the warre of the Iewes, this power remained in all his ſucceſſors. According to this authoritie *Herod* depoſed *Canthara* from the prieſthood, and gaue the ſucceſſion thereof to *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Caneus*.

Alias cap. 3. Claudius Epiſtle to the Iewes.

Alias, chap. 9. Herod prince of Chalcis hath authority granted him to create the hie prieſt.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 2. al 5.

F

CHAP. II.

How Helena *Queene of Adiabena and her ſonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.*

Monobazus the king of Adiabena begetteth two ſonnes on Helena his ſiſter.

AT that time *Helena* Queene of Adiabena, and her ſonne *Izates* conformed themſelues to the religion of the Iewes vpon this occaſion that enſueth: *Monobazus* king of Adiabena, who was alſo called *Bazeos*, being ſurpriſed with the loue of his ſiſter *Helena*, eſpouſed

Monobazus and Izates.

her,

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her,& got her with child. Vpon a time it hapned, that ſleeping with her, he laid his hand on her belly, whilſt ſhe lay aſleep: and him thought, that he heard a voice that cõmanded him to take away his hand from off her belly, leaſt he ſhould cruſh the fruit that was therein, which by Gods prouidence ſhould haue a happie beginning, and no leſſe fortunate ending. *Monobazus* was ſore moued at this voice, & as ſoone as he awoke he tould it to his wife; & afterwards when the child was borne he called him *Izates*: Beſides, he had another elder ſonne by the ſame wife, who was called *Monobazus*, according to his owne name. And hee had alſo other ſons by his other wiues: yet notwithſtanding *Izates* was moſt manifeſtly his beſt beloued, and ſo cheriſhed by him, as if he had been his only begotten ſonne. For which cauſe, his other brothers enuied him: which increaſed their hatred, for that all the reſt of them were aggrieued, becauſe *Monobazus* made moſt account of *Izates*. The father manifeſtly perceiued al this, yet did he pardon them, knowing that they did it not for malice, but for the deſire that euerie one of them had to be beſt eſteemed by his father. Notwithſtanding, being affraid leaſt ſom miſhap ſhold betide *Izates*, by reaſon of the hatred his brethren bare vnto him, hee gaue him many great gifts, and ſent him to *Abemerigus*, who faigned at that time in a fort called Spaſinus, committing his ſons life into his hand. *Abemerigus* alſo intertained him with kind affection, and loued him in ſuch ſort, that in proceſſe of time he gaue him *Samacha* his daughter to wife; and for her dowrie hee gaue gaue him a countrey of great reuenew.

G

H

Izates ſent to Abemerigus, marrieth his daughter Samacha.

Cæron verie fruitfull in Amomum, in which the reliques of Noe's arke are to be ſeene.

Monobazus being old, and ſeeing he had no long time to liue, deſired before his death that his ſonne might come and viſite him: he therfore ſent for him & receiued him very louingly, giuing him a country which hee called Cæron, which bringeth forth great aboundance of excellent Amomum. In this place was the remainder of the Arke, in which *Noe* was ſaued; during the Deluge; which remnants are to be ſeene at this day, if any man haue a deſire to behold the ſame. *Izates* remained in that place vntill his fathers deceaſe. But on the verie day of his death, *Helena* ſent for all the Lords and Gouerners of the kingdome, and captaines of all the Army, and vpon their aſſembly ſhe ſpake vnto them after this manner.

I

Izates was made king by his mother Helena, & the nobilitie, and Monobazus gouerneth the kingdome till his comming

» Iſuppoſe (ſaid ſhe) that you are not ignorant of my husbands minde, who hath deſired that
» *Izates* might be king in his ſteed, & hath eſteemed him moſt worthie of ſuch an honour: yet ex-
» pect I your iudgement in this point. For hee that receiueth the ſoueraigntie, not from one mans
» hand, but from many, and hath the ſame confirmed vnto him by their conſent, is happy. She vſed
» this diſcourſe vnto them to trie what their intent was, who were there aſſembled. They vnder-
» ſtanding her mind, proſtrated themſelues firſt of al vpon the earth before the Queen, according
» to the cuſtome of their countrey; and afterwards aunſwered her, that they approued the kings
» election, and tooke pleaſure to obey *Izates*, whom his father deſeruedly, and to all their contents
» and the deſire of the common people had preferred aboue the reſt of his brethren: alledging
» moreouer, that they would put his brethren and kinſmen to death before his comming, to the
» end that he might enioy the kingdom with al ſecuritie: for by their deaths al the fear that might
» grow by their hatred and enuie might be extinguiſhed. Hereunto the Queene aunſwered; that
» ſhe gaue them thanks, for the fauour they bare vnto her & her ſonne *Izates*: notwithſtanding ſhe
» required them to ſuſpend their iudgements touching the death of his brethren, vntil ſuch time
» as *Izates* himſelfe ſhould giue his conſent thereunto. They ſeeing they might not obtaine the li-
» bertie to put them to death, gaue counſaile that they ſhould bee kept priſoners vntill his com-
» ming, to the end, at leaſtwiſe for their owne parts, that they might be out of daunger; and that
» moreouer, vntill his comming there might one bee appointed to gouerne the eſtate, whom ſhee
» ſhould eſteeme moſt truſtie and faithfull vnto him. Whereunto *Helena* condeſcended, and made
» his elder brother *Monobazus* king, and ſet the Diademe on his head, & gaue him his fathers ſeale
» ring, with that robe which they call Sampſera; exhorting him to gouerne the kingdome vntill
» his brothers arriuall. *Izates* hauing certaine notice of his fathers death, reſorted thither ſpeedily,
» and receiuing his brother *Monobazus* willing ſurrender, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the
» kingdome.

K

L

M

Izates and his mother Helena learne the true ſeruice of God according to the manner of the Iewes.

During ſuch time as *Izates* ſoiourned in the fortreſſe of Spaſinus, a certain merchant, who was a Iew, called *Ananias*, hauing acceſſe to the kings wiues, taught them the manner how to ſerue God, according to the religion of the Iewes: and *Ananias* by their meanes growing acquainted with *Izates*, taught him the like, and accompanied him into Adiabena: being drawen thereunto by his earneſt entreaties, at ſuch time as *Izates* reſorted thither vpon his fathers ſending for. It chanced alſo in like ſort that *Helena* was in like manner inſtructed by another Iew, and retained the rites and religion of the Iewes.

After

A After that *Izates* came into his kingdome, and knewe that his brethren and kinsfolke were impriſoned, he was much grieued. Conceiuing therefore with himſelfe that it would be a great impiety in him to ſuffer them to be ſlaine, or kept bound in priſon; and that on the other ſide, it were a dangerous matter for him, if being at liberty they ſhould remember the euill they had indured: for this cauſe hee ſent ſome of them to Rome for hoſtages with their children vnto the Emperour *Claudius*, and the reſt vnto *Artabanus* king of Parthia. Afterwards when he was thorowly aſſured that his mother was wholly addicted to the religion of the Iewes, hee endeuoured himſelfe the more to ſhew himſelfe zealous therein: and ſuppoſing that he could not be a perfect Iew, except he were circumciſed, hee prepared himſelfe to be circumciſed. Which when his mother vnderſtood, ſhe laboured to her vttermoſt to hinder his reſolution, certifying him that in
B ſo doing hee ſhould bring himſelfe in great danger; for that in being king, he would draw himſelfe into the diſlike of his ſubiects, if they ſhould haue notice that he was addicted to a new religion, and to ſtrange ceremonies, and that they would not endure, that in being a Iew hee ſhould be their king: ſo ſhe for a while by her diſſwaſion reſtrained him from his deſire. But the king required counſell of *Ananias*, who, according with *Helena* in the courſe of her diſlike, threatned *Izates*, that if he would not obey his mother, he would forſake him, and depart from him, for that he feared, leſt if the matter ſhould be publikely knowne, he ſhould ſuffer ſome puniſhment, as being the only author and inſtructer of the king in vndecent matters; that otherwiſe he might ſerue God, although he were not circumciſed; ſince he had reſolued to liue according to the inſtitutions and lawes of the Iewes, and that God would pardon him: for in this, true religion conſi-
C ſteth, more then in the circumciſion of the body, though he were not actually circumciſed, ſince the neceſſitie and feare of his ſubiects ouerruled him. By which words the king for that time vvas wonne to affect the ſame no further. But ſome little vvhiles after (for he was not vvholly altered in that affection vvhich he had) another Iew called *Eleazar*, comming from Galilee, and accounted a man of great experience in the doctrine of our religion, perſwaded him to be circumciſed. For, comming one day vnto him to ſalute him, he found him reading of the bookes of *Moſes*, and ſayd vnto him; O King, contrary to your knowledge you offend the law, and God likewiſe; for it ſufficeth you not, that you vnderſtand the ſame, but the chiefeſt matter you are tyed vnto, is to doe that which the lawe commandeth: how long therefore will you remaine vncircumciſed? And if as yet you haue not peruſed the lawe as touching this point, read it now to
D the intent you may know what impiety it is to omit it.

After the king had heard this, hee would no longer deferre his circumciſion: for which cauſe withdrawing himſelfe into another chamber, he called a ſurgeon vnto him, who acted that which he required, and afterwards calling his mother and maſter *Ananias* vnto him, he certified them vvhat had paſt: whereupon they grew ſtrangely amazed, fearing leſt the king ſhould growe in danger of the loſſe of his kingdome, if this action of his ſhould come to light; for that his ſubiects would not endure that ſuch a man that followed a contrary religion ſhould be their king: they feared alſo leſt they themſelues ſhould be in danger, for as much as the cauſe of all this matter would be imputed to them. But God by his prouidence preuented leſt any of thoſe things which they feared ſhould come to effect: for hee deliuered *Izates* himſelfe and his children likewiſe out of many dangers, yeelding them his aſſiſtance in their doubtfull and deſperate eſtates,
E declaring in effect that thoſe that onely put their truſt in him, and depend vpon his prouidence, are neuer depriued of the fruit of their piety. But of theſe things will we ſpeake hereafter.

When *Helena* the kings mother perceiued that the eſtare of the kingdome vvas in peace, and that by all mens opinion, both home-bred and ſtrangers, her ſonne vvas reputed happie by the good vvill of God, ſhe was ſeized with a deſire to go and viſit the Citie of Ieruſalem, and adore God in that temple, which was ſo much renowmed thorow the whol world, and offer ſacrifice of thankſgiuing therein; for which cauſe ſhe beſought her ſon that he would ſuffer her to performe her vowes: who willingly condeſcended to her deſire, and furniſhed her royally with all things that were neceſſary for ſuch a voiage, giuing her a great maſſe of mony with her, and bringing her
F onward on her way many daies iourney; ſo that at length ſhe arriued in Ieruſalem, to the great aduantage of the inhabitants of that city. For at that time the city was oppreſſed with a grieuous famine, ſo as many died for want of food; for which cauſe Queen *Helena* ſent her ſeruants ſome into Alexandria to buy a great quantity of corne, the reſt into Cypris to buy dried figs, who returned with all expedition they might: whereupon *Helena* diſtributed the victuals among the poore, leauing a ſingular memory of her beneficence a mong the whole nation. Her ſonne *Izates* alſo vnderſtanding of this famine, ſent a great ſumme of money to the gouernour of Ieruſalem. But hereafter

The yeare of the world. 4009. after Chriſts birth. 47.

Iza es lendeth his brothers to Claudius Cæſar & Artabanus.

Izates is diſſwaded by Helena his mother and Ananias from circumciſion.

Eleazar perſwadeth Izates to be circumciſed.

They that rely on God, & put their confidence in him, doe alwaies reape the reward of their piety.

Helena the Queene of Adiabena reſorteth to Ieruſalem. Alias cap. 6.

after will I declare what other benefits the king and Queene haue beſtowed vpon our nation. G

The yeere of the world, 4009. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 37.

Now *Artabanus* king of Parthia, perceiuing that the princes of his kingdom had conſpired againſt him, reſolued with himſelfe to go vnto *Izates*, for the ſecuritie of his life and perſon, hoping by his meanes, if it were poſſible, to recouer his kingdome. He therefore retired thither, & brought with him about one thouſand men of his kinsfolke and houſhold ſeruants. And by the way he met with *Izates*, whom he knew verie well by his royall traine, notwithſtanding he were vnknowne vnto him by countenance. Drawing therefore neere vnto him, he firſt of all humbled himſelfe on his knees, according to the cuſtome of the countrey, and afterwards ſpake vnto him after this manner.

Artabanus retireth himſelfe to Izates, and requireth his aſsiſtance.

Drad king, forſake me not, who am thy ſeruant, neither reiect thou my prayers. For being
» deiected by the meanes of my misfortunes, and of a king become a priuate man, I haue neede of
» thy ſuccour. Conſider therefore the inconſtancie of fortune, and thinke with thy ſelfe, that by H
» prouiding for mee, thou ſhalt prouide for thy ſelfe. For if thou makeſt no reckoning of the
» wrong that is done vnto me, diuers men will grow audacious to enterpriſe vpon other kings.

Theſe words pronounced hee with weeping teares, and with lookes lowely fixed vpon the ground. When *Izates* had heard *Artabanus* name, and ſaw his humble and ſubmiſſiue eſtate, he leapt incontinently from his horſe and ſaid vnto him: King, be of good courage, and let not thy preſent and perplexed condition diſmay thee, as if thy miſfortunes were irrecouerable. For this ſorrow of thine ſhall ſodainely bee changed, and thou ſhalt finde a better friend and allie, then thou hopedſt for at this time. For either will I repoſſeſſe thee of thy kingdom of Parthia, or I will loſe mine owne gouernment. This ſaid, he cauſed *Artabanus* to get vp on horſebacke, and walked by him on foote, yeelding him this honour, as to a greater king then himſelfe. Which I when *Artabanus* ſaw, hee was diſcontented, and ſware by his fortune and honour to come, that he would ſet foote on ground, if he would not get vp on horſebacke and ride before him: whereunto he obeyed, and mounting vpon his horſe againe, he conducted him to his palace; yeelding him all the honour that was poſſible, both in his ſittings and banquets, as in his aſſembles, not reſpecting his preſent eſtate or condition; but his former dignitie: conſidering with himſelfe, that ſuch caſuall misfortunes and changes are incident to all men. Furthermore, he wrote vnto the Parthians, perſwading them to receiue their king *Artabanus*, aſſuring them on his faith and oath, that hee would obtaine a free pardon for all that which was paſt, and to that intent he offered himſelfe to be an arbitrator betweene them. The Parthians gaue him this anſwer, that they K wold not refuſe to entertain him, but that they could not: for that one who was called *Cinnamus* was aduanced in his place and dignitie, and that they feared leaſt a ſedition ſhould happen amongſt them. *Cinnamus*, who was a noble and honourable minded man, knowing that their intent was ſuch, wrote himſelfe vnto *Artabanus*, who had nouriſhed and brought him vp, exhorting him to returne vpon his faith, and to receiue againe his owne kingdom. *Artabanus* vpon this motion gaue credit to his words, and returned backe againe. Whereupon *Cinnamus* came foorth and met him, and proſtrating himſelfe before his feete, called him king; and afterwardes taking the diadem from off his own head, he ſet it vpon *Artabanus* head, who by this means was reſtored to his former eſtate by *Izates* mediation, after he had beene driuen out of his kingdome L by his chiefeſt nobilitie. And hee did not forget the fauours which hee had receiued at *Izates* hands, but did him all the honour that poſſibly hee could imagine: For hee permitted him to weare the ſtraight Tiara, and to ſleepe vpon a gilded bed, which is a priuiledge that belongeth onely to the kings of Parthia. He gaue him alſo a goodly and great countrey which he had taken from the king of Armenia. This countrey was called Niſibis, where in times paſt the Macedons had builded the Citie of Antioch by them called Mygdonia.

Izates comforteth Artabanus & promiſeth him his aſsiſtance.

Izates writeth to the Parthians, and perſwadeth them to receiue their king.

Cinnamus reſteth the kingdome to Artabanus.

Izates receiueth great honours and gifts at Artabanus hands.

Antiochia and Mygdonia builded by the Macedõs.

Preſently after *Izates* was in this ſort honoured, *Artabanus* died, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne *Vardanes*; who repaired to *Izates*, praying him to ioyne with him in that war which he intended to wage againſt the Romans: but he preuailed not with him. For *Izates* knowing the Ro- M mans force and good hap, imagined that hee vndertooke a matter beyond his power. Furthermore, he had ſent fiue of his young ſonnes to Ieruſalem to learne our tongue and diſcipline, and his mother likewiſe to adore in the temple, for which cauſe hee the rather held backe & diſſwaded *Vardanes* from enterprizing againſt the Romans, whoſe power and puiſſant conqueſts he ordinarily reckoned vp vnto him, to the end he might diſmay him, & by theſe his allegations cauſe him to giue ouer his purpoſed intent of war againſt them. But the Parthian was diſpleaſed with this his perſwaſion, and for that cauſe denounced a preſent warre againſt *Izates*. But this his enterprize had but a fruitleſſe iſſue: for God cut off all his hopes. For the Parthians vnderſtanding what

Vardanes after his fathers death laboureth to perſwade Izates to make warre againſt the Romans, but hee preuaileth not.

A what *Vardanes* intent was, and how he was reſolued to vndertake a war againſt the Romans, ſlew him, and gaue the kingdome to his brother *Gotarza*, whom not long after this, his brother *Vologeſus* ſlew by treaſon, reſtoring to his two brothers by the mothers ſide theſe Prouinces, that is to ſay the kingdome of Media to *Pacorus* who was the eldeſt, and Armenia to *Tiridates* who was the younger.

The yeare of the world, 4009. after Chriſts birth, 47.

After Vardanes was ſlain, the kingdome is committed to Gotarza. Vologeſus king of Parthia.

When *Monobazus* King *Izates* brother and the reſt of his kinsfolke ſaw how happily all things ſucceeded to *Izates*, and how in reſpect of his piety towards God, hee was honoured and reuerenced by all men, they alſo reſolued themſelues to forſake their religion, and to ſerue God after the manner of the Iewes. But this intent of theirs was diſcouered. Whereupon the chiefeſt among them grew diſpleaſed; yet did they not manifeſt their deſpite, but kept it hidden in their
B hearts, ſeeking ſome fit occaſion to reuenge themſelues as ſoone as they might. They wrote alſo to *Abias* King of Arabia, and promiſed him great ſummes of money, if he would take armes againſt their King, promiſing him that vpon the firſt charge, they would forſake him, for that they deſired to be reuenged on him, who was growne in hatred of their religion. Hauing therefore confirmed their promiſe with an oath, they incited him to make haſte. The King of Arabia performed that which they required, and marched forth againſt *Izates* with a great power. And when as the firſt charge was ready to be giuen, and before they came to handy-ſtrokes, all *Izates* ſouldiers forſooke him; and turning their backs to their enemies, fled in great diſorder, as if they had been ſurprized with a Panicke feare; yet was *Izates* no waies diſmaied, but hauing diſcouered that it was the treaſon and conſpiracy of his greateſt peeres, he retyred himſelfe alſo into his
C campe, where he enquired of the cauſe that they pretended. After he knew that they had complotted with the Arabian, he cauſed the conſpirators to be put to death: and the next day after went out to fight, and ſlew a great number of his enemies, & conſtrained the reſt to betake them to flight. He purſued their King alſo into a fort called *Arſam*, which hee battered and aſſaulted with ſuch ſpirit and diligence, that hee tooke the ſame with a great quantity of booty that was therein, and returned to Adiabena with great triumph: but hee tooke not *Abias* aliue; for hee himſelfe had preuented his captiuity with his death. The Lords of Adiabena ſeeing themſelues fruſtrated of their former hopes, in that by Gods hand they were deliuered into the hands of their King, could not containe their diſpleaſure, but practiced further miſchiefe: for they wrote
D their letters to *Vologeſus* King of Parthia, deſiring him to kill *Izates*, and to beſtow another King vpon them who was a Parthian, for that they hated their king, who had aboliſhed their religion, and had embraced a ſtrange law. The Parthian vnderſtanding hereof prepared himſelfe for the warre: and hauing no iuſt colour or pretext to enforce the ſame, he ſent a meſſenger vnto him to redemand thoſe honours which his father had giuen him; which if he refuſed, hee denounced warre againſt him. *Izates* was not a little troubled in his minde, when hee vnderſtood this meſſage: For he thought that if he ſhould reſtore the gifts, he ſhould offer himſelfe great preiudice, for that it would be imagined that he did it for feare: knowing on the other ſide, that if the Parthian ſhould recouer that which he redemanded, yet would he not be in quiet; he therfore commended his cauſe to God, truſting that he would take care of him. And building vpon this, that the greateſt good he might haue, was to haue God to help, hee ſhut his wiues and children in a
E ſtrong Caſtle, and his corne in his ſtrongeſt towers: and afterwards burned all the hay and forrage; and hauing after this manner prouided for all things, he expected the approach of his enemie. The Parthian came onward ſooner then he was expected, with a great power of horſemen and footmen. For he marched forward in all haſte, and encamped neere vnto the ſloud that ſeparateth Adiabena from Media. *Izates* likewiſe encamped not farre from thence, hauing with him about ſix thouſand horſemen. To whom the Parthian ſent a meſſenger to giue him to vnderſtand how great his power was, which extended from the riuer of Euphrates as farre as Bactria, recounting vnto him what Kings he had vnder his ſubiection, threatning him to puniſh him very ſeuerely, in that he behaued himſelfe ſo vngratefully towards his benefactors, yea in ſuch ſort as the god whom he adored, might not deliuer him out of the Kings hands. Hereunto *Izates*
F anſwered, that he knew well that the Parthian farre exceeded him in power, but that hee was farre better aſſured that Gods power extended beyond all mens contradiction. And hauing returned him this anſwere he betook himſelf to his praiers, & proſtrating himſelfe vpon the earth, and caſting aſhes on his head, and faſting himſelfe, his wiues and all his children, he called vpon God, and praied, after this manner: O Lord Almighty, if I haue not vainely ſubmitted my ſelfe to thy protection, but haue entirely choſen thee for mine onely and true God, be thou my help and aſſiſtance, and not only deliuer mee from mine enemies, but alſo abate and controule their

The Lords of Adiabena perſwade Vologeſus to kill Izates.

Izates calleth vpō God, who ſendeth the Dahans and Sacans into Parthia, vpon whoſe arriuall Vologeſus returneth.

The Adiabenians conſpire with the king of Arabia againſt Izates.

Monobazus & his kinred thinke to receiue the Iewes religiō.

The yeare of the world, 4010. after Chriſts Nativity, 48.

pride, who haue not been affraide in their vnbridled language, to prophane thy holy and ſacred G
name, and vtter blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt thy power. Thus prayed he with ſighes & teares,
and God heard him: For incontinently, and the very ſame night, *Vologeſus* receiued letters by
which he was certified that a great number of Dahans and Sacans taking opportunity by his ab-
ſence, were entred into the kingdome of Parthia, and ſpoiled the whole countrey; for which
cauſe he returned back into his countrey without any further trouble. And thus *Izates* by Gods
prouidence was warranted from the Parthians threats.

Izates deliuereth vp the kingdome to his brother Monobazus, and dieth.

Not long after this, at ſuch time as he had liued fifty fiue yeares, and raigned foure and twen-
tie, and left behinde him foure and twenty ſonnes, he dyed, and appointed his brother *Monoba-*
zus to ſucceed him in the kingdome, requiring hereby his faith and loyalty, in that during the
time of his abſence, and after the death of his father, hee had faithfully ruled and gouerned the H
kingdome to his vſe. His mother *Helena* hearing newes of his death, lamented very grieuouſly
as reaſon would, in that ſhe being his mother was depriued of a ſonne that ſo zealouſly honored
and feared God. Yet notwithſtanding ſhe was comforted, when ſhe vnderſtood that her eldeſt
ſonne was to ſucceed him in the kingdom; and haſted herſelfe with all diligence to go and meet
him. As ſoone as ſhe arriued in Adiabena, ſhe liued not long time after her ſonne *Izates*. Where-
upon *Monobazus* tooke both her body and his brothers bones, and ſent them to Ieruſalem, com-
manding that they ſhould be buried in three Pyramides which *Helena* had builded, ſome three
ſtades or furlongs from Ieruſalem. But hereafter will we recite the acts and geſts of *Monobazus*
during his raigne.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 8. Theudas perſwadeth the people that with a ſword he will cauſe Iordan to diuide it ſelfe, & yeeld them paſſage: hee with his followers are ſlain.

But during *Fadus* gouernement in Iudæa, a certaine Magician called *Theudas*, perſwaded a I
great number of the people to take all their goods and ſubſtance, and to follow him to the floud
Iordan; for he ſaid he was a Prophet, and told them that the riuer ſhould diuide it ſelfe into two
parts vpon his commandement, and yeeld them free paſſage. By theſe words of his hee decei-
ued diuers of them. But *Fadus* would not permit that ſuch a fury of theirs ſhould breed them
any commodity: but hee ſent a troupe of horſemen, who charged them on the ſudden, and
ſlew a great number of them; and tooke diuers of them priſoners aliue, amongſt whom was
Theudas, whoſe head was ſtricken off, and was afterwards carried to Ieruſalem. This is that
which befell the Iewes vnder *Fadus* gouernement.

K

CHAP. III.

The Gouernour Tiberius Alexander *puniſheth the ſonnes of* Iudas *the Galilean.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 8. Tiberius Alexander gouernour of Iudæa.

AFter *Fadus*, ſucceeded *Tiberius Alexander*, the ſonne of that *Alexander* who had
been gouernour of Alexandria; a man of as great riches as any one of his time and
place, who ſurpaſſed likewiſe his ſon *Alexander* in piety and ſeruice of God, who
forſooke the religion of his forefathers. In that time there happened a great famine
in Iewry, during which Queene *Helena* ſent huge ſummes of money into Ægypt, and bought L
corn and diſtributed the ſame to thoſe that were in want, according as I haue foreſpoken. At the
ſame time *Iames* and *Simon* the ſonnes of *Iudas* of Galilee, who had buſied themſelues to incite
the people to reſiſt the gouernement of the Romans, were put to death at ſuch ſuch time as *Cy-*
renius valued each mans goods, as wee haue heretofore declared. Theſe did *Alexander* com-
mand to be crucified. *Herod* King of Chalcis tooke away the ſoueraigne prieſthood from *Ioſeph*
the ſonne of *Camydas*, and transferred it to *Ananias* the ſonne of *Nebedæus*. After *Tiberius Alex-*
ander, ſucceeded *Cumanus*. Then died *Herod*, who was brother to King *Agrippa* the Great, in the
eightth yeare of *Claudius Cæſar*. He left behinde him three ſonnes; *Ariſtobulus* whom hee had
by his firſt wife: *Bernicianus* and *Hircanus* by *Bernice* his brothers daughter. *Claudius Cæſar* gaue
the kingdome belonging to him, to *Agrippa* the younger. During the time that *Cumanus* gouer- M
ned, there hapned a ſedition in Iudæa, wherby diuers Iewes miſcarried. The cauſe of all which
accidents I will rip vp from the originall.

Iames and Simon the ſons of Iudas of Galilee crucified.

The yeare of the world, 4011. after Chriſts birth 49.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

How a great number of the Iewes were ſlaine about the Temple.

The yeare of the world,4011. after Chriſts birth,49.

AT the time of the feaſt of Paſcha (during which time we are accuſtomed to feed on vnleauened bread) a great number of people aſſembled themſelues from all parts to the Citie of Ieruſalem. Wherevpon *Cumanus* fearing leaſt by this occaſion there ſhould ariſe ſome commotion, hee gaue order that a company of his ſouldiers ſhould be armed, and ſhould keep their guard in the porches of the temple, to the end that if any trouble ſhould happen, they might repreſſe it. Thoſe gouernours, who had been his predeceſſors, had done the like in ſuch manner of aſſemblies. It came to paſſe on the fourth day of the feaſt, that a certaine ſouldier diſcouering thoſe priuities which were vndecent to be ſeene, ſhewed them before the people: wherewith they that beheld the ſame,were ſore diſpleaſed, and prouoked, ſaying, that the diſhonor was not done vnto them,but to God,to whom it rightly appertained. And ſome of them of beſt reſolution caſt out certaine ſpeeches againſt *Cumanus*, ſaying; that the ſouldier was ſet on by him. Which when *Cumanus* vnderſtood, hee was in like maner grieuouſly offended in regard of thoſe iniuries: yet exhorted he thoſe, whom hee ſaw too forward in raiſing factions, to keep the peace, for feare leaſt a ſedition ſhould grow during the time of the feaſt; and ſeeing they would in no ſort obey him, but contrariwiſe they ceaſed not to iniure and reuile him, hee commanded that all the forces he had ſhould be in armes,and retire themſelues into the fortreſs of Antonia that was neer vnto the temple, as we haue heretofore declared. The people, ſeeing the armed ſoldiers,were affraid, & began to fly: but becauſe the places thorow which they iſſued,were but narrow,they imagined that they were purſued by their enemies;ſo that they thruſt on one another in their flight,and diuers of them were thronged to death. In this mutiny there died twenty thouſand men: and after this in ſteed of a feaſt there was nothing but mourning; and without bethinking themſelues of their praiers & ſacrifices,all of them began to weep and lament. So great miſchief ſprang from the inſolence of one ſouldier. This firſt lamentation was ſcarcely finiſhed,before a ſecond ſucceeded the ſame. For ſome of thoſe who had a part in this mutiny, being about ſome hundreth ſtades from the citie,robbed one *Steuen* that was *Cæſars* ſeruant in the high way, and tooke from him all that which he had. Which when *Cumanus* vnderſtood, he preſently ſent ſome of his ſouldiers to ſpoyle thoſe villages, which were neereſt to the place where the fact was committed,and to bring the chiefeſt inhabitants thereof in bonds vnto him. In this pillage a certaine ſouldier found a book of the law of *Moſes* in one of theſe villages, which he took & brought,and before them all tore it in peeces,with hainous blaſphemies & vile ſpeeches againſt the law & whole nation. The Iewes vnderſtanding hereof,ſuddenly aſſembled themſelues in great numbers,and ran to Cæſarea where *Cumanus* kept for that preſent,requiring him that he would reuenge not their cauſe, but Gods,whoſe law was on that ſort diſhonoured; ſignifying vnto him,that it was impoſſible for them to liue,ſo long as their law was thus contemned. *Cumanus* fearing leaſt a ſecond mutiny and vprore ſhould be raiſed among the people, by counſell of his friends cut off the ſouldiers head, who had committed that outrage againſt the law; and by this meanes appeaſed the ſedition that was ready to take head.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.9. al.10.

In the feaſt of Paſcha a certaine ſouldier ſhewing his priuy members mooueth a ſedition among the people,whereby twenty thouſand Iewes loſt their liues.

Steuen Cæſars ſeruant, robbed in his iourney, for which cauſe Cumanus ſpoileth the villages neere to the place where the robbery was done.

A certain ſoldier teareth the books of Moſes law,& therfore is beheaded by Cumanus cõmandement.

CHAP. V.

The ſedition of the Iewes againſt the Samaritanes.

THere hapned alſo an enmity betwixt the Samaritanes and the Iewes, vpon this occaſion. They of Galilee, who reſorted to the Citie of Ieruſalem at the times of our ſolemne feaſts, were accuſtomed to paſſe thorow the countrey of the Samaritanes. And at that time it hapned, that their way lay thorow a borough called Nais, ſituate in a great champaine field: where a quarrell ariſing betwixt diuers inhabitants of the place,and certaine paſſengers, a great number of the Galileans were murthered. Which when the magiſtrates of Galilee vnderſtood, they reſorted to *Cumanus*, requiring him to execute iuſtice on thoſe that had murthered their countrimen: but he being corrupted with money by the Samaritanes, made no account of their complaint. The Galileans being prouoked by this contempt of his,perſwaded the cõmon people of the Iewes to betake them to their weapons, and maintaine their liberty; telling them that ſeruitude is of it ſelfe tedious; but that when it is accompanied with outrages, it is intole-

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.10. al. cap.12.

Certain Samaritanes kill diuers Galilæans in their way to Ieruſalem.

The yeare of the world,4014. after the birth of Chriſt,52.

The yeare of the world, 4014. after Christs Nativity, 52.

rable. But their gouernours laboured to pacifie them, promising them to deale so effectually with *Cumanus*, that he should take punishment of the murtherers: but they gaue them no audience, but fell to armes, requiring *Eleazar* the sonne of *Dinæus* to be their chieftaine. This *Eleazar* was a theefe, who for many years made his abode in the mountains: They therfore spoyled and burnt certaine villages of the Samaritanes. After that the report of all that which had passed, came to *Cumanus* eares, hee tooke a company of the souldiers of Sebaste, with foure bands of footmen, and armed the Samaritanes likewise to goe and make warre against the Iewes; whom they took, and slew many of them, and led more of them away prisoners. When the chiefest gouernours in Ierusalem saw into what an infinitie of mischiefes they were fallen, they cloathed themselues in sackcloth, and cast ashes on their heads, exhorting those that were mutinous to forethinke themselues of the ruine of their countrey, the danger the temple was in to be burned, the seruitude both of themselues, their wiues and children, to prophane and strange nations; and desired them to change their aduice, and to lay aside their weapons, and cease to offer violence, to the end that they might hereafter liue in quiet, and that euery one of them would retire themselues peaceably to his owne habitation. By which words in the end they being perswaded, returned home, and betook them to their business. The theeues also retired themselues again into their strong holds, and from that time all Iudæa was replenished with thefts. The gouernors of Samaria resorted to *Numidius Quadratus* gouernor of Syria, who dwelt at that time in Tyre, to accuse the Iewes for that they had fired their villages, and spoiled them; telling him that their losse did not so much trouble them, as for that they saw the Romans were contemned by the Iewes: who notwithstanding ought to appeare before them as their competent Iudges; yet nathelesse that they assembled themselues in such sort, as if the Romans were not their superiours. For which cause they addressed themselues to him, to the end they might haue redresse of those wrongs which they had receiued by them. This is that wherewith the Samaritanes charged the Iewes: who answered to the contrary, alledging that the Samaritanes themselues had beene the authors of that mutiny and vprore; and that *Cumanus* being wholly corrupted by their money, had smothered the matter, and done no iustice on the murtherers. When *Quadratus* heard this, he reserued the iudgement till another time, telling them that hee would giue sentence in the matter at such time as he came into Iudæa, & had examined the truth of both sides; so that they returned without doing any thing.

The Galileans in reuenge of their iniuries burn certaine villages of the Samaritanes and spoile the same.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 8. al. 12.

The Samaritanes accuse the Iewes before Numidius Quadratus

The Iewes lay the burthen of the warres on the Samaritanes and Cumanus.

Anon after, *Quadratus* came into Samaria, where hee heard that the Samaritanes had been the authors of the trouble: and on the other side, knowing that some Iewes likewise incited som insurrection, he caused them to be crucified, whom *Cumanus* had left in prison. From thence he transported himselfe to Lydda, which is a borough of no lesse bignesse then a city: in which place he sitting on his tribunall seat, heard the Samaritans the second time, & discouered by the report of a certaine Samaritane, that one *Dortus* one of the principallest among the Iewes, and foure other his confederates induced the people to rebell against the Romans. These did *Quadratus* cause to be executed. As for *Ananias*, who was the high Priest, and the captaine *Annanus*, he sent them bound to Rome, to render an account to the Emperour *Claudius* of that which they had done. Moreouer, he commanded the chiefe gouernours both of the Samaritanes & Iewes, that they should speedily repaire to Rome; whither *Cumanus* and captain *Celer* should conduct them, to the end they might be iudged by *Cæsar* himselfe, vpon the information taken on both sides. And fearing least the common people of the Iewes should break out into some rebellion, he repaired to the citie of Ierusalem, to giue order that the Iews should attempt to raise no new stirres: but when he came thither, he found all in peace, and busied in the celebration of the feast and offering sacrifices to God, according to their accustomed ceremonies. Being therfore assured that no man would innouate or rebell in that place, he left them to their solemnities, and repaired to Antioch.

Dortus with foure other are crucified.

Ananias, Ananus, Cumanus, Celer, & som other are sent to Rome.

Alias cap. 13.

But the Iewes that were sent to Rome with *Cumanus*, and the principall Samaritanes had a day assigned them by the Emperor to decide the differents that were between them: *Cumanus* and the Samaritanes laboured all that they might by the mediation of *Cæsars* friends and freemen, to haue the vpper hand of the Iewes, and indeed the day had been theirs if yong *Agrippa* had not been in Rome. For he seeing that the matter was handled to the disaduantage of the Iewes, besought *Agrippina* the Emperops wife, that she would labour her husband in such sort, that he would be pleased to take full knowledge of that which was done, and that afterwards he should execute due iustice on those whom he found guilty of that sedition. *Claudius* fauourably gaue care to this request: and hearing the whole matter, he found that the Samaritanes were the first

Agrippa moueth Agrippina to intreat Cæsar to hear the cause of the Iewes.

A first authors of all those mischiefes, and caused them to be put to death who came before him to plead, and banished *Cumanus*: he gaue order also that captaine *Celer* should be sent backe to Ierusalem, and that there in sight of all the people he should be dragged about the Citie, vntill he died. Furthermore, he sent *Claudius Fœlix*, *Pallas* brother, to gouerne Iudæa. *The yeare of the world, 4015. after Christs birth, 53.*

In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, he gaue *Agrippa Philips* Tetrarchy, with Batanea; and besides that, anexed thereunto Trachonitis and Abila, which in times past appertained to *Lysanias* Tetrarchy, taking from him the prouince of Chalcis, which hee had gouerned for the space of foure yeares. After that *Agrippa* had obtained this gift at *Cæsars* hands, he married his sister *Drusilla* to *Azizus* king of the Emesenians, who consented to be circumcised, because *Epiphanes* king *Antiochus* sonne would not giue eare vnto the marriage, for that he refused to entertaine the reli- Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. 14. Claudius Fœlix gouernor of Iudæa. Drusilla.

B gion of the Iewes, although in times past he had promised his father no lesse. He gaue *Mariamme* also to *Archelaus Chelcias* sonne, who by her fathers consent was before time promised him, on whom he begat a daughter called *Bernice*. A little after this, the marriage of *Azizus* and *Drusilla* was broken off, on this occasion following. At such time as *Fœlix* gouerned Iewry, he saw *Drusilla* and was surprised with her loue, for that she surpassed all other women in beauty. He therefore sent a certaine Magician called *Simon*, who was borne in Cypris, and one of his greatest friends among the Iewes, who perswaded her to forsake her first husband, & to marry with *Fœlix*, giuing her to vnderstand, that she should be happy, if she refused not this match. She vnadui sed, and resolued to rid her selfe from the enuious affection, which her sister *Bernice* bare towards her (who hated her in regard of her beauty, and for this occasion ceased not to iniure her) Mariamme. Fœlix getteth Drusilla from her former husband.

C she condecended to forsake the religion of the Iewes, and to marry with *Fœlix*, by whom shee had a son who was called *Agrippa*. His death hereafter will I declare, and how in the Emperour *Tiberius* time he died, and was burned in the fire of the mountain Vesuuius with his wife. *Bernice* remained a widow, very long time after *Herods* death, who was both her vncle and her husband, and the report was that she had the company of her brother. Finally, she wrought so much, that *Polemon* King of Cilicia caused himselfe to be circumcised, to the end hee might espouse her, purposing by that meanes to make it knowne how falsely she had been accused. Whereunto *Polemon* gaue eare, because she was rich. But this mariage continued not any long time. For *Bernice* thorow her impudency, as it is reported, abandoned *Polemon*, who giuing ouer that mariage forsooke also the religion of the Iewes. At the same time *Mariamme* hauing refused *Archelaus* her Polemon king of Cilicia marrieth Bernice. *The yeare of the world, 4018. after the birth of Christ, 56.*

D husband, married with *Demetrius* one of the chiefest Iewes that were in Alexandria, both in regard of his descent, as also his riches, who at that time also exercised the office of Alubarcha, that is to say, the gouernor of Arabia. She caused the son she had by him to be called *Agrippinus*. But of all this, will I speake more exactly hereafter. Mariamme scorning Archelaus, marrieth Demetrius.

The Emperour *Claudius* died after he had raigned thirteen yeares, eight moneths and twenty daies. Some say, that hee was poisoned by *Agrippina* his wife, the daughter of *Germanicus Claudius* brother, which was first married to *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of the greatest men of Rome: after whose death and long widowhood, shee was finally married to *Claudius*, into whose house shee brought her sonne called *Domitius*, by his owne fathers name. *Claudius* had before time put *Messalina* his wife to death, for the iealousie that hee had of her: although he had had chil- Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. al. 15.

E dren by her, namely *Britannicus* and *Octauius*. Hee had *Octauia* also by his first wife *Pætina*, which was elder then her brethren, and was married to *Nero*, whom *Claudius* so named, and adopted for his sonne. *Agrippina*, fearing least *Britannicus*, growing to mans estate, should succeed his father in the Empire, and desirous to make her own sonne Emperour, as it is reported: she left nothing vnattempted that might bring her husband to his death; & presently sent *Burrus*, who was generall of the army, with certaine other captaines, and those of greatest power among his freemen, to bring *Nero* into the field, and to proclaime him Emperour. Hee being thus established in the Empire, caused *Britannicus* to be secretly poysoned; and not long after this he openly caused his mother to be put to death, yeelding her this recompence, not only for that she had born him in her womb, but also because by her policies he had obtain'd the Empire. He likewise mur- Agrippina. Messalina and Pætina Claudius wiues. Nero Emperour.

F thered *Octauia* his wife, and diuers other noble men, vnder colour of some conspiracy intended against him. But I will no further prosecute this matter, for that there are diuers who haue composed *Neros* History, of whom some haue no regard of the truth, but haue spoken at their pleasure, for that hee had beene their benefactor: other some transported with hatred and despite against him, haue not beene ashamed to publish such impudent lies against his renowne, as they deserue to be condemned. Neither doe I wonder that they haue inuented so many lies against *Nero*, cõsidering that in those Histories which they wrote as touching the precedent Em- *The yeare of the world, 4019. after Christs birth 57.* Nero a tyrant. Neros tyranny.

The yeare of the world, 4019. after Christs Nativity, 57.

perors, they haue not ſtudied to ſpeake truth, although they had not any occaſion to hate them; G
conſidering that they liued a long time after their death. But let theſe contemners of truth write as them liſteth, for that they ſeem to take delight in that licence. For mine own part I am intended to write nothing but the truth: neither ſtand I much on that which concerneth not the matter which I intreat of, purpoſing in all truth and diligence to declare that which hath befallen our nation of the Iewes, without omitting of either their misfortunes or follies, that haue proceeded with them. I will therfore returne to the diſcouery of our affaires. *Azizus* King of Emeſene being dead the firſt yeare of the Emperor *Neros* raigne, his brother obtained the kingdom: *Ariſtobulus* the ſonne of *Herod* King of Chalcis, had the gouernment of the ſignory of the leſſer Armenia from *Neros* hand. *Cæſar* gaue *Agrippa* a certaine portion of Galilee, commanding thoſe of Tiberias & Tarichæa to liue vnder him. Beſides this, he gaue him Iulias ſituate beyond Ior- H
dan, with fourteen boroughs neere adioyning thereunto.

CHAP. VI.

The acts and geſts of Fœlix, *Gouernour of Iudæa.*

Alias cap. 16. Fœlix puniſheth the theeues, and Magicians & other ſeducers of the people.

BVt the affaires of Iudæa grew daily worſe and worſe. For the countrey was repleniſhed againe with theeues, and enchanters, who deceiued the common people. *Fœlix* apprehended many of them daily, and cauſed them to be executed and put to death. He took *Eleazar* alſo the ſonne of *Dinæus*, who was captaine of thoſe outlawes and theeues that ranged in the countrey, and ſurpriſed him by a ſubtilty. For *Fœlix* had giuen him his word, that he ſhould I
in no ſort be endangered: Whereupon he came and ſubmitted himſelfe, and was preſently fettered and ſent to Rome. And for that hee had conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt *Ionathan* the high Prieſt, who had diuers times admoniſhed him to vſe more circumſpection in the gouernment of Iudæa, for feare he ſhould be blamed by the people, for that hee had required *Cæſar* that *Fœlix* might be admitted to the gouernment, he thought it not amiſſe to cut off *Ionathan*, who continually ſollicited and vexed him. For this cauſe, he perſwaded and bribed a certaine man called *Dora*, who was borne in Ieruſalem, and was one of thoſe in whom *Ionathan* repoſed his moſt truſt, to bring in certaine theeues to murther *Ionathan*, who willingly liſtned to his demands; and deſirous to gratifie the gouernour, by this means that enſueth brought that to effect which he had intended. There were certaine theeues that came vp to Ieruſalem, vnder colour to adore God, K
who carrying their ſwords cloſely hidden vnder their garments, accoſted *Ionathan* & ſlew him. Now for that this murther was let ſlip, and not puniſhed; from that day forward the theeues reſorted boldly to the ſolemne feaſts, hauing their weapons hidden vnder their garments, and thronging in among the people, ſlew ſome of thoſe who were their aduerſaries; and otherſome to pleaſure thoſe, who had hired them with ready mony to rid them of thoſe they miſliked. And theſe outrages committted they not onely in other parts of the Citie, but in the temple likewiſe, where they ſlaughtered ſom who little ſuſpected that any impiety ſhould be committed in that place. For mine owne part, I thinke that God hath deſtroyed our Citie in deteſtation of that impietie: and for that he accounted the temple for an impure manſion place, he hath ſent vs the L
Romans, who haue ſet fire on the ſame to purge the Citie, and make vs ſlaues with our wiues and children, intending thereby to teach vs wiſedome by our owne miſeries. Thus was the Citie filled with theſe thefts and murthers. And as touching the enchanters and deceiuers, they perſwaded the common people to follow them into the deſart, promiſing them to ſhew them ſignes and miracles done by the power of God: whereunto diuers gaue eare, and at laſt ſuffered the penaltie of their folly. For *Fœlix* recalling them backe againe, puniſhed them.

Fœlix conſpireth againſt Ionathan.

Butchery.

The deceitful Magicians.

At that ſame time there came a certaine man from Ægypt to Ieruſalem, who tearmed himſelfe a Prophet, who incited the common people to follow him to the Mount called Oliuet, ſituate not far off from Ieruſalem, and onely diſtant ſome fiue furlongs from thence, telling them from thence that he would make them ſee the walls of the Citie fall vnto the ground, by which M
way he promiſed them to giue them entry. Which being reported to *Fœlix*, he cauſed his ſouldiers to arme themſelues, and departing out of Ieruſalem with great ſtore of horſe and foote, he ſet vpon them, and ſlew foure hundreth of them, and tooke two hundreth aliue: as for the Egyptian he eſcaped out of the skirmiſh, and no man knew what became of him. The theeues alſo incited the people anew to make warre againſt the Romans, telling them that they ought not to yeeld them obedience; and they burned and ſpoiled diuers of thoſe boroughs which oppoſed themſelues againſt them. It chanced alſo that the Iewes, which inhabited Cæſarea, mutined againſt

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. cap. 17. A falſe proph. draweth the Iewes to the mount Oliuet

A againſt the Syrians that were in the ſame Citie, in that they ſtroue to haue an equall authority in the gouernment of the ſtate as wel as they. The Iewes pretended the title of ſuperiority, becauſe that *Herod*, who was a Iew, had builded the city of Cæſarea: on the other ſide, the Syrians auowed the Iewes ſayings to be true; but they replied alſo that Cæſarea was in times paſt called the tower of Straton, and that at that time there was not one Iew that inhabited the ſame. Which when the gouernors of that country heard, they laid hands on the authors of this ſedition, as wel of the one as of the other party, and gaue them the baſtinado, pacifying by this means the trouble for a little ſpace. For the Iewes once more being puffed vp with their riches, & contemning the Syrians, iniuriouſly reuiled and prouoked them: on the other ſide, the Syrians being weaker in ſubſtance, but as great in hart (by reaſon the greateſt number of thoſe that bare armes with B the Romanes were Cæſareans & Sebaſtens) at ſome times brake out into opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Iewes, and at length the quarrell grew to that heat, that they caſt ſtones one at another: ſo that on both ſides diuers of them were both ſlaine & hurt; yet had the Iewes the vpper hand. *Fælix* perceiuing that this debate might breed a warre, came on between them, requiring the Iewes to deſiſt from further violence, and commanding his ſouldiers to beat downe thoſe who ſhould refuſe to obey him: by which meanes a great number were ſlaine, and diuers taken priſoners. Moreouer, hee gaue his ſouldiers liberty to ſpoile, and rob diuers very rich houſes. The other Iews, who beſides their authority, were renowmed for their moderation, fearing leſt the like miſery ſhould befall them, beſought *Fælix* to ſound a retreat, and to call in his ſouldiers, and to ſpare that which as yet remained, being ſore grieued at that which had hapned: to which C *Fælix* condeſcended. At that ſame time King *Agrippa* gaue the prieſthood to *Iſmael*, the ſonne of *Phabeus*. There aroſe alſo a diſſenſion betwixt the high Prieſts, and the other Prieſts & gouernours of Ieruſalem, and each faction walked forth accompanied with a troupe of proud & mutinous perſons, who decided their debates with bitter wordes, and flinging of ſtones; ſo that no man might pacifie them. For all things were ſo out of order, as if there had been no Magiſtrates in the citie: and the impudency and audacioufnes of the high Prieſts permitted ſo much, that they ſent their ſeruants to the granges, to ſeize the tenths that were due vnto the Prieſts; wherby it came to paſſe, that ſome poore Prieſts died of neceſſity, and want: ſo much did the violence of the ſeditious at that time preuaile aboue all right.

The yeare of the world, 4019. after Chriſts birth, 57.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. al. 8.

A broile in Cæſarea betweene the Syrians and the Iewes.

The yeare of the world, 4020. after the birth of Chriſt, 58.

Iſmael the ſon of Phabeus high Prieſt.

The ſtrife betweene the hie Prieſts and the Prieſts

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CHAP. VII.

The gouernment of Portius Feſtus: *and of certaine murtherers.*

AFter that *Portius Feſtus* had been ſent by *Nero* to ſucceed *Fælix* in the gouernment of Iudæa, the chiefeſt of thoſe Iewes that inhabited Cæſarea, repaired to Rome to accuſe *Fælix*: and without all doubt he had been puniſhed for the iniuries he had committed againſt the Iewes, if *Nero* had not pardoned him vpon his brother *Pallas* ſubmiſſion and intreaty, who importuned him, and was at that time in great reputation with him. Furthermore, two of the chiefeſt amongſt the Syrians wrought *Berillus*, who had ſomtimes bin *Neros* Maſter, and at that time was Secretary of eſtate in the Greek tongue, by mighty bribes, to E beg at *Neros* hand the reuocation of the right and title, which the Iewes enioyed in the gouernment and adminiſtration of the common-weale. For which cauſe *Berillus* ſollicited the Emperour, and obtained a letter at his hands, which was the cauſe of thoſe miſchiefes that afterwards happened in our nation. For the Iewes of Cæſarea, vnderſtanding what commiſſion the Syrians had gotten, were ſo much the more kindled and encouraged to make warre.

Alias cap. 19. Fœlix accuſed.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

As ſoone therefore as *Feſtus* was arriued in Iudæa, he found the country grieuouſly afflicted with robberies, and the lower country was ſpoiled by ſword and fire. The theeues likewiſe at that time encreaſed wondrouſly, and they vſed ſhort ſwords after the manner of a Perſian Cymetre, and crooked like the Roman faulchion; with which they ſlew diuers men. For thruſting themſelues into the preſs of people that came in great multitudes on the feſtiual daies to celebrate F Gods ſeruice, they killed thoſe very eaſily whom they liſted; and oftentimes repairing to their enemies villages, they ſpoiled and burnt the ſame. But *Feſtus* ſent diuers forces both of horſe and foot againſt certain Iewes, that were ſeduced by an enchanter, who had promiſed them ſecurity and repoſe from all their troubles and moleſtations, if ſo be they would follow him into the deſart; who ſlew both the deceiuer and the deceiued that followed him. At that time King *Agrippa* erected a ſtately building, within the palace at Ieruſalem, neere vnto the porch. This palace in times paſt appertained to the Aſmoneans, and was ſituate in a high place with a goodly proſpect, from

The cutthrots among the Iewes.

Feſtus diſcõfiteth a great deceiuer with all his followers.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 15. al. 10.

The yeare of the world, 4020. after Christs Nativity, 58.

The chiefest men of Ierusalem, stop vp the prospect of Agrippas house.

from whence they that listed, might with pleasure behold the whole citie of Ierusalem, wherin the King took great delight, and beheld from thence that which was done in the temple. The chiefest men of Ierusalem seeing this building, were sore displeased. For neither doth our custom or law permit that any one should look on that which is done in the temple, and especially forbiddeth that no man should behold the sacrifices and oblations. They therefore builded a high wall vpon the gallery, which was within the temple on the West side, which did not onely dam vs the sight of the royall chamber, but also that of the gallery without the temple on the West side, where the Romans kept guard neere vnto the temple on the festiuall daies. Heerewith was King *Agrippa* sore displeased, and the gouernour *Festus* far more then he, who commanded them to pull downe the wall. But they besought him that hee would giue them licence to send their Embassadours to *Nero*, to this intent, alledging that it was impossible for them to liue, if any part of their temple should be beaten downe. Which being granted them, they sent tenne of their chiefest nobility, and with them *Ismael* the high Priest, and *Chelcias* the Treasurer of the temple, vnto *Nero*: who no sooner heard there sute, but he pardoned them, not onely for that they had done, but he commanded that the building should remane as it was. All which hee did in fauour of his wife *Poppea*, who was intreated by the Iewes, for that she was a deuout Princesse, to sue for them. Shee therefore commanded the ten Embassadors to returne, and kept *Chelcias* and *Ismael* for pledges with her. The King vnderstanding how all things had past, gaue the high priesthood to *Ioseph*, surnamed *Cabi*, which was the sonne of *Simon*, who in times past had beene high Priest.

Ioseph Cabi the sonne of Simon made high Priest.

CHAP. VIII.

The gouernment of Albinus.

Albinus gouernour of Iudæa.

Ananus the son of Ananus the hie Priest. Hedio & Rufsinus, chap. 16. al. 21.

Ananus had fiue sons that succeeded him in the priesthood.

The yeare of the world, 4025. after Christs Nativity, 63.

Iames the brother of our Lord stoned.

Ananus accused before Albinus.

Iesus the son of Damneus possesseth Ananus place.

CÆsar being aduertised of *Festus* death, sent *Albinus* to gouern Iudæa. But King *Agrippa* commanded *Ioseph* to lead a priuat life, and aduanced in his steed a certaine man called *Ananus*, the sonne of *Ananus*, who is reported to haue been most happy. For hee had fiue sons, all which supplyed the place of the high Priest, after himselfe had long time before them enioyed the roome: the like whereof hath neuer hapned to any of our high priests. The younger *Ananus*, who, as we said, was aduanced to this place, was a rash and head-strong man, that followed the sect of the Sadduces, who (as wee haue already declared) were amongst all other the Iewes the most seuere in executing Iustice: wheras therfore *Ananus* was of this disposition, he thought that he had a fit occasion offered him to doe what him listed after *Festus* death, and during the time that *Albinus* was as yet vpon his way. He therfore ascended and sate downe in the tribunall, assisted by the Iudges, and caused *Iames* the brother of *Iesus*, who was called *Christ*, to appeare before him, with certaine others, and accused them for transgressing the law, and blasphemy against God, and caused him to be stoned to death. They that were men of vpright conscience within the city, and diligent obseruers of the law, were very much displeased with this act, and sent secretly vnto the King, beseeching him to prohibit *Ananus*, that hereafter he should commit no such like offence: for that his first action was not allowable. Some of them also went to meet *Albinus*, being on his way from Alexandria, to enforme him that it was not lawfull for *Ananus* to assemble the councell without his licence. *Albinus* perswaded by these words, wrote a cholerick letter to *Ananus*, wherin he threatned to punish him. And for the same cause King *Agrippa* dispossessed him of the priesthood, after he had held the same for the space of three moneths, and in his steed he established *Iesus* the son of *Damneus*. After that *Albinus* was arriued in Ierusalem, he employed all his care and study to pacifie the countrey, by executing diuers of the theeues.

But the high Priest *Ananias* daily increased in honor and credit, and purchased the good will of the citizens by his liberality and great gifts. But he had certaine mischieuous seruants about him, who conuersed with those that were most intemperate and audacious, who repairing from graunge to graunge, tooke vp many tenths that belonged to the Priests, and beat those that refused to tender them. The Priests vsed no lesse force then did their seruants, hauing no man that might restraine them: whereby it came to passe that the Priests, who were before time maintained by the tenths, died at that time for want of victuals. And the thieues renewing their entrance into the citie by night, during the feast that was celebrated at that time, took the Secretary of captain *Eleazar* aliue, who was *Ananias* son, who was the hie Priest. And hauing bound him, led him

Some forcibly gather the tenths of the Priests.

A him out of the City, ſending *Ananias* word, that they would deliuer his Secretary, if he would labour ſo much with *Albinus*, as to deliuer them their ten companions then priſoners, who were taken by him. To the performance whereof, *Ananias* perſwaded *Albinus* by manifeſt reaſon: and by obtaining his demand, encreaſed and begat a number of miſeries. For the theeues vſed all the wily meanes they could deuiſe in apprehending ſome one of *Ananias* houſe; and when they had taken any one of them aliue, they would not deliuer him, except before they might haue one of their owne deliuered. So that increaſing both in courage and number, they wexed more and more inſolent to afflict the countrey.

The yeare of the world, 4026. after Chriſts birth, 64.

The theeues apprehend Ananias kinred and ſeruants.

At that ſame time king *Agrippa* enlarged the citie of Cæſarea, ſurnamed *Philippi*, and in honor of *Nero* called it Neronias. He builded alſo to his great charge a Theater in fauor of the Beryti-

B ans, wherein euery yeere he ſpent diuers thouſands of ſiluer in ſports. Hee diſtributed oyle and corne to euery one of the people, and garniſhed all the city with moſt antick and goodly counterfaited portraitures vpon the porches. Briefly, hee welny tranſported into the citie all the ornaments of the reſt of his kingdome; for which cauſe his ſubiects began to hate him, ſeeing hee depriued them of their rare ornaments to adorne one ſtrange citie. *Ieſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel* ſucceeded in the prieſthood, which the King had giuen him, and taken away from *Ieſus* the ſon of *Damneus*: who reſigned him his place againſt his will. Whereupon there aroſe a diſcord between them. For hauing aſſembled their reſoluteſt followers, they grew from bitter words to ſatall blowes and ſtones. But amongſt all the reſt, *Ananias* was the richeſt in wealth, and by his bounty reconciled the more vnto him. *Coſtobarus* alſo and *Saul* gathered each of them a band of

C raſcall and deſperat men. Theſe two were of the blood roiall, and by reaſon of their affinity and alliance with *Agrippa*, they were well beloued. For which cauſe they were outrageous and violent, in ſpoiling & rauiſhing the fortunes of the weaker ſort. From this time forward the eſtate of our citie grew deſperate, encreaſing daily more and more in wickednes.

Caſarea Philippi new builded by Agrippa, and called Neronias.

The Berytians receiue much kindnes at Agrippas hands.

Ananias, Coſtobarus and Saul, prepared to ſpoile the weaker.

When *Albinus* vnderſtood that *Geſſius Florus* came to ſucceed him, deſirous that they of Ieruſalem ſhould acknowledge ſome good turne at his hands, he called before him all thoſe priſoners that were notoriouſly guilty of murther, and cauſed them to bee executed. As for thoſe that were impriſoned vpon any ſmall or ſlight cauſe, vpon payment of their fines, he deliuered them: and in ſo doing, the priſon was cleanſed of malefactors, and from that time the country

D remayned full of theeues and robbers.

Hegeſippus & Ruffinus, chap. 17. al. 22.

Albinus executeth the hainous malefactors.

Agrippa giueth the of the tribe of Leui, leaue to weare linnen garments.

The Leuites, who were ordained to ſing Hymnes vnto God, ſolicited the King to aſſemble the councell, and therby to permit them to weare the linnen Robe, which the Prieſts were accumed to vſe, telling him that ſuch an ordinance would dignifie his eſtate very much, in that hee would be alwaies famous in memory of this new eſtabliſhment. This ſute of theirs was eaſily reſpected & admitted: For the King after he had conſulted with thoſe, who were his aſſiſtants, ſuffered the Leuites that ſung the Hymnes, to lay aſide their ordinary Robe, and to apparell themſelues in linnen, as beſt liked them. He permitted alſo that another part of the Leuites, who intended the ſeruice of the temple, ſhould learne to ſing the Hymnes and Pſalmes according as they had required. All which he did contrary to the ordinances of the countrey, which being broken, there was nought elſe to be expected but puniſhment.

Agrippa permitteth the miniſters of the temple to ſing the ſacred Hymnes.

E At that time was the building of the Temple finiſhed: And the people perceiuing that more then eighteen thouſand workmen ſhould be idle, and depriued of wages, whereupon they were accuſtomed to liue in trauailing in the building of the Temple: on the other ſide, being loth to reſerue their money thorow the feare they had of the Romans; to prouide for thoſe workemen (in the entertainment of whom they reſolued to imploy their treaſure: for if any one of them trauailed but one houre in the day, hee was ſuddenly paied his wages) they requeſted the King that it would pleaſe him to repaire the Eaſtern gate on the outward part of the Temple, ſituate in a deſcent, the wals whereof were in height foure hundreth cubits, made of ſquare ſtones of white marble, from the top to the bottome, and euery ſtone twenty foot long, and ſixe foote thicke.

The people of the Iewes beſeech the king that it may be lawfull for thē to repaire the porch.

F This work was firſt builded by King *Salomon*, who was the firſt that builded our Temple. But the King, to whom *Claudius Cæſar* had giuen the commiſſion of building the Temple, thinking with himſelfe that it was very eaſie to breake it downe, but very hard to build it vp, and that to reedifie the porch, it would coſt much time and expence, hee denied their requeſt, permitting them neuertheleſſe to paue their citie with broad ſtone. He tooke the prieſthood from *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Gamaliel*, and gaue it to *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus*. In whoſe time the warre betwixt the Romans and Iewes grew to the firſt head.

Matthias the ſon of Theophilus, high Prieſt.

But

The yeare of the world, 4026. after Christs Nativity, 64.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18.

The succession & number of the high priests among the Iewes.

Aaron and his progeny.

There were 83. hie priests in all.

But I thinke it not amisse, but very answerable to the course of this present historie, to speake G of the priests, and to shew how they had their beginning, and to whom this honour may be lawfully communicated, and how many they were in number vntil the end of the war. The first of them was *Aaron Moses* brother, after whose death his children succeeded him, & from that time forward the honour hath continued with their successours. For it is a law obserued by our auncestors, that no man should be admitted to the priesthood, except he be of *Aarons* posteritie: for albeit he were a king, if so bee that he were of another line, it was impossible for him to obtaine the priesthood. All the priests after *Aaron*, who (as we haue said) was the first, vntil *Phanasus*, who the seditious created priest in the time of the war, haue bin in number 83: wherof 13 haue executed the office from the time that *Moses* erected Gods tabernacle in the desart, vntill such time as arriuing in Iudæa, king *Salomon* builded a temple to God. For in the beginning, the high priest- H hood continued with the possessors for terme of life: but afterwards, although the priestes were yet aliue, yet were there other successors planted in their rooms. These 13 were of *Aarons* posteritie, and obtained this degree in succession the one after the other. Their first gouernment was Aristocratia, which is the gouernment of the nobilitie: afterwards a Monarchy; and finallie, a royall gouernment. The number of yeeres wherin these 13 flourished, were sixe hundreth & 12 yeeres, from the day that our fathers departed out of Egypt, vnder the conduct of *Moses*, vntill the edification of the temple that was builded in Ierusalem by king *Salomon*.

After these 13 high priests, there were 18 others; who after *Solomons* time succeeded one after another, vntill the time that *Nabuchodonosor* king of Babylon, hauing encamped before the citie, tooke the same, and burned the temple, and transported our nation into Babylon, & led away I the high priest *Iosedech* prisoner. The time of the priesthood, and continuance of these 18, was foure hundreth sixtie sixe yeeres, sixe moneths, and ten daies: so long as the Iewes haue had the royall gouernment. After the surprisall of Ierusalem by the Babylonians, vntill such time as *Cyrus* king of Persia dismissed the Iewes, and gaue them leaue to returne from Babylon into their owne countrey, with permission to reedifie their temple, there are 70 yeers: and at that time the captiues beeing returned, *Iesus* the sonne of *Iosedech* tooke vpon him the high priesthood, who with those of his posterity to the number of fifteene, haue gouerned in a Democratie or popular estate, vntill the time of *Antiochus* surnamed *Eupator*, for the space of foure hundreth & fourteen yeares. This *Antiochus* was the first, who with his generall *Lysias* displaced *Onias*, surnamed *Menelaus*, of his priesthood; commanding him to be slain at Beryth, and after he had driuen his son K out of the succession, he established *Iacim* high Priest, who notwithstanding was of *Aarons* race; but not of his family. For this cause *Onias*, the sonne of *Onias*, and nephew to the deceased *Onias*, retyred himselfe into Egypt: where growing familiar with *Ptolomey Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his wife, hee perswaded them to build a Temple in the confines of Heliopolis, not vnlike to that of Ierusalem, and to create a high Priest in the same: of which temple in Egypt, we haue made very oftentimes mention. After that *Iacim* had held the priesthood for the space of three years, he died without successor. For the citie remained seuen yeares without a high Priest. Againe, the Asmoneans recouered the gouernement of their nation, and after they had warred against the Macedons, they established *Ionathan* high Priest, who exercised the office seuen yeares: but afterwards he was slaine by an ambush, and treason conspired against him by *Tryphon*, as wee haue L declared elsewhere. After him, *Simon* his brother vndertooke the priesthood, who was not long after slaine treacherously by his sonne in law at a banquet. After him succeeded his sonne *Hircanus*, who enioying this dignity for the space of thirty one yeares, died when hee was very olde, leauing behinde him *Iudas*, surnamed *Aristobulus*; who dying by sickenesse, left his brother *Alexander* his heire, both of the kingdome and high priesthood. After that *Aristobulus* had obtained the royall gouernment, he enioyed both dignities one whole yeare. For this *Iudas* surnamed *Aristobulus*, was the first that set the diadem on his head, causing himself to be called a King. The which, *Alexander* did continue: for he also ioyned the kingdom with the high priesthood, and raigned twenty-seuen years: and feeling himselfe draw neere to his death, hee left it in *Alexandras* his wiues hands to dispose of the priesthood as she pleased. She therefore bestowed it M on *Hircanus*: and as touching the kingdome, she kept it in her owne hands nine yeares, and afterwards died. Her sonne *Hircanus* was high Priest for so long time: for after *Alexandras* death, his brother *Aristobulus* made warre against him: and hauing ouercome him, hee tooke the kingdome from him, and not onely seized the crowne, but the priesthood. After hee had raigned three yeares, and as many moneths, *Pompey* repaired to Ierusalem, and took it perforce, and laying hold of *Aristobulus*, sent him bound vnto Rome with his children. After which he restored

the

A the prieſthood once more to *Hircanus*, cõmitting the gouernment of the nation vnto his hands, forbidding him in the meane ſpace to weare the diademe. Beſides the firſt nine yeares, *Hircanus* gouerned twenty and foure, but *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus* Princes of the Parthians, paſſed Euphrates, and made warre againſt *Hircanus*, and tooke him aliue priſoner, and made *Antigonus*, *Ariſtobulus* ſonne King. But after he had gouerned three yeares and three moneths, *Soſius* and *Herod* tooke him aliue perforce, and *Antonius* ſent him to Antioch where he was put to death. After that *Herod* was created King by the Romans, there was neuer any high Prieſt created of the poſterity of the Aſmoneans (for he gaue the high prieſthood to certaine men of obſcure & baſe condition, who were of the order of the Prieſts) *Ariſtobulus* onely excepted. This *Ariſtobulus* was *Hircanus* nephew, who was priſoner among the Parthians; and hauing giuen him the prieſt-
B hood he married himſelfe with *Mariamne* his ſiſter, to the intent to continue himſelf in the good liking of the people in remembrance of *Hircanus*: but afterwards fearing, leſt all of them ſhould turne to *Ariſtobulus* ſide, he cauſed him to be ſlaine, by finding out a meanes to cauſe him to be ſtifled, at ſuch time as he bathed himſelfe in a fiſhpond neere to Iericho, as we haue declared before this. After him he beſtowed the prieſthood no more on any of the line of the Aſmoneans. *Archelaus*, his ſonne followed his fathers ſteps in reſpect of the prieſthood, and from that time forward the Romans haue enioyed the ſoueraignty ouer Iewry. All they then that haue exerciſed the prieſthood from *Herods* time vntill the day that *Titus* tooke the Citie and the Temple, haue been in all twenty and eight. All the continuance of their gouernement was one hundreth and ſeuen yeares. Certaine of theſe gouerned during *Herods* life, and in the daies of *Archelaus*,
C his ſonne: but after theſe two were dead, the gouernment was Ariſtocratical, or of the nobility, wherein the Prieſts had the gouernement ouer the whole nation. Thus much haue we thought meet to ſpeake at this time as touching the high Prieſts.

The yeare of the world, 4026. after Chriſts birth, 46.

Ariſtobulus ſlaine by Herod. ſupra lib. 15. cap. 3.

CHAP. IX.

How Florus, Albinus *ſucceſſor, offered many iniuries to the Iewes, which conſtrained them to take armes.*

D *GEſſius Florus* being ſent by *Nero* to ſucced *Albinus*, filled all Iudæa with many miſchiefes and miſeries. He was a Clazomenian borne, and was married to a certain woman called *Cleopatra*, no leſſe miſchieuous then himſelfe: who being beloued by *Poppea Neros* wife, obtained this dignity for him. He behaued himſelfe ſo outrageouſly and violently in all his gouernement, that thorow the great iniuſtice he committed, the Iewes praiſed *Albinus* as if he had been their benefactor. For he concealed his miſchiefe, taking care leaſt it ſhould wholly be conceited or diſcouered: but *Geſſius Florus* behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, as if he had beene ſent to make open ſhew and ſale of his villanies, publiſhing his iniuſtice in the eares of our nation, without omitting either rapine or iniuſtice in execution and inflicting puniſhment on the innocent. For he was pitileſſe and couetous, and made no difference between noble and ignoble, and was not aſhamed to be partaker with theeues: of whom there were diuers that made it their profeſſion, to ſteal without any fear, in that they were aſſured of their ſafety, becauſe he was partaker
E with them. And in a word, there was no moderation in him, in ſuch ſort that the poor Iewes being vnable to endure the inſolent rapines and ſpoiling of their goods that they receiued by theſe theeues, were conſtrained to abandon their owne houſes, and to flie their country, and remaine in ſome more commodious place of ſecurity, yea though it were among ſtrangers. What need I ſpeake any more? Hee that conſtrained vs to raiſe our ſwords againſt the Romans, was *Florus*, who made this account, that it was better for them to die all at once in great troups, then to periſh by little and little. In briefe, the warre began the ſecond yeare of the gouernment of *Florus* in that Prouince, which was the twelfth yeare of *Neros* Empire. But they that deſire to know exactly all that which we haue beene conſtrained both to do and ſuffer, may peruſe my bookes as touching the Warres of the Iewes. For which cauſe in this place I will end this ancient Hiſtorie,
F after which I haue begun to deſcribe the Hiſtory of the Warre.

The yeare of the world, 4028. after Chriſts birth 66. Geſſius Florus gouernour of Iudæa. Geſſius Florus worſe then Albinus.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after the birth of Chriſt, 68. Florus the originall cauſe of the wars of the Iewes. The beginning of the wars.

This ancient Hiſtory containeth all that which hath been reported to be done ſince the firſt creation of man, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Neros* Empire, omitting nothing that hath befallen the Iewes, as well in Ægypt as in Syria, and Paleſtine: All that likewiſe, which we haue beene enforced to ſuffer vnder the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; as alſo our eſtate vnder the Perſians and Macedons, and finally vnder the Romans. All this, as I ſuppoſe, I hue compiled and gathered together with carefull diligence, and I haue enforced my ſelf to recite the number of thoſe, who haue

The Epilog of the antiquities of the Iewes.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativity, 68.

haue been high Priests for the space of two thousand years. I haue also collected the succession of Kings, their actions and gouernments, with the power of their monarchies, according as it is amply described in holy Scriptures, as also I haue promised in the beginning of my History. Furthermore, I dare boldly say, that whatsoeuer I haue set downe, is so assured, that there is no man either Iew or of what nation soeuer, yea although he should haue imployed the vttermost of his power, could more exactly communicate the same vnto the Greeks, then I haue done. For in their confessions & opinions who are of our nation, I haue such knowledge in that which concerneth our doctrine, as I surpasse them all: And as touching the Grecian disciplines, I haue studied & learned the tongue, although I cannot boast of the familiar & fit pronunciation of the same, for that I haue liued in the countrey. For amongst vs wee make but slender reckoning of those, who are exercised in diuers tongues, for that this study is accounted prophane by vs, and common not onely to free persons, but also vnto slaues: and they onely are esteemed to haue profited in wisedome, who fully know the contents of the law, and who can expound the holy Scriptures. For this cause, although diuers haue trauailed in this exercise of writing Histories, yet are there scarcely two or three of them that haue written succesfully, and haue receiued the fruits of their labours. And it may be that it shall not be misthought of, if I freely speake somewhat of my progeny and life, considering that there are men at this day liuing, who can approue or reproue me in that I set down. And in this place I will make an end of mine ancient History. which I haue reduced into twenty Bookes, containing sixty thousand verses. And if God grant me life I will shortly entreat of our wars, and the euents of the same that haue hapned hitherto, which is the thirteenth yeare of *Domitianus Cæsars* Empire, and the fifty sixt yeare of mine age. I

Ioseph expert in the Greek and Hebrew tongues.

This volume was written, *The yeare of the world, 4057. after Christs birth 95.*

Moreouer I am resolued to discouer in foure Bookes the diuers opinions of the sects of the Iewes, as touching God and his essence, and our lawes: according to which certaine things are permitted vs, and other-some are forbiden.

G H I K

The end of the Antiquities of the Fewes.

A

THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELFE.

B

NOW therefore that I am not basely but nobly descended, being both on the father and mothers side, deriued from the line of the priests: and for as much as some are accustomed to draw the ground of their nobility, the one from this man, the other from that; so among our nation the marke of true nobilitie is, to deriue a mans pedigree from the priesthood. Touching my selfe I am not onely lineally issued from the Priests, but I drav my originall from them, who amongst the foure & twenty ranks or families of priests iustly challenge the superiority. Moreouer, by my mothers side I am of the bloud royal. For the heires of the Asmoneans, frō whom she is descended, haue for a long time exercised the priesthood and princely power among our nation. I will likewise make it knowne, how my predecessors haue succeeded the one after the other. My great grandfathers father was *Simon*, surnamed *Psellus*, that is, the stutterer, who liued at such time as *Hircanus* the high Priest the first of that name, and the sonne of *Simon* the high priest, was in office. This *Simon Psellus* had nine sonnes: the one of these was *Matthias*, surnamed *Aphlias*. This *Matthias* tooke to wife the daughter of the high priest *Ionathan*, by whome he had one sonne, who was *Matthias* surnamed *Curtus*, who was borne in the first yeere of *Hircanus* priesthood. *Matthias* begat *Ioseph* the ninth yeere of *Alexandras* gouernment, and of *Ioseph* came *Matthias* the tenth yeer of the raigne of *Archelaus*; and *Matthias* begat me the first yeere of the Empire of *Caius Cæsar*. I likewise haue three sonnes, mine eldest is *Hircanus*, who was borne in the fourth: my next, *Iustus*, who was borne in the seuenth: and *Agrippa* my last was borne in the ninth yeer of *Vespasians* Empire. This genealogy of mine do I in this manner propose, according as I haue found it written in the publike registers, to put them to silence who shall pretend to reproue or detract the same.

Iosephus image.

Ioseph the son of Matthias was borne in the first yeere of Caius Cæsars Empire, and the 4001. yeere of the world and the 39 after Christs birth.

C

D

My father *Matthias* was not onely famous for his expresse nobilitie, but hath also bin praised by reason of his iustice and authoritie in Ierusalem, which is the mother city of all the rest in our countrey. My bringing vp during my tender yeeres was with *Matthias*, who was my brother by the same father and mother; with whom I happily profited in all kinde of science, hauing a good memorie and a quick apprehending spirit: so that, being as yet a child of fourteene yeeres of age, I was praised by all men in regard of the good affection I bare to learning, and the priests & noblest citizens alwaies assembled about me, to receiue certaine exact instructions from mee in any thing that concerned our ordinances. About the age of sixteene yeeres my desire was to haue a search and insight into the sects of our nation, which (as I haue said) are three: the first of the Pharises, which is the chiefest. The second of the Sadducees. And the third of the Esseans. For I truely thought with my selfe, that I might easily choose the better of the three, at such time as I had beene exercised and acquainted with them all: for which cause with great abstinence and no lesse labour, I passed thorow them all: and not content with this experience; after I had heard that a certaine man called *Banus* liued in the desart, clothing himselfe with that which the trees brought forth, & feeding on no other kind of meat, but that which they willingly yeelded him, washing himselfe oftentimes by day and night in cold water to keep himselfe chaste: I began to imitate his course of life: and after I had liued with him for the space of three yeeres, and satisfied my desires, at last I returned into the citie.

Ioseph from his infancy very studious, and addicted to learning.

E

F

At the age of nineteene yeeres, I began to intermeddle with publike affaires, following the sect of the Pharisees, which very neerely resembleth that sect among the Græcians, who are called Stoicks. After I was sixe and twentie yeeres old, it was my fortune to repaire to Rome vpon this occasion that ensueth: During such time as *Fœlix* gouerned Iudæa, there were certain priests my familiars, men of much honour & more vertue, who vpon some slight occasion were bound and

Ioseph a Pharisee.

ſent to Rome by his commandement, to aunſwer to that which was obiected againſt them in *Caſars* preſence. Whereupon I being deſirous to labour for their liberty, hauing eſpeciall intelligence, that notwithſtanding the torments wherewith they were martyred, they buried not in forgetfulnes that pietie which they ought to God, but liued on figges and nuttes : for this cauſe I departed for Rome, and was encountred with many great and grieuous hazards by ſea. For the ſhip, wherein I ſailed, was wrackt in the midſt of the Adriatike ſea, and there were about ſixe hundreth of vs that ſwamme all night long, and vpon the day ſpring by Gods prouidence a Cyrenian ſhip came in ſight, and both I and certaine others to the number of foureſcore, outſwimming the reſt, were taken vp into it and ſaued. After I had in this ſort eſcaped, I came to Dicæarchia, which the Italians call at this day Puteol, and grew acquainted with *Aliturus* a Iew borne, who was a plaier, and in good reputation with *Nero* ; by whoſe meanes inſinuating my ſelfe into *Poppeas* knowledge, who was *Caſars* wife, I determined to beſeech her to procure thoſe Prieſts liberties, with all expedition: which done, I by her meanes recouered their preſent liberty : and being gratified likewiſe by her with many great gifts, I returned into my countrey. There found I the commonweale too much addicted to factions and troubles, and diuers too prone and readie to rebell and forget their alleageance to the Romans. I inforced my ſelfe to repreſſe the ſeditious, and exhorted them to change their opinions, repreſenting before their eies the qualitie of thoſe, againſt whom they enterpriſed their war, with whom they neither might compare in experience of war, neither in good fortune: for this cauſe I aduiſed them, not to hazard and ouerthrow their countrey by their raſhnes and rage, and with it their poſterities and themſelues.

To this effect ſpake I vnto them, and inſtantly intreated them to forſake their vntamed reſolution, for that I foreſaw that the end of this warre would redound to our vtter ruine : but I preuailed nothing with them. For the fury of deſperate and diſſolute men preuailed aboue reaſon: for which cauſe fearing leaſt by continuall inforcing of one thing, I ſhould grow into hatred and ſuſpicion among them, as if I fauoured their enemies; fearing likewiſe leſt if they ſhould lay hold on me, they ſhould be put to death, ſeeing that the fort of Antonia was already ſeized vpon by the ſeditious, I retired my ſelfe into the inward part of the temple. In proceſſe of time, after *Manahem* and the chiefeſt among the theeues were put to death, I came out again from the temple, and conuerſed with the prieſts, and chiefeſt Phariſees, who were ſurpriſed with great feare. And grieuouſly were we diſmaied, when we ſaw the people in armes : and being vncertain what to do, and wanting the meanes to pacifie theſe mutinies, and apparantly perceiuing their manifeſt danger, both I and the Phariſees tould them our opinion was anſwerable to theirs, & counſailed them to containe themſelues in peace, and not to prouoke the enemy. For our hope was that *Ieſsius* would with all expedition draw out great forces, and chaſtice thoſe peace-breakers. But as ſoone as he arriued, and had fought with them, he was ouercome, and a great number of his men were ſlaine : whereupon grew the vtter ruine of our whole nation. For ſuch as deſired the warre, were puffed vp with that victory, and conceiued an aſſured hope that in the end they ſhould ouercome the Romans. Beſides that, this enſuing occaſion preſented it ſelfe. The inhabitants of the cities that bordered vpon Syria, laid hands on thoſe Iews that dwelt amongſt them, & ſlue both them, their wiues, & children, without any iuſt cauſe or crime committed by them. For they had not conſpired any waies or intended to reuolt from the Romans, or to vſe any hoſtilitie or any ſecret conſpiracie againſt any of thoſe, with whome they were conuerſant. But among all the reſt, the citizens of Scythopolis exceeded all other in impietie and wickednes. For being beſieged without by certaine of the Iewes, they inforced thoſe Iewes that inhabited amongſt them to take armes, & to charge thoſe of their owne nation (which is both prohibited & vnlawfull by our lawes) who fighting againſt them diſcomfited them : but after this ouerthrow, they in ſuch ſort falſified and forgot their faith, that they had giuen to their aſſociates and fellow citizens that they ſlew euery mothers ſonne of them, to the number of many thouſands. The like misfortune alſo fell vpon thoſe Iewes that inhabited Damaſco. But of this wee haue more amply ſpoken in thoſe our bookes, which we haue written of the warres of the Iewes : & at this preſent I make mention hereof, intending to ſignifie, and certainly perſwade the readers, that the warre which was waged with the Romanes, proceeded not of a reſolute intent and purpoſe, but for the moſt part of an inforced neceſſitie.

After that *Geſsius* was ouercome (as we haue heretofore declared) the chiefeſt men of Ieruſalem perceiuing that the theeues made a partie among the ſeditious, and were ſtrongly and plentifully armed and prouided, they began to fear leaſt if they ſhould be found diſarmed, they ſhould

Ioſephs ſhipwracke.

Ioſeph obtaineth the prieſts liberties.

The Iewes ſeditious.

Ioſeph dehorting the Iewes from ſedition is ſuſpected by them of treaſon.

The Iewes are plagued both by ſtrangers and their own countrimen.

The Iewes conſtrained by neceſsitie to make war.

A ſhould ſuddenly be ouerthrowne by their enemies; as in effect it fell out afterwards: and hearing that all Galilee was not as yet wholly reuolted from the Romans; but that a part thereof as yet entertained the peace, they ſent me with two other Prieſts *Ioazar* and *Iudas*, who were both vertuous and honorable men, to perſwade the mutinous to lay by their armes, & to let them know that it was more behooueful for the good of the nation, that ſuch men as were in authority & reputation, ſhould haue the keeping thereof. The reſolution that was taken by them was, that they had them alwaies ready vpon all occaſions, but that they expected vntill they were certifi- what the Romans intended to doe.

With this commiſſion and ſuch like inſtructions, I repaired into Galilee: where I found the Sephorites were in no ſmall hazard in reſpect of their countrey, for that they of Galilee had re- The danger of the Sephorites.

B ſolued to forrage the ſame in regard of their league of friendſhip continued with the Romanes, and contracted and ratified by *Senius Gallus* Gouernor of Syria. But I deliuered them all of that feare, and appeaſed the cõmon people by permittting them, to ſend at all times when they pleaſed, their hoſtages to *Geſſius*, who lay at Dora a Citie of Phœnicia. I found likewiſe that the inhabitants of Tiberias were already in armes, vpon this occaſion following. There were in that Sedition in the Citie of Tiberias. Three factiõs in the citie of Tiberias.

Citie three different factions, the one of the nobility, whoſe chieftaine was *Iulius Capella*, and all thoſe that accompanied him, that is to ſay, *Herod* the ſon of *Miarus*, *Herod* the ſon of *Gamalus*, and *Compſus* the ſonne of *Compſus* (for *Criſpus* his brother, who in times paſt had been gouernour for *Agrippa* ſurnamed the Great, was amongſt his poſſeſſions on the other ſide of Iordan) all theſe I ſay gaue counſell at that time to ſubſcribe to the Romanes authority, and to obey their King.

C But *Piſtus* would no waies accord to this aduice, in regard of his ſon *Iuſtus*: for naturally he was vaine-glorious. The ſecond faction was of the common ſort, who concluded vpon warre. *Iuſtas*, *Piſtus* ſon, who was the ring-leader of the third faction, carried himſelfe very doubtfully as touching the warre; yet notwithſtanding hee ſought & thirſted after innouation, hoping that by a change he ſhould encreaſe his power. Preſenting himſelf therfore in the midſt of the multitude, he inforced himſelfe to perſwade the common ſort, that their Citie had alwaies belonged to Galilee, and that during the daies of *Herod* the Tetrarch, who founded the ſame, it was the chiefeſt Citie, whoſe pleaſure it was that the Citie of Sephoris ſhould yeeld obedience to that of Tiberias. Furthermore, he auowed that they had not loſt that preheminence in the time of King *Agrippa* the father, but had continued the ſame till *Fœlix* obtained the gouernement of Iudæa. The oration of Iuſtus, Piſtus ſonne, to the multitude. " " " " " " " "

D But for the preſent wherein they had been giuen by *Nero* to the yonger *Agrippa*, they had fallen and loſt their ſuperiority. For the Citie of Sephoris obtained the ſoueraignty of Galilee, after that ſhe acknowledged the Roman gouernment, who had aboliſhed the table royall and publike regiſters. By theſe words and others of like nature, inforced againſt King *Agrippa*, he incited the people to rebellion, ſignifying vnto them that the opportunity inuited them to take arms, to the end that being aſſociated with the Galileans, they might make themſelues Lords, for that all of them would willingly ioyne themſelues with them, thorow the hatred they bare to the Sephorites, on whom they would reuenge thẽſelues with great force, becauſe they continued in their allegeance, which they promiſed to the Romans. Iuſtus incites the people to rebellion. " " "

And by theſe words hee won the peoples hearts vnto him: for hee was a man that was very Iuſtus the ofſpring of war.

E eloquent, and by his ſubtilty and politike diſcourſe, eaſily ouerthrew all that which his aduerſaries produced againſt him. For hee was not ignorant of thoſe ſciences that are knowne vnto the Greekes: but truſting to his wiſedome and good diſcourſe, hee began to diſcouer how all things had paſt at that time, to the intent that by ſuch colourable inſinuations he might ſmother the truth. But in the proceſſe of our diſcourſe, we will declare that hee was a man of a diſſolute life, and that by his and his brothers meanes, he wanted little of vtterly ouerthrowing his countrey. When as therefore this *Iuſtus* had perſwaded the Citizens of Tiberias to take armes, and had conſtrained diuers men likewiſe, who were of the contrary opinion, to do the like, he iſſued out with them, and burned the villages of the Gadareneans and Hippenians, that are ſituate in the confines of Tiberias and Scythopolis. In this eſtate was Tiberias: and as touching Giſchala,

F their eſtate and affaires were brought to this iſſue. *Iohn* the ſonne of *Leui* ſeeing ſome of the Citizens waxen proud by means of their reuolt from the Romans, laboured to reſtraine them, and required them to continue in their allegeance: but notwithſtanding all his perſwaſion and diligence, he could not containe them. For the nations round about them, as the Gadareneans, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians aſſembled a great army, and with the ſame aſſailed Giſchala, and tooke it by force: and after they had conſumed it by fire and vtterly deſtroied the ſame, they returned euery one to their dwelling places. *Iohn* being ſore diſpleaſed with this act, armed all Giſchala burned & ſpoiled.

thoſe that were with him, and ſet vpon theſe abouenamed nations: and hauing obtained the victory, he reedified Giſchala in farre better ſort then it was before, incloſing it with a wall, to the intent it might be the better fortified againſt future inuaſions. G

Gamala faithfull to Rome.

But thoſe of Gamala perſeuered in their faith towards the Romans; for the occaſion that enſueth. *Philip*, the ſonne of *Iacim*, who gouerned vnder King *Agrippa*, eſcaping beyond all opinion, and flying to the royall palace in Ieruſalem at ſuch time as it was beſieged, fell into another great danger; to wit, to be ſlaine by *Manahem*, and thoſe theeues that were with him: but certain Babylonians his kinſmen being at that time in Ieruſalem, hindered the theeues from executing their purpoſe at that time. When as therefore *Philip* had ſoiourned there for the ſpace of foure daies, on the fift he fled away, diſguizing himſelfe in a falſe haire, for feare hee ſhould be diſcouered: And as ſoone as he was arriued in one of thoſe villages which was of his owne poſ- H
ſeſſion, ſituate neere vnto the mount Gamala, he ſent for certaine of his ſubiects to make their repaire vnto him. But God would not permit it; but for *Philips* greater good, hee croſſed the ſcope of his intent, which otherwiſe had bin the ruine of many: for being ſurpriſed by a ſudden feuer, hee committed certaine letters of his, written to *Agrippa* and *Bernice* who were yet but young, to one of his free-men, commanding him to deliuer them to *Varus*, who was put in truſt by the King and Queene, to adminiſter the affaires of their kingdome, for that they were gone to Beryth to meet with *Geſſius*. As ſoone therefore as he had receiued *Philips* letters, and vnderſtood that he was eſcap't, he tooke it very hardly, for that he thought it would bee ſaid that the King and Queene had no vſe of him ſince *Philip* was arriued. Hee therefore brought him that had the cariage of theſe letters, into the peoples preſence, obiecting againſt him that he had for- I
ged that writing, alledging that he falſely lied in that hee reported that *Philip* was in Ieruſalem, making warre with the Iewes againſt the Romans: and for that cauſe he commanded him to be executed. *Philip* being ignoranr of the cauſe why his free-man did not return, ſent another with letters, to the intent he might diſcouer what was become of his firſt meſſenger, & for what cauſe hee ſtaied ſo long. But *Varus* accuſing his ſecond meſſenger alſo very falſely, commanded him to be executed, as he had done the firſt. For the Syrians that inhabite Cæſarea, had made him proud, inſomuch that he aſpired to high and great matters, by telling him that *Agrippa* ſhould be put to death by the Romans, in regard of thoſe faults which the Iewes had commited; and that *Varus*, who was royally deſcended, ſhould poſſeſſe his gouernement. For without queſtion *Varus* was held to be of the blood-royall, for that he deriued his pedigree from the Tetrarch *Sohemus* that gouerned the countrey that abutted on Libanus. For theſe cauſes, *Varus* grew proud, K
and retained *Philips* letters by him, hoping by theſe means that the King ſhould haue no knowledge thereof; and hee ſet watch in euery paſſage, for feare leaſt any man ſhould flie and certifie the King, of that which had hapned; and to giue the Syrians the better content, who dwelt in Cæſarea, hee put diuers of thoſe Iewes that dwelt among them to death. Hee intended alſo to vndertake a warre againſt the Iewes of Bathanæa, who were called Babylonian Iewes, by confederating himſelfe with the Trachonites of Bathanæa. For which cauſe, ſending for twelue of thoſe Iewes who were of moſt eſtimation among the inhabitants of Cæſarea, he enioyned them to repaire to Ecbatane, to ſignifie vnto thoſe of their nation that dwelt there, that *Varus* vnderſtanding that they pretended to take armes againſt their King, and ſcarcely beleeuing it, had L
ſent them vnto them, to perſwade them to lay by their armes. And that this ſhould be a certaine ſigne, by which they might perfectly expreſſe that hee had no reaſon to giue credit to their reports who had inforced & obiected ſo much againſt them. Furthermore, hee commanded them that ſeuenty of the chiefeſt of them ſhould be choſen out, to anſwer to thoſe accuſations wherewith they ſhould be charged. Theſe twelue arriuing in Ecbatane, and entertained by thoſe of their nation, found that they neither imagined nor intended any commotion: for which cauſe, they perſwaded them to ſend their ſeuenty men: which they did, little ſuſpecting that which would happen.

Varus iniuſtly executeth him that brought the letters.

Varus tyranny in gouerning the countrey.

Varus ſeeketh to conceale his power and tyranny.

Varus killeth the ſeuentie Iewes with the Embaſſadours.

The Iewes retire theſelues into the fortreſſe of Gamala, and thither reſorteth Philip alſo.

As ſoone therefore as theſe with the other twelue Embaſſadours came to Cæſarea, *Varus* hauing inkling of their comming, met them on the way with the Kings forces, aad ſlew them alto- M
gether with the foreſaid Embaſſadours, and tooke his way towards the Iewes of Ecbatane. But one of the ſeuenty, who had eſcaped, reſorted thither with all expedition preuenting *Varus*, and certified the reſt of that which had hapned. Wherupon, they incontinently fell to arms, & with their wiues & children retired theſelues to the fort of Gamala, abandoning their villages which were ſtored with all kind of goods, and many thouſand cattell. When *Philip* had tydings hereof, he repaired himſelf alſo to the fort of Gamala: where he no ſooner arriued, but the people cried

out

A out with a loud voyce, exhorting him to take the ſoueraignty, and to make warre againſt *Varus* and the Syrians of Cæſarea. For they had intelligence that the King was dead. But *Philip* moderated their fury, recounting vnto them what benefits the King had beſtowed on them, & of what power the Romans were, againſt whom it was but a folly for them to take armes; and in the end he perſwaded them to peace. The King vnderſtanding that *Varus*, was determined to kill and murther all the Iewes that were in Cæſarea, with their wiues and children all in one day (who were as many in number) he ſent vnto him *Equus Modius* to ſupply his place; as it hath been by vs declared in another place. Meane while *Philip* kept the fort of Gamala, and the countrey thereabouts, perſeuering in their fidelity and loyalty to the Romans. As ſoone as I arriued in Galilee, and had perceiued & learned all occurences that had hapned, by thoſe who reported the ſame

Gamala ſtill faithfull to the Romans.

B vnto me, I preſently ſignified the whole eſtate by my letters, to the counſel at Ieruſalem, to know what their pleaſure was I ſhould do. Who gaue me this anſwere, that I ſhould remaine where I was, and retaine thoſe Embaſſadors that I had with me, if they thought good to take charge of Galilee. But they being very wealthy, by means of thoſe tenths & tithes that were giuen them; and very willing, becauſe they were due, to gather them vp in right of their prieſthood, reſolued with themſelues to returne to their owne houſes. But for that I entreated them to remaine with me, vntill ſuch time, as we had ſettled the affaires, they willingly conſented vnto me. I therfore departed wi h them to the citie of Sephora, and came into a borough called Bethmaus diſtant from Tiberias ſome foure furlongs, and from thence I ſent a meſſenger to the councell of Tiberias, exhorting the chiefeſt among the people to come and ſpeak with me: who comming forth

Ioſeph by the commandement of the councell remaineth in Galilee.

C to viſit me, accompanied with *Iuſtus* alſo, I tolde them that I was ſent Embaſſadour vnto them, with thoſe other, by the communalty of Ieruſalem, to perſwade them to deface that building that was erected by *Herod* the Tetrarch, wherein diuers figures of liuing creatures were painted; for that our law forbad them to allow or doe ſuch things, and I exhorted them to ſuffer vs to do that execution as ſoone as they might.

Capella and thoſe of his party, did for a long time refuſe to conſent thereunto: but in the end we inforced them ſo much, that they condeſcended. Now whileſt wee debated vpon this concluſion, *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Saphias* (of whom we haue ſpoken heretofore, declaring how he was the chieftaine and conductor of the faction of ſailers and poore men) took with him certain Galileans, and ſet fire on all the palace, vnder hope to get great riches thereby (for that there were

The Palace ſet on fire that was in Tiberias.

D certaine rooфes of the houſe couered with gold) who ſpoiled many things againſt our conſent. For after we had conferred with *Capella*, and the chiefeſt Tiberians, we retired our ſelues from Bethmaus into the higher Galilee. In the meane time *Ieſus* men ſlew all the Greeks that remained there, and who before the warre had been their enemies. Which when I was certified of, I was grieuouſly diſpleaſed, and came down to Tiberias, and diſpoſed of the Kings moueables, for feare leaſt they ſhould be carried away by the robbers: and hauing recouered a candleſticke of Corinthian work, princely tables, and no ſmall quantity of maſſiue ſiluer, I reſolued with my ſelf to reſerue it to the Kings vſe. Calling therefore ten of the chiefeſt Senators, and *Capella*, *Antillus* ſonne vnto me, I deliuered the veſſels into their hands, charging them to deliuer the ſame to no man, except it were to my ſelfe.

Ioſeph procureth the ſafety of the Kings goods.

E From thence, with mine aſſociates I went to *Iohn* at Giſchala, to knowe what his minde and reſolution was, and I preſently ſmelt out by him, that hee affected innouation and tyranny. For he beſought me to grant him liberty, to tranſport *Cæſars* wheat that was ſtored vp in the villages of higher Galilee, telling me that he would beſtow the ſame in reedifying & repairing the wals of his countrey. But I ſmelling out both his drift and counſels, denyed him that liberty. For I thought that that wheat would either ſerue the Romans, or my ſelfe, for that already I had the care of that countrey committed to my hands by the Citie of Ieruſalem. When as therefore he could winne nothing at my hands, hee appealed to my companions, who were improuident of thoſe troubles that were to come, and greedy of rewards, and obtain'd at their hands thorow his lauiſh liberality a liberty to diſpoſe of all the corne that was in the Prouince, in that I my ſelfe

F was vnable to contradict them both. After this, *Iohn* vſed another ſubtilty: for he ſaid that thoſe Iewes, who inhabited Cæſarea *Philippi*, being by the command of their King, to whom they were ſubiect, kept priſoners within their wals; being in want of pure oyle, deſired to buy the ſame at his hands, for feare leaſt contrary to their cuſtome, they ſhould be compelled to vſe that of the Greeks. But this ſpake he not in reſpect of religion or deuotion, but for his filthy lucres ſake. For knowing that among the Cæſareans, two ſextaries were ſold for a drachme, and that at Giſchalis eighty ſextaries were ſold for foure drachmes, hee ſent all that oyle that was in that

Iohns acts in Giſchalis and his couetouſneſſe.

place vnto them, doing it (as he thought) by my permiſſion. But I did not willingly condeſcend G
thereunto, but for feare leaſt if I ſhould withſtand the ſame, the people ſhould ſtone me to death.
As ſoone therefore as I had giuen him leaue, *Iohn* gathered a great ſumme of money by this
cunning ſhift.

Ioſeph ſends back his companions to Ieruſalem. Ioſeph preſident of Galilee.

From this place diſmiſſed I my companions, and ſent them back to Ieruſalem, imploying my
ſelfe wholly afterwards in preparing armour, and fortifying cities. After this, calling the ſtouteſt
theeues before me, when as I perceiued that I might not recouer their weapons from them, I
perſwaded the multitude to hire them by rewards, telling them that it was more profitable for
them to entertain them in their ſeruice, then to ſuffer their country to be ſpoiled by their excur-
ſions. And thus hauing taken their oathes, did I diſmiſſe them vnder condition, that they ſhould
not come into our region, except they were called, or to receiue their due pay vnder condition, H
that they ſhould abſtaine from ſpoiling either the Romans or the inhabitants of the country. But
aboue all things my care was to keep Galilee in peace. And wheras my deſire was to get ſeuenty
pledges of their loyalty, choſen out amongſt their nobility vnder pretext of friendſhip, as ſoone

Ioſeph ioyned ſeuenty of the nobility with him.

as they came vnto me in way of friendſhip, I made them my companions and fellow Iudges, and
decreed many things according to their opinions, hauing an eſpeciall care leaſt thorow raſhnes
I ſhould iniury Iuſtice, or thorow corruption of rewards diſtaine mine incorrupted honor. At

Ioſeph at thirtie yeares of age offered no woman violence, and would not be bribed.

ſuch time therefore as I was thirty yeares old, at which yeares although a man bridle himſelfe
from vnlawfull affections; yet hardly can he eſcape from the poiſoned ſting of detraction, eſpe-
cially if a great authority be annexed to his green years: I neuer offered vain and vnlawful cour-
ting to any woman, neither could any man faſten bribe on mee, in that I pretended want of no- I
thing: yea, I refuſed thoſe tenths which in right of prieſthood I might haue receiued from thoſe,
that brought them me. Yet after the conqueſt of the Syrians, I tooke part of the ſpoile, which
(as I freely confeſſe) I ſent to Ieruſalem to my kinſmen. And whereas at two times I had forci-

Ioſephs bounty towards his enemies.

bly ouercome the Sephorites, the Tiberians foure times, and the Gadarenians once, and had
brought *Iohn* vnder my ſubiection, who had oftentimes ſought to entrap me; neither could I en-
dure to reuenge my ſelfe on him, neither on any of the aboue named people, as in the ſequell
of this Story I will make manifeſt.

For which cauſe I ſuppoſe that God, who is the tryer and ſearcher of all iuſt hearts, both de-
liuered me at this time out of the hands of mine enemies, and afterwards, and that many times
out of dangerous and ſeuerall misfortunes; as hereafter ſhall appeare in time and place. But ſo K
great was the faith and beneuolence of the common people of Galilee towards mee, that their

The Galileans faith and loue towards Ioſeph.

cities being ouerthrowne, and their families led into captiuity, they ſpent not ſo many teares
for their owne calamities, as they beſtowed cares for my preſeruation and ſecurity. Which
when *Iohn* perceiued, hee beganne to enuy mee, and beſought mee by his letters, that I would

Iohn deſireth that he might bathe himſelf, in the hotte bathes of Tiberias.

giue him licence for his health ſake, to bathe himſelf in the hot baths of Tiberias: I ſuſpecting
no treaſon, willingly granted him that which he demanded. Moreouer, I wrote vnto thoſe, to
whom I had commited the truſt and adminiſtration of the citie, to prepare him a lodging, and to
furniſh all his companions with victuals, and to prouide him alſo of all things neceſſary for his
diet and entertainment. In the meane ſpace, I my ſelfe paſt my time in a certaine village of Ga-

Iohns treaſon.

lilee called Cana. But after that *Iohn* came to Tiberias, hee wrought the townſmen in ſuch ſort, L
that forgetting both their faith and dutie, they reuolted vnto him; and many of them lent a wil-
ling eare vnto his entreaties, eſpecially ſuch as reioycing in innouations were too prone to
change, and greedy of diſſenſion: but in eſpeciall *Iuſtus* and his father *Piſtus*, willingly enter-
tained this occaſion to reuolt from my obedience, and to ſubmit themſelues to *Iohn*; yet was this
conſpiracy of theirs preuented by my ſpeedy acceſſe. For a certaine meſſenger came vnto mee
from *Silas*, whom I had in former time preferred to the gouernment of Tiberias, who certified
me of the citizens intent, and exhorted me in all haſte to make my repair thither, for that other-
wiſe the citie would ſhortly fall into another mans hands. As ſoone therefore as I had peruſed

The people of Tiberias came out to meet Ioſeph.

Silas letters, I trauelled all night long with two hundreth choſen men; and ſending a meſſen-
ger before me, who might ſignifie my approach to the citizens, I loſt neither time nor way: M
And in the morning when I drew neere vnto the citie, the whole people came out to meet me,
and among the reſt *Iohn*; who after he had beheld me, and ſaluted me with a ſuſpicious counte-
nance, fearing leaſt his treaſon being diſcouered, he ſhould grow in danger of his life, ſpeedily
retired himſelf into his lodging. And when as I drew neere the citie within a furlong, diſmiſſing

Ioſephs exhortations to the Tiberians

all my guard but one, and retaining onely ten armed ſouldiers with mee, I beganne to expoſtu-
late with the Tiberians from a certaine high place, from whence I might bee heard, and coun-

failed

A ſailed them that they ſhould not reuolt, leaſt in ſo doing they might ſhortly repent them of their mutability and breach of faith: for that no man hereafter would giue them credit, being already either ſuſpected or guilty of this their perfidiouſneſſe.

Scarcely had I ſpoken this, but that I heard one of my attendants, who perſwaded mee to deſcend, telling me that this was no time now to reconcile the Tiberians, or to perſwade them: but rather to ſeeke for mine own ſecurity, and how I might eſcape mine enemies. For after that *Iohn* had learned that I was deſtitute of followers, he ſent a thouſand of his choſen ſouldiers, cõmanding them to kill me; who were at hand, and ready to commit the murther, had I not ſpeedily leapt down with my ſeruant *Iacob*, and being relieued by *Herod* the Tiberian, had been brought to the lake, where finding a barke by chance, and putting forth to ſea, I eſcaped contrary to mine B enemies expectation, and came to Taricheas. Iohn ſeeketh to betray and murther Ioſeph.

As ſoone as the inhabitants of that citie vnderſtood how perfidiouſly and traiterouſly the Tiberians had dealt with me, they were ſore diſpleaſed, and betaking themſelues to their weapons, perſwaded me to lead them forth againſt them, telling mee that they would reuenge the iniury that was offered vnto their gouernor, and they blazed this treaſon of theirs thorow all Galilee. For which cauſe a number of armed Galileans came to me, requeſting me that I would inuade Tiberias, and entering it that I would ſpoile the ſame, and in the ruines thereof, that I would ſell the inhabitants with their whole families vnder the ſpeare. The like did my friends, who eſcaped with me out of the citie, perſwade mee. But I in no ſort would admit their ſute, ſuppoſing it to be a matter vnworthy my diſcretion, to reuiue a cauſe of ciuill warre, imagining with my ſelfe, C that ſuch a contention ought to proceed no further then words: yea, I proteſted vnto them, that ſuch reuenge would be preiudicial to thẽſelues alſo, if the Romans ſtanding at gaze, they ſhould ſpend themſelues in ciuill diſcords. By this meanes at length the Galileans wrath was appeaſed. The Galileans require that they may inuade Tiberias.

But when *Iohn* perceiued that he failed of his purpoſe, he began to feare: for which cauſe taking with him thoſe armed men which he kept about him, and forſaking Tiberias, he repaired to Giſchala, and from thence he wrote his letters vnto me, excuſing the fact, as if hee had beene no waies guilty therof, and beſought me that I would in no ſort ſuſpect him, & confirmed his words with execrable oathes, whereby hee might win the more credit to his writing. But the Galileans, who were gathered in great multitudes from all parts of the region, knowing that hee was a wicked and perfidious man, beſought mee that I would lead them forth againſt him, promiſing D me to ouerthrow both him, Giſchala, and all his Country. Therefore, after I had giuen them thanks for their loue towards me, I promiſed them that mine offices of loue ſhould be anſwerable to their kindneſſe. Yet beſought I them to reſtraine themſelues, and to grant me pardon, for that I thought it better to appeaſe, then procure, troubles. Iohn excuſeth himſelfe to Ioſeph.

This requeſt of mine the Galileans granted: Whereupon we preſently came to Sephoris. But the townſmen, who were reſolued to continue faithfull towards the Roman people, fearing my approach, endeuoured themſelues to diſtract me with ſome other affaires, whereby they might liue in more ſecurity. Whereupon, ſending their meſſenger to *Ieſus*, the captaine of the thieues, that kept vpon the confines of Ptolemais, they promiſed him a great ſumme of money, if with his armie of eight hundreth men, who liued vnder his command, he would wage warre with vs. E He, allured by their promiſes, bethought himſelfe to aſſaile vs ſuddenly & vnawares: for which cauſe he beſought me by a meſſenger, that I would grant him leaue and liberty to come & ſalute me: which when he had obtained, for that I was wholly ignorant of his treaſon, taking with him a troup of his theeues, he haſted ſpeedily towards me: yet failed he of his purpoſed treaſon; for when he was not far off from me, a certaine fugitiue of his troupe diſcouered his intent towards me. Which when I heard, I went out into the market place, fayning that I knew nothing of his ſecret fraud, attended with a multitude of armed Galileans, and among theſe with certain Tiberians. Ieſus captaine of theeues.

Afterwards, ſending abroad certaine ſpies, who ſhould ſcoure the high-waies, I cõmanded the keepers of the gates, that they ſhould only ſuffer *Ieſus* to enter with the formoſt of his company, F and exclude the reſt: and if they ſhould attempt to break in by force, they ſhould beat them off. Who fulfilling that which was commanded them, *Ieſus* entred with a few: and being willed by me preſently to lay downe his weapons, except he deſired to be ſlaine; he, ſeeing himſelfe inuironed with armed ſouldiers, obeyed. Whereupon they that followed him, and were excluded, perceiuing that their captain was apprehẽded, ſuddenly betook them to flight; and leading *Ieſus* apart, I told him I was not ignorant of thoſe treaſons which hee intended againſt mee; neither by whoſe prouocatiõs he attempted the ſame. Yet told I him that I wold pardon him, if ſo be by Ieſus ſeekes to betray Ioſeph. Ioſeph politiquely ſurpriſeth Ieſus.

changing

Iosephs bountie towards Iesus.

changing his manners, he would be faithfull vnto mee hereafter. Who promising mee all that G
which I requested, I dismissed the man, and gaue him leaue to depart with his weapons: yet
threatned I to punish the Sephorites, except hereafter they desisted from their treasons. About
the same time there came two noblemen vnto me, who were subiect to the King of Trachonites,
bringing with them both horsemen, armour, and money: whom when the Iewes would haue
Iosephs care of religion. constrained to be circumcised, if so be they would remaine amongst them, I would not permit
them to be troublesome to the Trachonites, alledging that euery man ought according to his
owne minde, and not by other mens impulsion, serue God: and that it was not to be suffered that
they, who for their security sake were fled vnto vs, should repent themselues of their trust they
put in vs. And thus hauing perswaded the multitude, I freely and aboundantly furnished these
men with all things necessary. H

In the meane space, *Agrippa* sent out his forces vnder the conduct of *Equus Modius*, to take the
Castle Magdala by force, which for that they durst not assault, they beset the waies, & the rather
Ebutius against Ioseph. troubled Gamala. But *Ebutius Decadarchus*, who had the gouernment of the great champaine,
hearing that I was come to a certain village called Simonias, situate on the confines of Galilee,
and distant from the same some sixty furlongs, took with him by night one hundreth horse that
attended him, and about two hundreth footmen, with certaine inhabitants of the citie of Gaba
their associates, whom he conducted by night, and assailed and beset the borough where I was.
Against whom after I had drawn forth a valiant band of men, *Ebutius* laboured all that he might
to toule vs into the champain, for that he trusted very much in his horsemen: but he easily per-
ceiued that we might not be won. For knowing the aduantage which the horsemen had, if wee I
should encounter them in the plaine, considering that we were but footmen, I resolued to fight
in the place where we were: and *Ebutius* charged vs for a while very valiantly. At length, perceiu-
Ebutius departeth without performing any thing. ing that he had no vse of his horsemen in that place, he sounded the retreat, and departed back
againe with lost labour to Gaba, hauing onely lost three men in the battell. But I presently pur-
su'd him with two thousand armed men: and when I came to Besara, which is situate on the con-
fines of Ptolemais, distant some twenty furlongs from Gaba, where *Ebutius* encamped at that
time; and besetting al the passages with courts of guard, wherby we might be more secure from
the excursions of our enemies, vntill wee had carried out the wheat, whereof there was a great
quantitie stored vp in that place, which was gathered out of the townships thereabout, belong-
ing to Queene *Berenice*, and loading diuers Camels and Asses, which to that end I had brought K
Iosephe transporteth corne into Galilee. with me; I sent the same corne into Galilee. And hauing finished this businesse, I offred *Ebutius*
the battell: and whereas he detracted the same, being terrified by our boldnes, I took my course
Iosephe against Neopolitanus. to encounter with *Neopolitanus*, who (as it was reported) was in the territorie of the Tiberians,
and foraged there. Now this *Neopolitanus* was a captaine of horsemen, and had vndertaken to de-
fend Scythopolis against their enemies: Hauing therefore driuen him from doing any wrong
in the country belonging to the Tiberians, I prouided for the security of Galilee.

Iohn maligneth Iosephs good successe. But *Iohn* the son of *Leui*, who (as we said) liued at Gischala, after hee heard that all things fell
out fortunately with mee, and that I was loued of my subiects, and feared by mine enimies, was
sore aggrieued thereat: and supposing his owne fortune was embased by my felicity, and being
touched with no small enuy, and in greater hope that he should hinder my good succes, if so be L
that he could bring me in hatred with my subiects; he sollicited those of Tiberias and Sephoris
to forsake me, and supposed also that the Gabarenians would reuolt vnto him; which Cities are
the chiefest in Galilee. For he tould them, that vnder his conduct the common-weal should bee
more discreetly gouerned: but among the rest, the Sephorites gaue least eare vnto him, for that
neglecting vs both, they onely held for the Romans.

As for the Tiberians, they would not consent to rebell: yet notwithstanding they promised
The Gabarenians reuolt vpon Iohns perswasion. him some friendship. But the Gabarenians wholly addicted themselues to *Iohn*, by the meanes
of one *Simon*, a principall Citizen, who was *Iohns* fellow and friend. Yet did they not openly
seeme to allow him, for that they vehemently feared the Galileans, whose good will towards
me they were long time assured of, but priuily they sought another meanes to entrap mee. And M
The Dabarittenians spoile Ptolomeis wife. truely I fell into great danger vpon this occasion. For when as certaine Dabarittenians (beeing
audacious young men) had intelligence that *Ptolomeis* wife, the kings steward, vnder the con-
duct of certaine horsemen should in great pompe trauell along the great Plaine, out of the kings
countrey into the Romane gouernment, they suddenly set vpon them, and putting the woman
to flight, they spoiled all that which she caried with her. Which done, they draue to Taricheas,
a place where I then kept, certaine Moyles loaden with apparell, and houshold stuffe of diuers
sorts;

A sorts; among which there were diuers siluer vessels, and fiue hundreth peeces of gold. Intending therfore to reserue these things for *Ptolemey*, as being one of the same tribe, in that our law permitteth not to defraud, no not our enemies, if they be of the same tribe; I told those that brought the goods thither, that they must be kept to be sold, to the end that the price of the goods might be bestowed vpon the building of the wals of Ierusalem. This motion of mine, the young men interpreted very hardly, in that they were cut off from the part of the prey which they hoped for. For which cause, dispersing themselues in the streets of Tiberias, they spred a rumor that I would betray that countrey to the Romans, alledging that I only fained that the prey was destinated towards the repairing of the wals of Ierusalem: whereas the truth was, that I kept the same to the intent I might restore it to the owner. In which matter they were no whit deceiued in
B their opinion. For after the departure of the young men, I called vnto mee two chiefe citizens, *Dassion* and *Iannæus* the sonnes of *Leui*, intire friends to the King, and commanded them that taking the houshold stuffe with them, they should conuay it vnto the King, threatning them with death, if they reuealed this secret to any man.

Ioseph labours to restore Ptolomy to his goods.

But when as the rumour was spred through Galilee, that I would betray the region into the hands of the Romans, and all of them being grieuously bent and intent against me to punish me; they of Taricheas also giuing credit to the yong mens fained speeches, perswaded my guard, and the rest of the souldiers, that forsaking me whil'st I was asleep, they should come into the horse-race, and consult with other in that place how to degrade me, and giue the honor vnto another. They, being perswaded, came to the appointed place, where they found many others there ar-
C riued: and all of them cried out with one consent, that it was meet to take punishment on a traitor, who hath sought the destruction of the common-weale. But he that most of all incited them to these troubles, was *Iesus* the son of *Saphias*, who at that time had the magistracy of Tiberias in his hands, a man giuen ouer to all wickednesse, and borne to breed troubles, and stirre vp seditions.

Sedition against Ioseph. Iesus, the son of Saphias, conspireth against Ioseph.

This man, bearing *Moses* tables in his hands, and comming out into the midst of the assembly, spake thus with a loud voice: If (said hee) you bee touched with no care of your selues; yet at « the leastwise contemne not these sacred lawes, which this your chiefetaine *Ioseph*, a man worthy « to bee hated by all men, hath of long time dared to betray, and for that cause is worthy of ex- « treame punishment. «

D After he had thus spoken, and was applauded by the acclamations of the people, he leading the armed men with him, hastily repaired to the house where I kept, with a certaine intent and purpose to put me to death. Meane while, I suspecting nothing of all this tumult, and tired with labour and wearinesse, took my rest; when as suddenly *Simon*, one of my guard, who at that time onely remained with me, seeing the incursion of the people, came and awaked me: and certifying me of mine instant perill: he gaue me counsell likewise, that rather, like a noble and vndaunted chiefetaine, I should shorten mine owne life, then shamefully die by mine enemies direction. Whil'st he gaue me this counsell, I committing my safetie to Gods hands, and changing my garments, went forth into the assembly after a mournfull manner; and wearing my sword hanging about my neck, stealing by that way, by which I knew that none of mine aduersaries might
E meet me: and comming into the horse-race, I offred my selfe to euery mans eye, and lying prostrate on my face, and watring the earth with my tears, I moued all men that beheld me to compassion. And when I perceiued that the affections of the people were changed, I laboured all that I might to diuide them in opinions, before the armed souldiers returnd from my house: and confessing my self that I was not wholly cleer of that which was obiected against me, I besought them to vnderstand to what vse I reserued that prey that was brought to my hand; after which, if they list they might kill me. And whil'st the multitude commanded mee to speak, the armed men returned back, and beholding me, rushed in vpon me with an intent to murther me: but being restrained by the peoples exclamations, they moderated their fury; supposing, that after my confession of treason, and reseruation of the kings money, they might haue a better occasion to
F finish my Tragedy.

Simon, one of Iosephs guard awaketh him.

Ioseph moues the people to compassion.

For which cause, after silence I beganne thus: Men and brethren (said I) if in your opinion I deserue death, I refuse not to dy; yet before my death will I certifie you of the whole truth: truly, when as I perceiued, that this City was most commodious and fit to entertaine strangers, and that I perceiued that many men, forsaking their owne countries, were delighted with your conuersations, and willing to partake with you in al sorts of fortune: I was resolu'd to build vp your wals with this mony; for which being thus destinated to do you good, your indignation is pro-

Iosephs oration and confession before his aduersaries.

voked

uoked againſt me. Vpon theſe words the Taricheans and ſtrangers cried out, giuing me thanks, G
and willing me to be of good courage. But the Galileans & Tiberians continued in their hatred,
inſomuch as they grew to debate betwixt themſelues, the one threatning me with puniſhment;
Ioſeph eſcapeth from danger. the other contrariwiſe, willing me to aſſure my ſelf of ſecurity. But after I had promiſed the Tiberians that I would reedifie their wals, and fortifie other conuenient cities, they giuing credit to my words, repaired euery one of them to their owne houſes. And I beyond all expectation eſcaping from ſo great a perill, with certaine of my friends, and ſome twenty ſouldiers, returned to my houſe.

But once againe the thieues and authors of ſedition, fearing leaſt they ſhould be puniſhed for
Ioſeph in an other danger. theſe their offences, begirt my lodging with ſix hundreth armed men, intending to conſume it with fire. Of whoſe arriuall, as ſoon as I had intelligeuce, imagining with my ſelfe that it would H
be much diſhonor for me to flie, I reſolued to vſe valour and courage againſt them: for which cauſe commanding the gates to be ſhut, I required them from the top of the houſe, that they
Ioſephs ſtratagem. would ſend in ſome of them vnto me, to receiue that money, for which they had beene drawne into this mutiny: whereby they might haue no further cauſe to be incenſed againſt me. Which done, laying hold of one of the moſt troubleſome fellowes, that with the reſt came in vnto me, I cauſed him to be beaten with many grieuous ſtrokes, and his hand to be cut off, & hung about his neck; and thus handled, we thruſt him out of dores, to returne vnto thoſe who had ſent him. But they being wondrouſly affraid heerewith, and ſuſpecting the like puniſhment if they ſhould ſtay there any longer, for that they ſuſpected that I had diuers armed ſouldiers in my houſe, they ſuddenly all of them fled away: and ſo by this ſtratageme eſcaped I the other dangers. Yet wan- I
ted there not ſome, who incited the people once more againſt me; ſaying, that the kings ſeruãts,
Another ſedition. who were fled vnto me for refuge, ought not to liue, except they ſubmitted themſelues to their lawes and cuſtomes, from whom they required protection.

They likewiſe accuſed them, that they were of the Roman faction, and priſoners, and preſently the people began to mutine, beeing deceiued by their words, who laboured to flatter them. Which whẽ I heard of, I once more inform'd the people, that they ought not to perſecute thoſe who reſorted vnto them for reſcous: & I ieſted at their folly who accuſed them of impoiſoning, and that the Romans would not vainly nouriſh ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers, if they pretended to make away their enemies with poiſon. Beeing by theſe words ſomewhat pacified, they had ſcarcely withdrawn themſelues awhile, but that by certaine out-caſts & wicked men, they were K
incited againſt the nobility, ſo that with armed weapons they came to the houſes of the Taricheans, intending to murther them. Which when I heard, I was ſore affraid, that if this wickednes ſhould be committed, no man hereafter ſhould dare to truſt his life in my hands. For which
Ioſeph priuatly diſmiſſeth the Taricheans. cauſe, being aſſiſted by diuers others, I haſtily reſorted to their lodging, and ſhut vp the gates: & cutting a trench betwixt it and the lake, I called for a bark, and entring into the ſame with them, I croſſed ouer into the confines of the Hippenians: & furniſhing them with mony to buy them horſes, for that they could not tranſporte their own with them in that flight, I diſmiſſed them, requiring them to digeſt their preſent misfortunes with a conſtant minde. For, I my ſelfe took it very heauily, that I was once more inforced to land thoſe men in the enemies country, who had committed themſelues to my truſt: yet thinking, that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that they ſhould fall L
into the Romans hands, they ſhould bee ſafer, then if by ſuffering them to remaine in my country, I ſhould ſee them oppreſt: I aduentured them thus. Yet were they ſaued, and the king gaue them pardon. And this was the end of this tumult.

But they of Tiberias wrote vnto the king, requiring him to ſend a garriſon into their country,
The Tiberians letters to Agrippa. and promiſing him to reuolt and follow him. Which done, as ſoone as I came vnto them, they requir'd me that I would build them thoſe wals which I had promiſed them: for they had already heard that Taricheas was enuironed with wals. Whereunto I condeſcended, and gathering
Seuen ſtadia make almoſt a German mile. ſtuffe from euery place, I ſet the workmen to their taske. But ſome three daies after, departing from Tiberias towards Taricheas, which was thirtie ſtades diſtant from thence, by chance a troupe of Roman horſemen were diſcouered, not far from the Citie, which made the inhabi- M
tants beliue, that they were the kings army: Whereupon they preſently beganne to vtter many things in honour of the king, and more in my reproach. And preſently a certaine friend poſted
Sedition and rebellion in Tiberias. vnto me, and told me what their mind was, and how they intended to reuolt from mee. Which when I vnderſtood, I was wondrouſly troubled: For I had ſent backe my men of war from Taricheas to their houſes, for that the next day was the Sabbath: for I would by no meanes, that the Citizens of Taricheas ſhould be charged or troubled with entertaining ſouldiers. And at all

times

A times, when I remained in that citie, I tooke no care of the guard of mine owne perſon, hauing had often proofe of the loyal ie of the inhabitants towards me, Beeing therefore at that time attended onely with ſeauen ſouldiers, & a few of my friends, I knew not what to do. For I thought it not fit to call backe my forces, for that the day was welny paſt; and although they ſhould haue been vvith me the next morning, yet they might not haue taken armes, becauſe our lawes forbad the ſame, how great ſoeuer the occaſion be that is offered. And although I ſhould haue drawne forth the Taricheans and the ſtrangers that were retired thither, and if vnder hope of prey I had led them forth, yet ſaw I that they were too feeble to reſiſt their forces. On the other ſide, I alreadie perceiued that if I ſtaied ouer-long, the army which was ſent by the king, beeing already entered the citie, wold haue excluded me: I therefore determined to vſe this ſtratagem. I preſently

B therefore garded the gates of the Taricheans with my moſt truſtie friends, ſuffering no man to paſſe out of them; and aſſembling the chiefeſt of euery familie, I commaunded euery one of them to lanch their boates into the lake, and to follow me with the maſters of their ſhips. After which both I and my friends, and ſeauen other ſouldiers, betooke vs to a barke, and ſailed toward Tiberias. But when the Tiberians perceiued that they had no forces come from the king, & that the whole lake was couered with barkes; amazed and fearing the ruine of their citie, for that they ſuppoſed the ſhips to be loaden with ſouldiers, they changed their former opinion. For which cauſe laying by their weapons, they themſelues with their wiues and children came forth to meet mee, entertaining me with happy acclamations: for that they thought I had heard no inkling of their intents, beſeeching me that for the ſafetie of their citie, I would enter the ſame.

C But I drawing neere the citie, commaunded the maſters of the barks to caſt anchor farre off the ſhore, leaſt the townſmen might perceiue that the ſhippes were emptie: and I my ſelfe drawing neere with mine owne barke vnto them, accuſed them, for that contrarie to their oaths, they had beene ſo fooliſhly induced to reuolt. Afterwards, I promiſed them aſſured pardon, if ſo bee they would deliuer mee tenne of their chiefeſt nobilitie: which when they had incontinently performed, I ſhipt them in a a barke, and ſent them priſoners to Taricheas: and by this policie one after another, I at laſt gotte all the Senate of Tiberias, and manie of the chiefeſt Citizens, and caried them thither alſo.

Ioſeph in danger for the Tiberians ſakes.

Ioſeph ſaileth to Tiberias.

At length, the reſt of the multitude, as ſoone as they perceiued in how great danger they were, they beſought mee that I would puniſh the chiefe authour of this conſpiracie, who was called *Clytus*, a bold and raſh young man. But I, that held it a wicked act to kill one of the ſame

D Tribe, and yet was inforced to puniſh him, commaunded *Leuias* one of my guard to goe vnto him and cut off his hand: who not daring for that he was alone to enter into ſo huge a multitude; for feare leaſt his cowardiſe ſhould be diſcouered by the Tiberians, I called *Clytus* vnto mee, and ſaid vnto him: Sith vngratefull and perfidious man, as thou art, thou deſerueſt to loſe both thy handes, I charge thee to become thine owne executioner, for feare leaſt thorow thy delay thou procure thy further puniſhment. And whereas with many prayers hee beſought mee to grant him one of his hands, I hardly condeſcended: at length of his owne accord, for feare leaſt hee ſhould loſe both, hee tooke a knife and cutte off his left hand: and thus was this tumult appeaſed.

Clytus the authour of the ſedition in Tiberias.

Clytus cuttes off his owne left hand.

E As ſoone as I returned to Taricheas, and the Tiberians vnderſtood what ſtratagem I had vſed with them, they were all amazed, ſeeing how I had puniſhed their ingratitude and diſobedience without any bloudſhed or murther. After I had ſent for ſuch of the people of Tiberias as were in priſon, amongſt whom was *Iuſtus* and his father *Piſtus*, I inuited them to ſuppe with mee: and during the repaſt, I told them that I was not ignorant, that the Romane armie excelled all men of the world in power & force: notwithſtanding that, I kept my ſelf ſilent in the reſpect of thoſe theeues that were round about, and I counſailed them that they alſo wold doe the like in expectation of ſome better daies; and yet that in the meane time they would not thinke amiſſe of my gouernment, becauſe the time affoorded them not a more affable and commodious gouernour. I admoniſhed *Iuſtus* alſo that before I came frō Ieruſalem, the Galileans had cut off his brothers

F hands, accuſing him to haue forged falſe letters before the warre; and that after *Philips* departure the Gamalites, beeing at oddes with the Babylonians, ſlew *Chares*, *Philips* own kinſman, and had moderately puniſhed his brother in law *Ieſus*, who had maried his ſiſter. After this diſcourſe during ſupper time, I diſmiſt *Iuſtus* and his friends early in the morning, with their freedomes. But before this came to paſſe, it hapned that *Philip* the ſonne of *Iacimus* departed from the fort of Gamala vpon this occaſion that enſueth. As ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Varus* was reuolted from king *Agrippa*, and that *Modius Equus* who was his friend, was ſent to ſucceed him, hee certified

Ioſeph diſmiſſeth the Tiberians.

Philip the ſon of Iacimus.

certified him of his estate by his letters: which when he had receiued, he highly reioyced at *Phi-* G
lips safetie, and sent those letters to the King & Queene, who liued at Berytum. Whereupon the
King vnderstanding the false rumour that ranne as touching *Philip*, that he was the chiefetain of
Agrippas kind and humane to- the Iewes armie, who vndertooke the war against the Romanes, sent certaine horsemen to *Phi-*
wards Philip. *lip* to bring him to his presence: before whom hee no sooner arriued but he embraced him verie
kindly and shewed him to the Romane captaines, telling them that that was *Philip*, of whom it
was commonly reported, that he was in rebellion against the Romans. He therfore charged him,
Hedio, Gadara that taking with him certaine horsmen, he shold poste in all diligence to the fort of * Gamala; &
drawing his houshold seruants from thence, hee should lead and reestablish the Babylonians in
Batanæa, and trauaile to his vttermost power that the subiect should bee continued in obedi-
ence and peace. After *Philip* had receiued this commandement from the King, he hasted to per- H
forme the same.

Ioseph stired vp a sedition in Gamala. But *Ioseph* a certaine drougier or treacle seller, gathering together a sort of bold young men, &
inciting the nobilitie of Gamala, perswaded the people to fall from the king, and that betaking
them to their armes, they should recouer their former libertie: and thus drew they other into
their opinion, killing those that durst contradict them. Amongst these died *Chares* and *Iesus* his
kinsman, and the sister of *Iustus* the Tiberian, as we haue heretofore declared. After this they re-
quested me by letters, that I would send them aide, and certaine labourers to begirt their towne
withall. To both which requests of theirs, I easily condescended. About this time the coun-
Manie Iewes reuolt from the Romans. trey of Gaulonitè, as farre as the borough of Solyma, rebelled against *Agrippa*. I also inclosed
Seleucia and Sogon, which were two strong places vnaccessible, and fortified by nature, with
walles. I did the like also by Iamnia Amerytha, and Charabe, a borough of higher Galilee, al- I
though they were situated amongst the rocks. I fortified in like sort Taricheas also and Tibe-
rias, & Sephoris, Citties of Galilee; and the borough of the caue of the Arbalians, Bersobe, Se-
lamen, Iotapa, Capharath, Comosogana, Nepapha, and the mountaine Itabyrium. In those
places hoorded I vp great store of corne, and laid vp store of armour, and munition for defence.

Meane while, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*, increased his hatred daily more and more towards mee,
being greatly aggrieued to see my fortunes happy, and the successe answerable: and wheras hee
was wholly resolued to rid me of my life, after he had encompassed his countrey Gischala with
walles, he sendeth *Simon* his brother with one hundreth souldiers to Ierusalem, to *Simon* the son
Iohn laboureth to supply Ioseph in his gouernment. of *Gamaliel*, requiring him to labour the matter in such sort with the City, that my authority K
might be disannulled, and that *Iohn* by the common consent of all, might bee ordained gouer-
nour ouer the affaires of Galilee. This *Simon* was borne in Ierusalem, noble in birth, and in sect
a Pharisee (which sect of all other seemed most exactly instructed in the lawes of our country)
a man of excellent wisedome, who by his counsaile was able to repaire the decaying ruines of
his countrey, who of long time had made vse of *Iohns* friendship, because hee was at that time
mine enemy.

This man, solicited by the intercession of his friends, perswaded the high Priest *Ananus* and
Simons counsell against Ioseph. *Iesus* the sonne of *Gamala* and others of his line and faction, to cut off my increasing honours, and
not to permit me to attaine the fulnesse and content thereof. For it should be very profitable for L
them also, if I were remoued from the gouernment of Galilee. Further, hee told *Ananus* and the
rest, that they were not to delay the matter, least vpon the discouery of their counsaile, I should
inuade the Citie with mine army. Thus spake *Simon*: yet *Ananus* the high Priest replyed, that it
might not easily be done, for that diuers Priests and gouernours of the people bare witnesse for
me, that I behaued my selfe honestly in that gouernment, and that it was ill done to intend an ac-
cusation against a man, who might not be touched with any misdemeanour. When *Simon* had
heard what *Ananus* had said, he besought him and the rest also to speak nothing therof; neither
to make his motion knowne, certifying them that he had prouidently prouided, that I should be
speedily driuen out of Galilee: And calling vnto him his brother *Iohn*, he charged him to send M
presents to *Ananus*. For (said hee) in so doing they would so much worke with him, that they
would make him change his opinion. In the end, *Simon* obtained that which he long time sought
after. For *Ananus* and his adherents were corrupted with money, and accorded to cast me from
the gouernement of Galilee, without the consent or allowance of any other of the citizens. For
Simons second counsell against Ioseph. which cause they thought good to send certaine noble men in birth, and no waies inferiour to
one another in learning, whereof two of them were of the common sort, and Phariſes; the one
called *Ionathas*, the other *Ananias*; the third was *Iozarus* of the tribe of *Leui*, who was also a
Pharisee and of the race of the Priests. But *Simon* was of the order of the Priests, and the yongest

of

A of them all. Theſe did they command, that calling together a councell of the Galileans, they ſhould demand why they loued me ſo well; commanding them that if they anſwered that I was a Galilean, they ſhould likewiſe ſay that Ieruſalem was their countrey. But if they allowed in me the knowledge of the law, they were likewiſe willed to ſay, that they knew their countrey cuſtomes; or if in regard of the name of prieſthood, they ſhould ſay they loued me, they ſhould likewiſe auerre that two of them were Prieſts. Being thus inſtructed, and receiuing forty thouſand ſiluer drachmes of the publike treaſure, for their fellow and conſort *Ionathas*, they ſet forwards.

Embaſſadors with ſouldiers ſent to Ioſeph.

And for that at the very ſame time a certaine man called *Ieſus* of Galilee, was come to Ieruſalem with a band of ſix hundreth ſouldiers, they ſent for him and hired him, & gaue him three
B moneths pay, commanding him to follow *Ionathas* and his companions; and to doe that which they ſhould command them: and to theſe annexed they three hundreth Citizens, whom they hyred with reward. With this preparation the Legates ſet forward, being accompanied with *Simon Iohns* brother, who had one hundreth ſouldiers with him, who had cõmiſſion from thoſe that ſent them, that if I willingly gaue ouer armes, they ſhould ſend me aliue to Ieruſalem: and if I reſiſted, by their authority they might lawfully kill mee. They had letters alſo directed to *Iohn*, which incited him to make warre againſt mee. Moreouer, they charged the Sephorites, Gabarites, and Tiberians to maintaine *Iohn* againſt mee. After that I had intelligence hereof, by my fathers letters, who had intelligence thereof by *Ieſus* the ſonne of Gamala, one of thoſe who were preſent at the deliberation, and who intirely and familiarly loued mee; I was much
C grieued, ſeeing with how much ingratitude my countrimen requited mee, who of malice had decreed vpon my death: and for that my father inuited me by moſt affectionate letters to draw my ſelfe homeward, telling me how much he deſired to ſee me, who was his ſonne, before hee left this life; I imparted theſe things to my friends, and certified them that within three daies I would forſake their countrey, and retire my ſelfe into mine owne. Whereupon they were altogether ſurpriſed with great ſadneſſe, and beſought mee with weeping teares, that I would not forſake them, for that they ſhould be vtterly ouerthrown, if ſo be they were left deſtitute of my conduct. But wheras by no means they might perſwade me, and the care of mine owne ſecurity preuailed very much with me; the Galileans fearing leaſt I ſhould leaue them, & by that means the theeues ſhould be encouraged to ſet vpon them, they ſent meſſengers thorow all Galilee, to
D ſignifie vnto them the reſolution of my departure. Whereupon diuers of them being made priuy to theſe newes, reſorted vnto me from all parts, bringing with them their wiues & children; not ſo much, as I ſuppoſe, for the ſorrow they conceiued at my departure, as the feare that they had of their owne eſtates: For they perſwaded themſelues, that if I remained among them, there could no miſchiefe befall them. They aſſembled therefore in a great Plaine, called Aſochim, where I remained.

Ioſephs father ſignifieth all theſe newes vnto him.

Ioſeph reſolueth to return home.

That night in my ſleepe I had a wonderfull dreame. For lying in my bed, and being wholly diſconſolate and troubled with the newes I had receiued, me thought that a certaine man from aboue ſpake vnto me after this manner: Pacifie thou the paſſions of thy ſpirit, and be thou free » from all feare. For that which diſcomforteth thee, ſhall be that which ſhall make thee great, and »
E happy beyond thine expectation. For not onely theſe things ſhall turne to a fortunate ende or » iſſue, but alſo many other. Be not thou therfore diſmaied, but remember thy ſelfe that thou art » reſerued to make warre againſt the Romans. After I had this dreame, I awaked; and ſo prepared » as I was, went I downe into the Plaine: and as ſoone as I came thither, all the people of Galilee, with their wiues and children, humbling themſelues vpon the earth, and weeping, beſought me that I would not leaue them for a prey to their enemies: neither that I would abandon their countrey to ſerue for a prey and mockery to their aduerſaries. But ſeeing that I made ſmall reckoning of their praiers, they conſtrained me by oath to remaine amongſt them, and vttered diuers iniurious outrages againſt the people of Ieruſalem, that enuied them the peace and happineſſe which they enioyed.

Ioſephs admirable dreame.

A number of Galileans beſought Ioſeph that he would not forſake them.

F After I had heard theſe words, and ſeene the deſolation of the people, my heart was broken with compaſſion, and I reſolued my ſelfe that in reſpect of ſo great a multitude, my life could not be better hazarded then for their contentment: I therefore gaue my conſent to remain with them. I gaue order that fiue thouſand of their beſt ſouldiers, with their prouiſion, ſhould attend me: as for the reſt, I ſent them backe euery one to his owne houſe. When theſe fiue thouſand preſented themſelues, I annexed them to the other three thouſand that I had with me, and drew out with them foureſcore horſemen, and marched on towards Chabalon a borough vpon the

Ioſeph conſenteth to ſtay in Galilee.

marches of Ptolemais, where I vndertooke to prepare them for the battell, expecting some assault from *Placidus*, who was come with two companies of footmen and one of horsemen, sent by *Cestius Gallus* to burne the countrey townes of Galilee, and other little boroughs that bordered on Ptolemais. And for that he was entrenched before the Citie of Ptolemais, I encamped mine army likewise not farre from the borough Chabalon, som sixty stades off: and diuers times drew I out my forces to bid him battell, but neuer would he offer any thing but skirmishes. For *Placidus*, perceiuing my forwardnesse to fight, was abashed thereat, and retired himselfe: yet departed he not from Ptolemais. G

Placidus against Ioseph.

About that time came *Ionathan* with the other Embassadors, who (as we haue heretofore declared) were sent by *Simon*, and the high Priest *Ananus*, who laboured to entrap me by policy, for that they durst not assaile me in open field. They therefore wrote a letter vnto me to this effect: *Ionathan* and the Embassadours with him, who are sent by those of Ierusalem, to *Ioseph* Greeting. We are certified by the chiefest men of Ierusalem, that *Iohn* of Gischala hath oftentimes sought to betray you: for which cause we are sent to represse his malice, and to exhort him hereafter to submit him self vnto you: and being desirous to conferre with you, as touching that which concerneth the publike profit, we pray you to resort vnto vs as soon as you can, with som few attendants, because the borough is not able to entertain many. To this effect wrote they vnto me, hoping that one of these two effects would fall out: either that I coming disarmed, should be easily surprised by them; or that bringing with me a great company, I should be condemned for an enemy to my countrey. The messenger that brought mee this letter was a valiant young man, mounted on horseback, who had in times past borne armes for the King. The time wherin he came vnto me, was two houres within night, & euen then was I banquetting with my friends, and the chiefest gouernours of Galilee. After that one of my housholde seruants had certified me, that a certaine Iew on horseback came to speak with me, I cõmanded he should be brought in; who embracing me but coldly, and deliuering me the letter, said vnto me: They that are come from Ierusalem, send you this letter; giue them a speedy answere: For I am commanded to make a speedy returne. They that sate at the table with me, were amazed at the souldiers boldnesse. But for my selfe, I willed him to sit downe, and to make merry with me: but he refusing the same, I kept the letter in my hand in such manner, as I had receiued the same, and began to talke with my friends of other affaires: and not long after rising from supper, and dismissing the rest to their rest, I only retained with me some of my most inward friends, and commanding my page to fill me wine, I opened the letters before any man perceiued the same: and conceiuing incontinently what they meant, I sealed them anew, and as if I had knowne nothing of the contents, hauing the letter in my hands, I gaue order that the souldier should receiue 20. drachmes for to beare the charges of his voyage. He hauing receiued the same, and giuing me thankes; I perceiued well that he was addicted to gaine, and might easily be wrought with money. Wherupon I said vnto him, If thou wilt drinke with mee, thou shalt haue a drachme for euery glasse thou drinkest. To this the souldier listned willingly, and hauing drunke good store of wine, to get him the greater store of money, he grew drunken; so that he was vnable any longer to conceale his secrets: but of his owne accord hee declared the treason that was prepared, and how the sentence of death was giuen by them against mee. Which when I vnderstood, I answered them to this effect. *Ioseph* to *Ionathan*, and those that accompany him, Health. I am very glad to heare that you are arriued in Galilee in good health, especially for that I may now redeliuer into your hands the gouernment of the affaires thereof, to the end (according as I haue long time desired) I might returne into my country. I will not onely therefore visit you at Xallon: but in any further place also, notwithstanding you had neuer sent for mee. Notwithstanding pardon me, though I come not at this present: for I am now at Chabalon to confront *Placidus*, who pretendeth to inuade Galilee. Resort you therefore vnto mee, who shall reade my letters. Farewell. H I K L

Ionathans letters to Ioseph.

A horseman brought the letters.

Iosephs policy.

Iosephs answere to Ionathan.

After I had written this answere, and deliuered it to the souldier to carry it vnto them, I sent by the same way thirty of my most approoued friends of Galilee, commanding them to salute them that were come, without any further speech. I assigned also to each of these one of my most resolute and best souldiers to take heed least any of those I sent should conferre with *Ionathans* men. They therefore set forward on their way: and *Ionathan* and the other seeing their first purpose failed them, they sent me another letter after this tenour which ensueth: *Ionathan* and his company to *Ioseph*, Health: We command you that within three daies, you make your appearance before vs, without any of your souldiers, in the borough of Gadara, to the ende you M

Ionathans message and letter to Ioseph.

may

A may answere to that which *Iohn* hath obiected against you. As soon as they had written this, and saluted those whon I had sent, they went to Iapha, which is the greatest town of Galilee, defenced with strong wals and peopled with many inhabitants. Against these the people of that Citie, their wiues & children came forth, exclaiming against them with huge cries, charging them to returne back, and not to depriue them of the good gouernour they had. *Ionathan* and his companions were prouoked with these cries; yet durst they not make any open shew of their displeasure, but without returning them any answer they resorted to other Cities, where they met with no lesse effectuall exclaimes from the multitude, protesting with a loud voyce, that no man should be able to disswade them frō continuing *Ioseph* in authority in their gouernment. Wherupon *Ionathan* with his followers marched forth without any further speech, and came to Se-
B phoris, the greatest citie of Galilee. But the inhabitants thereof being addicted to the Romans, came forth to them: but for my part they neither praised nor blamed me. Departing from Sephoris, they came to Asochim, where the citizens sung the same song, that the Iapheans did. Whereupon they being vnable to containe their displeasures, commanded their souldiers to beat them with their truncheons, who exclaimed against them, and claimed me for their gouernour. And when they drew neere to Gabara, *Iohn* came out to meet them, accompanied with three thousand souldiers: and I hauing intelligence by their letters, that they were resolued to make warre against me, departed from Chabalon, accompanied with three thousand souldiers; and hauing committed the campe to the charge of my trustiest friend, I went to Iotapata, be-
C cause I would be within foure stades of them, & sent them this letter: If your will be that I must needs come vnto you, there are in Galilee two hundreth and foure cities and boroughs, I will meet you in any one of them, which you please, except Gabara or Gischala: for that the one is the place of *Iohns* natiuity, and the other is his associates and friends.

The Embassadors of Ierusalē coldly enteratined in Galilee.

Ioseph writeth again to them.

As soon as *Ionathan* had receiued this answere, he replied not any more, but sought the means to entrap me. *Iohn* was of the opinion to write vnto all the cities and boroughs of Galilee, suppoposing that without question there were one or two in them that were mine enemies, whom they might incense against me, as against their common enemie. Hee gaue order also, that this his resolution should be sent to Ierusalem, to the end that those of the citie vnderstanding that I was adiudged an enemy by the Galileans, might in like sort confirme that their decree by their opinion. For he said, that by this meanes it would come to passe, that the Galileans, who were
D well affected towards me, should forsake me for feare they had of them. This aduice of *Iohns* maruailously pleased them all, and was presently brought vnto me about the third houre of the night, by one *Sacchæus*, who flying from them, came and brought me the newes, and particularly related to me their intent. For which cause perceiuing that the time required no longer delay, and supposing that *Iacob* was one of my most assured and trustiest seruants, I commanded him to take two hundreth men with him, and to belay the waies betweene Gabara and Galilee, and to send me those whom he should surprise, that came that way; and especially those that carried letters. I sent *Ieremy* also, who was one of my friends, to the marches of Galilee, with sixe hundreth men at armes, to keep the passages that way towards Ierusalem, commanding him to lay hands on all those that carried letters, and to commit the men to prison, and to send me their
E packets.

The consultation of the Embassadors against Ioseph

Ioseph beseeteth the waies of Galilee.

After I had in this sort instructed those whom I sent, I willed and commanded the Galileans the next day following, to take their armes, and to furnish themselues with victualles for three daies, and to attend me at the borough of Gabaroth. Those souldiers that I had, I distributed in foure companies, and kept those with mee in whom I reposed most confidence for the guard of my person: and hauing appointed captaines ouer them, and commanded them to be carefull, I charged them to suffer no vnknowne souldier to enter in among them. The next day I came to Gabaroth, the fift houre of the day, where I found all the fields about the Citie full of men of warre, of those of Galilee, who resorted thither to assist mee, according as I had commanded them. Thither also came there a multitude of other men from other boroughs. As soone as I
F came to their presence, and was ready to speake vnto them, all of them began to cry out, calling mee their benefactour, and maintainer of their countrey. After I had solemnely giuen them thanks for this fauour they had shewed me, I charged them neither to offer war, or attempt any spoile in the champaine countrey, but to encamp amidst the fields, contenting themselues with that prouision they had brought with them. For I told them all in generall, that I would extinguish those troubles without effusion of blood. It hapned the same day that *Ionathans* messenger and letters fell into their hands, who had the guard of the passages by my appointment, and ac-

Ioseph with his troups resorteth to Gabaroth.

cording to my direction the men were kept in ſecurity, as I gaue order: and finding the letters G
that were brought me to be ful of nothing but ſlanders and lies written by the Embaſſadours, I
ſayd not a word to any man, but thought it beſt policy to ſet vpon them. But *Ionathans* ſouldiers
Iohn and the Embaſſadors forces retire to Ieſus houſe. hauing intelligence of my comming, retired both themſelues and their goods, and with them
Iohn alſo into *Ieſus* houſe, which was a great tower, nothing different from a cittadell, in which
they hid a number of men of warre, and locked vp all the other gates ſaue one; expecting that I
ſhould come that way, to ſalute them. In a word, they had commanded their ſoldiers that when
I ſhould enter, they ſhould ſuffer no man elſe to enter with me, but exclude all the reſt. For they
made no other account, but that by this means they might eaſily lay hold on me. But they were
deceiued of their hopes: for hauing notice before hand of their intents, as ſoone as I came thi-
ther, entring into into a lodging that was right ouer againſt theirs, I fained that I went to take H
my reſt. Whereupon *Ionathans* ſouldiers ſuppoſing that I was aſleep, and that in troth I was ſafe;
they came forth in all haſte into the Plaine, labouring to diſſwade my ſouldiers from their loue
and alleageance, and detracting my gouernement. But all things fell out contrary to that they
thought: for as ſoon as they were diſcouerd, the Galileans gaue a great ſhout, teſtifying the good
will they bare vnto me, who was their gouernour, and they blamed the Embaſſadours for that
without any cauſe of iniury, they were come to diſturbe the publike peace, willing them to be
gone, for that they intended to admit no other gouernor. When theſe things were ſignified vn-
Ioſeph preſenteth himſelfe among his enemies. to me, I made no doubt to aduenture my ſelf among them: for which cauſe I ſpeedily went out
to heare what theſe Embaſſadors could alledge againſt me. Vpon my arriuall the whole troupe
ſhouted for ioy, and applauded me with a loud voice, giuing me thanks for my happy and peace- I
able gouernment.

Ionathan and his adherents hearing this were affraide, leaſt if the Galileans ſhould ſet vpon
them, they ſhould grow in danger of their liues, and beganne to bethinke themſelues how they
might eſcape. But perceiuing that they might not retire, for that I required them inſtantly to
ſtay, they were altogether diſmaied, and paſt their ſenſes. I therefore commanded the people
to ſurceaſe their ſhouting, and planted the ſouldiers of greateſt truſt in euery paſſage, to pre-
uent leaſt *Iohn* ſhould charge them vnawares. After this, I exhorted the people to betake them
to their weapons, to the end that if the enemy ſhould ſuddenly aſſaile them, they might not
bee driuen to diſorder. This done, I firſt of all began to rippe vp to *Ionathans* followers and
Ioſeph obiecteth treachery againſt the Embaſſadors. fellowes, what letters they had written, and how they had certified him, that they were K
ſent by the communaltie and inhabitants of Ieruſalem, to make an end of thoſe debates that
were betweene mee and *Iohn*; and how they had incited mee to come vnto them. Afterwards
in the ſequell of my diſcourſe I produced their letters in open view, to the end they might not
deny any thing, ſeeing themſelues conuicted by their owne hand-writing, and ſpake thus vnto
them.

In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, conſiſteth truth. If being accuſed by *Iohn*, I ſhould produce two or three witneſſes that were men of reputa-
tion, to teſtifie for my life, it were a matter moſt euident, that thou ſhoulded bee compelled, O
Ionathan and you my Lords Embaſſadors (after you had foreinquired of their liues) to acknow-
" ledge mine innocency, and to acquit mee of that whereof I am accuſed. But to the intent you
" may know that I haue faithfully gouerned the eſtate of Galilee, I ſuppoſe that three witneſſes L
" are too little for an vpright man, for which cauſe I produce all theſe. Enquire of them how I
" haue liued, and whether I haue gouerned this countrey in all honeſty and iuſtice. I adiure you
" all therefore, who are my fellowes and friends of Galilee, that you hide nothing of the truth,
but that before theſe men, as before your iudges, you profeſſe, if I haue done any thing that is
The Galileans teſtimony of Ioſephs good gouernment. contrary to right. Whileſt I ſpake after this manner, all of them with one accord called me their
benefactor and defender, and gaue teſtimony of my forepaſſed gouernment, and exhorted me
to continue the ſame hereafter. And all of them affirmed by a pubike oath, that I had carefully
preuented leaſt any woman ſhould be violated, or any man by my meanes ſhould be drawne in-
to any iniury, or inconuenience. This done I publikely read the two letters in the preſence of all
Ioſeph openly readeth Ionathans Epiſtles. the Galileans, which were taken from *Ionathans* meſſengers by thoſe, who were appointed by M
me to beſet the waies, and were by them ſent to me, which were full of iniuries and falſhoods,
alledging that I rather behaued my ſelfe like a tyrant then a gouernour towards them: and be-
ſides that, there were diuers other things written & vrged very impudently. Theſe letters (ſaid I)
were voluntarily offered me by thoſe that carried the ſame. For I was vnwilling that mine aduer-
ſaries ſhould know that I had beſet the waies, fearing leaſt they ſhuld forbear to write hereafter.

The people hauing heard this, were diſpleaſed & animated againſt *Ionathan* and his followers,

and

A and flocked on to murther them; and they had ſurely done it, had I not pacified the diſpleaſure of the Galileans. As for the Embaſſadors that accompanied *Ionathan*, I tolde all of them that I pardoned whatſoeuer was paſt, if ſo be they would repent themſelues of that which was done; and if vpon their returne into their countrey, they would truely report vnto thoſe who had ſent them, how all things had paſt vnder my gouernment. This ſaid; I diſmiſſed them, notwithſtanding that I knew they would perform nothing of that which they had promiſed. But the whole multitude proſecuted their diſpleaſure againſt them, requiring me to giue them leaue to puniſh thoſe with all rigour, who had committed this ſlanderous act. But I laboured all that I might to perſwade them, to lay no hands vpon them, knowing full well that whatſoeuer mutiny it bee, it cannot but breed preiudice to the common-weale. This notwithſtanding the multitude would

The wrath & fury of the people againſt Ionathan and his fellowe Embaſſadors.

B by no means be ſatisfied, but all of them ran in heaps with great fury to the lodging, where *Ionathan* and the Embaſſadors kept. Whereupon ſeeing that it was impoſſible to reſtraine their fury, I incontinently betooke me to my horſe, and commanded the people to follow me to Sogan a borough of the Arabians, diſtant from thence ſome twenty ſtades. By this ſtratagem I brought to paſſe, that the beginning of the ciuill warre might not be imputed to me.

Ioſeph pacifies the ſedition without blood ſhed.

After I came neer to Sogan, I aſſembled the people, and told them that they ſhould not violently ſubmit themſelues to their froward diſpleaſures, nor entertain their vnquenchable deſire of reuenge: and I cõmanded them to pick out an hundreth of the chiefeſt & oldeſt men amongſt them, who ſhould make their repaire to the citie of Ieruſalem; and there complain vnto the people againſt thoſe that had kindled ſedition in their country. And I ſaid vnto them, If the people

Ioſeph ſends one hundreth Embaſſadors to Ieruſalem.

C be fauourable & liſten to your diſcourſe, you ſhall perſwade them to write vnto me, that according to their command I remain in Galilee; and that *Ionathan* & his partners depart from hence. After I had giuen them this charge, and that they were furniſhed with all things neceſſary for their iourney, in all expedition on the third day after the generall aſſemblie, I diſpatched them and ſent fiue hundreth armed men with them. I wrote alſo to my friends in Samaria, ſo to further them that they might finiſh their iourny in all ſecurity. For Samaria was already in ſubiectiõ to the Romans: and it behoued my men of neceſſity, who would make a ſhort iourney, to paſſe that way. For from Galilee by this means a man may in three daies arriue at Ieruſalem. Furthermore, I guarded the Embaſſadors my ſelfe as farre as the frontiers of Galilee, laying forces and guards vpon the waies, to the end that no man might eaſily diſcouer or know of their departure.

D Which done, I ſoiourned for a certaine time at Iapha.

But *Ionathan* and his companions hauing failed of their purpoſe intended againſt me, diſmiſſed *Iohn* to Giſchala: as for themſelues they went to Tiberias, hoping to bring the ſame vnder their obeyſance; for that *Ieſus*, who was Preſident at that time, had written vnto them, and promiſed them to perſwade the people to entertain them, & take their part if they came: and vnder this hope they alſo retired themſelues thither. *Sylas*, who (as I declared) was left by me as mine Agent in Tiberias, certified me of all this by his letters, requiring me to vſe all diligence: and I condeſcending thereunto, was brought in danger of my life vpon this occaſion that enſueth. *Ionathan* and his followers being come to Tiberias, perſwaded diuers who were mine enemies, to reuolt from mee; but after they were certified that I was there in perſon, they were affraid, and

The Embaſſadors hope to get Tiberias into their hands and poſſeſſion.

E came vnto me, and ſaluting me, told me that they reputed me happy, for that I had ſo wiſely behaued my ſelfe in Galilee: and they reioyced alſo in appearance, for that I was returned with honor, telling me that the honor that was done vnto me was their ornament, for that they were my inſtructors and fellow citizens, and that the friendſhip which I bare them was more iuſt then that of *Iohns*: they therfore required me to repaire vnto my houſe, promiſing very ſhortly to deliuer *Iohn* into my hands: and theſe ſpeeches of theirs they ſeconded with dreadfull oaths, which made me think that I had no cauſe to misbelieue them. Furthermore, they required me to take vp my lodging in another place, for that on the morrow was the Sabbath day, & it were an incõuenient that the city of Tiberias ſhould be drawne into trouble on that day. I that ſuſpected nothing repaired to Taricheas, leauing notwithſtanding certain of my friends behind me in Tibe-

Ioſeph falleth in danger.

Ionathan and his confederates policy.

F rias, who might curiouſly obſerue what the common talke was of me: and all along the way betwixt Taricheas & Tiberias I laid certain men in wait, who frõ one to another might certifie me of that which was diſcouered by them who remained in the citie. The next day therfore they all aſſembled in the Proſeucha or Oratory, which was an ample houſe wherin they praied, and was able to contain a great multitude. When *Ionathan* was entred into this place, he durſt not manifeſtly ſpeake vnto them of a reuolt, but only told them that their citie had need of a better Gouernor. But the Preſident *Ieſus* without diſſembling, ſpake plainly after this manner vnto them.

The people aſſemble in the Proſeucha.

„ It were better for you (my friends) that you were ſubiect to foure men of nobility & great wiſ- G
„ dome, then to one: and thereupon he ſhewed them thoſe who accompanied *Ionathan*. Hereupon *Iuſtus* aroſe and praiſed that which *Ieſus* had propoſed, and drew ſome of the people to his opi-
The Iewes ſixt houre is to vs eleuen or twelue a clock at noone.
nion. But the greater part tooke no pleaſure therin: and there had preſently followed a mutiny, had not the aſſembly bin diſmiſſed, by reaſon it was midday, which is the ordinary houre amongſt them to to take their repaſt in. Thus did *Ionathans* conſorts remit the determination of the matter vntill the next day, retiring themſelues without any good done. Which being preſently reported vnto me, I reſolued with my ſelfe the next morning to repaire to the citie of Tiberias: and on the morrow I arriued there in due time, for I found the people already aſſembled in the place of prayer, and they that were drawne to the conuocation, knew not the cauſe why they were aſſembled. *Ionathans* partners ſeeing me there in perſon contrary to their expectation, H
Ionathans & his aſſociates ſubtilty.
were very ſore troubled, and bethought themſelues of this ſubtilty. They told the multitude that a certain friend of theirs had informed them, that he had diſcouered certain Roman horſemen vpon the frontiers of that territory, ſome thirty ſtades from the citie, in a place called Homonœa: and that the newes being brought to them, thoſe of *Iohns* faction had preſently ſignified the ſame vnto them, to the intent they ſhould not endure their countrey to be ſackt by the enemy. They vſed this ſpeech, ſuppoſing that vnder pretext of reſcuing the country, they might driue me abroad, and ſtrengthen the city for themſelues.

Now although I knew very well what their intent was, yet gaue I eare vnto them, leaſt I ſhould driue the Tiberians into an opinion, that I was negligent and careleſſe of their ſecurity: I therfore rode out, & came to the place of which they had ſpoken: where finding ſcarce a foot- I
ſtep or appearance of an enemy, I returned ſpeedily without delay to Tiberias. When I came
Falſe accuſations & Epiſtles produced by the Embaſſadors againſt Ioſeph.
there I found the whole councell aſſembled with a multitnde of people, and *Iohns* partakers vrging againſt me a very vehement accuſation, that I made no account to relieue them in their warres, but that I ſtudied nothing but mine own pleaſure. And whileſt they ſpake theſe words, they produced foure letters, as being written vnto them by thoſe who were vpon the marches of Galilee, requiring them to come & ſuccor them, for that the Roman horſemen and footmen would within three daies forrage and ſpoyle their country: for which cauſe they made haſte, and would not neglect their ſuit who beſought them. The Tiberians hearing theſe allegations, and ſuppoſing them to be true, cryed out ſaying, that it behoued them not in that maner to dallie time, but to go and ſuccor their countrimen inuironed with great dangers. Whereunto I an- K
ſwered, that I was ready to obey them, and promiſed to march forth againſt the enemy with all expedition. Now knew I well the pretence of *Iohns* partakers; and was of the opinion, that ſince
Ioſeph diſcouereth the ſubtilty of the Embaſſadors.
thoſe letters ſaid that the Romans gathered head in foure diuers places, it was requiſite to diuide our power into fiue companies, appointing euery one of them a chieftain ouer them. For it is an honour for good men not only to giue counſel, but alſo when need requireth to be the firſt and formoſt in action: For I told them that it lay not in my power to lead any more then one company. This my aduice was pleaſing vnto all the people, who preſently conſtrained theſe men to march out vnto the warre: whereby it came to paſſe that they were greatly confuſed to ſee that they might not finiſh that which they had imagined, becauſe I croſſed all their enterpriſes.
Ananias one of the Embaſſadors a wicked man.
Hereupon one amongſt them called *Ananias*, a wicked & peruerſe man, counſelled the people to L
celebrate a ſolemne faſt the next day in honor of God, and gaue direction at the ſame houre that all of them ſhould gather together in that place in armes, to proteſt before God that if they obtained not ſuccors at his hands, they held all ſort of reſiſt vnprofitable. He ſpake this, not for any piety that was in him, but to the end to ſurpriſe both me and my followers vnarmed. To this aduice of his was I enforced to cõdeſcend, to the end it might appear that I contemned not that which appertained to the ſeruice of God. As ſoone therefore as we were retyred euery one of
Ionathas writeth to Iohn to come vnto him.
vs to our ſeuerall lodgings, *Ionathan* and his partakers wrote to *Iohn*, to reſort vnto them early in the morning with his men of war, & all the power he could make: for that they might eaſily lay hands on me, and accompliſh that which they had ſo long time longed after. He receiuing this letter, willingly obeyed. The next day I commanded two of my ſtrongeſt and faithfulleſt ſoul- M
diers to hide their ſhort ſwords vnder their gownes, and to attend mee, to the end that if in any ſort we were aſſailed by the enemy, we might defend our ſelues. I put on my curets alſo, and girt my ſword by my ſide in ſuch ſort, as no man might perceiue the ſame, and came with them to the place of prayer.

But *Ieſus* as ſoone as I was entred with my friends, hauing the guard of the gate, would not permit the reſt of my followers to enter with me: & at ſuch time as we were ready to begin our prayers,

A prayers, according to the cuſtome of our countrey, *Ieſus* ariſing demanded of me what was become of the houſhold ſtuffe that was taken out of the kings palace when it was burned, & where the bullion of ſiluer was, and with whom I had left the ſame: of all which he therefore made mention, that he might delay the time till *Iohns* approach. I anſwered, that *Capella* had all, and thoſe ten of the chiefeſt nobility of Tiberias; and willed him to aske of them whether it were true that I ſpake: who confeſſed that they had it. What (ſaid hee) are become of thoſe twenty pieces of gold, that you receiued by the ſale of a certain waight of maſſiue ſiluer, where are they? I anſwered him, that I had deliuered the ſame to the Embaſſadorus, to defray their charges in their voyage towards Ieruſalem. Hereupon *Ionathans* partakers ſaid, that I had done amiſſe, in employing the publike treaſure to the vſe of priuate Embaſſadors. The people being diſpleaſed

Ieſus talks with Ioſeph.

Ioſephs debate with Ieſus for twenty peeces of geld

B herewith (for I very eaſily perceiued the wicked diſpoſition of theſe men) & ſeeing that a ſedition was likely to ariſe, I thought it beſt to whet & animate the people the more againſt them: I ſaid, that if I had done amiſſe in rewarding the Embaſſadours on the common ſtock, they ſhould need to take no further diſpleaſure for that: for ſaid I, I will repay thoſe twenty peeces of gold out of mine own purſe. Hereupon the people were incenſed the more againſt them, in that they manifeſtly diſcouered what hatred they wrongfully bare vnto me. Wherupon *Ieſus* fearing leaſt ſome change might ariſe, commanded the people to depart, and required the councell to ſtay, for that it was vnpoſſible to examine matters diſcreetly, where ſo much trouble and turmoile was. The people cried out, that they would not leaue me alone among them. Whervpon there came one vnto *Ieſus*, who ſecretly informed him that *Iohn* with his armed men was at hand, who

The peoples loue to Ioſeph

C for that cauſe being vnable to containe and conceale his ioy, God ſo prouiding for the conſeruation of my life (for had their purpoſe taken effect, *Iohn* and his followers had vtterly ouerthrowne me.) Forbeare (ſaid he) ye Tiberians to enquire of the twenty peeces of gold: for *Ioſeph* meriteth not puniſhment for this matter, but becauſe hee affecteth the tyranny, and that by his words he hath deceiued the people of Galilee, and gotten the ſoueraignty to himſelfe. Whileſt he ſpake theſe words, they ſought ſuddenly to lay hands on me, intending to murther mee. But thoſe two, whom I had with me, perceiuing their intent, drew their ſwords, threatning thoſe who ſhould dare attempt to offer me violence. The people likewiſe gathered ſtones to caſt at *Ionathans* partakers, and puld me away violently from mine enemies: and for that if I ſhould haue gone but a little further, I had met with *Iohn* and his army, thorow the feare I had, I turned an o-

Ioſeph almoſt ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the enemy is deliuered from perill.

D ther way. For croſſing down a priuy way that led me to the lake, I betooke mee to a boate and went by water to Tarichea, auoiding this danger beyond all hope.

Whereupon I incontinently ſent for the chiefeſt men of Galilee, and told them how contrarie to all law and right I had almoſt been murthered by *Ionathan* and the Tiberians. For which cauſe the Galileans were grieuouſly diſpleaſed againſt them, and willed mee without delay to make war againſt them; or if I liſt not my ſelfe, to ſuffer them with all expedition to cut off both *Iohn* and *Ionathan*, with all their followers. Yet did I reſtraine them the beſt I could, and pacified their diſpleaſure, and prayed them to expect vntill ſuch time as wee knew what newes our Embaſſadors would bring that were gone to Ieruſalem. For I told them wee ought to execute no kinde of thing without their approbation and conſent: and by theſe meanes I perſwaded them.

Ioſeph certifieth the Galileans how traiterouſly Ionathan and the Tiberians had dealt with him

E But *Iohn* ſeeing at that time that his policy had but very ſlender ſucceſſe, returned backe againe to Giſchala.

Some few daies after, our Embaſſadors, who were returned from Ieruſalem, certified vs, that the people of Ieruſalem were ſore diſpleaſed with *Ananias* the high Prieſt, and *Simon* the ſonne of *Gamaliel*, for that without their common conſent they had ſent Embaſſadors into Galilee, and ſought to diſplace mee of the gouernment there, and their diſpleaſure was ſo kindled that they were ready to ſet their houſes on fire. They brought me alſo letters, by which the gouernour of Ieruſalem vpon the inſtant requeſt that the people had made vnto them, cõfirmed me in the gouernement of Galilee, commanding *Ionathan* and his aſſociates to returne backe againe with all expedition. After I had receiued theſe letters, I repaired to the borough of Arbela, where I aſ-

The hundred Embaſſadors returne from Ieruſalem.

An aſſembly in Arbela.

F ſembled the Galileans: before whom I commanded the Embaſſadours to report how much the people of Ieruſalem were diſpleaſed and diſcontented, in regard of thoſe things which *Ionathan* had iniured me in; and how they confirmed me in the gouernement of this countrey, and had called and commanded both *Ionathan* and his confederates backe againe to Ieruſalem, to whom I ſpeedily ſent that letter that was directed to them, commanding the meſſenger to obſerue very carefully both their actions & acceptance. After they had receiued the letters, they were greatly troubled, and ſent for *Iohn* and thoſe of the councel of Tiberias, with the gouernor of Gabara,

The councell held againſt Ioſeph by Ionathan & his companions.

and

and conſulted with them what they were beſt to doe. The Tiberians opinion was that they G
ſhould continue and maintain their eſtates, and that they ſhould not forſake the Citie which had
already ſubſcribed to their authority, eſpecially for that I would inuade them: for that I had ſo
threatned them they were not aſhamed to faine and imagine. This aduice not only pleaſed *Iohn*,
but hee furthermore gaue this counſell, that ſome two Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent from them
to the people of Ieruſalem, to accuſe mee for that I had vniuſtly gouerned the common-weale
of Galilee, telling them that they might very eaſily incenſe the people againſt mee, both in
regard of their authoritie, as alſo for that the common people are by nature variable and in-
conſtant. This counſaile that *Iohn* gaue was allowed by them all: whereupon it was thought
fit that *Ionathan* and *Ananias* ſhould in perſon repaire to Ieruſalem, and that the other two
ſhould remaine at Tiberias, and for their conuoy they gaue them a hundreth armed ſoul- H
diers.

The Tiberians had before this prouided for the ſecurity of their wals, and gaue commande-
ment to all the citizens to take armes, and afterwards ſent for ſome ſupplies to *Iohn* to ſtrengthen
their garriſon, if they ſhould any waies be prouoked by me. For *Iohn* kept at Giſchala. Meane
while *Ionathan* trauayling onwards of his iourney came to Dabaritta, a Citie ſituated vpon the
vttermoſt borders of Galilee in a great Plaine: and there met hee about midnight with ſome of
my troupes that kept the watch, who commanded them to lay by their armes, and kept them
ſafely bound, as I had commanded them. Hereof *Leui*, who had the charge of this quarter, cer-
tified me by his letters: wherefore diſſembling the matter for ſome two daies, I ſent letters
to the Tiberians, by which I counſelled them that laying their armes aſide, they ſhould diſmiſſe I
euery one to his owne dwelling place. But they returned me an iniurious anſwer: for they ſup-
poſed that *Ionathan* and his traine were already arriued in Ieruſalem. But I ſetting light by their
iniuries, reſolued to circumuent them by this cunning ſtratagem: For I thought it a dangerous
matter to kindle warre againſt the citizens. Being therefore very willing to draw them out of
their wals, I choſe out ten thouſand of my beſt ſouldiers, whom I diſtributed into three bands,
and lodged one company of them ſecretly at Dora, to lie there in ambuſh: I encamped alſo ano-
ther thouſand in a certaine borough ſituate in a mountainous place, ſome foure ſtades diſtant
from Tiberias; cõmanding them that as ſoon as I gaue them a watchword or ſigne, they ſhould
break forth: as for my ſelfe, I withdrew my ſelfe and kept in the open field, and ſate me downe
on the graſſe. Which when the Tiberians perceiued, they made continuall excurſions towards K
me, vſing many bitter and iniurious taunts againſt me: and ſo great folly poſſeſſed them, that
they ſpred a magnificent couch in the open Plaine; and marching round about the ſame, they
ſeornefully ſeemed to lament me, as if I had lien therein, whileſt in the meane time I took plea-
ſure to laugh and looke vpon their follies.

The Tiberians intend war againſt Ioſeph.

Ionathan with his followers taken & kept captiue.

The Tiberians ſcoffe very bitterly againſt Ioſeph.

But being very deſirous to ſurpriſe *Simon* by ſome policie, and *Ioazar* alſo with him, I ſent
vnto them, requiring them that they would march forth a little without their wals, attended by
their friends and guard for their ſecurity ſake; for that I was determined to conferre with them
vpon a peace, and to confirme the one halfe of the gouernment vnto them. Hereupon *Simon* de-
ceiued by his folly, and ouercome and blinded with greedy deſire, came forth with all expediti-
on: but *Ioazar* ſuſpecting ſome ſtratageme, would not aduenture without the wals. As ſonne as L
I ſaw *Simon* attended by his friends and guard, I went out to meet him, and embraced him kind-
ly, giuing him thanks for that he was come downe; anon after walking along with him, as if I
intended to communicate ſomewhat with him in ſecret, I withdrew him from his friends, and
laying hands on him, I deliuered him to my friends to lead him into the borough, and gaue a
ſigne vnto my ſouldiers that they ſhould come down, and with them I aſſaulted the Citie of Ti-
berias. There was a ſharpe skirmiſh on both ſides, and the Tiberians had welnie gotten the vic-
torie: For my ſouldiers began to flie; but perceiuing how the matter went, I animated thoſe of
my company, and with them gaue a valiant onſet on the Tiberians, who almoſt had the better,
and chaſed them into their citie, and ſent another company by the lake, to ſet on fire thoſe hou-
ſes which they ſhould firſt fall vpon. Hereupon the Tiberians thought that their citie was taken M
by force, and caſt downe their weapons for feare, praying me to haue compaſſion of their wiues
and children, and to pardon their citie. For this cauſe being moued with compaſſion, I reſtrai-
ned the fury of my ſouldiers; and for that it was late I retyred my ſelfe with my ſouldiers, both
to the intent I might ſpare the citie, and relieue my wearied and wounded ſouldiers. Hereupon
I ſent for *Siman* to come and banquet with me, and comforted him in his misfortune, promiſing
him to ſend him to Ieruſalem, and to aſſure him in his iourney homeward, and to furniſh him for
his

Ioſeph ſurpriſeth Simon by ſubtilty, and leadeth him away priſoner.

Ioſeph ſurpriſeth Tiberias.

A his ordinary expences with all things neceſſary. The next day I aſſembled ten thouſand ſouldiers, and preſently made mine entry into Tiberias; and hauing aſſembled the chiefeſt Citizens in the horſe race, I commanded them to diſcouer vnto me who they were that were the authors of that rebellion: who hauing ſatisfied me, I laid hands on them and bound them, and ſent them incontinently to Iotapata. As for *Ionathan* and his conſorts, I ſet them at liberty, and gaue them money for their charges, and ſent them back to Ieruſalem with *Simon* & *Ioazar*, & fiue hundreth ſouldiers for their guard. Hereupon the Tiberians reaſſembled themſelues before mee, beſeeching me to pardon their miſdeeds, promiſing me to recompence by their future fidelity their forepaſſed and foul faults: beſeeching me alſo to reſtore thoſe goods vnto the citizens, which in way of pillage were taken from them. Whereupon I gaue a preſent command, that all the prey
B ſhould be brought and laid before me: and whereas the ſouldiers delaied to performe the ſame, I ſpying one of thoſe ſouldiers that ſtood by me, better apparelled then he was wont to be, asked him where he had gotten that garment: who confeſſing that he had taken it in the ſpoile of the citie, I chaſtiſed him hith ſtrokes, and threatned a worſe puniſhment to all thoſe that would not reſtore that which they had taken away: whereby recouering a great part of the prey together, I gaue euery citizen that which he knew to be his owne.

Ioſeph ſends the authors of the ſedition to Iotapata.

Thoſe goods that were take frō the citizēs are reſtored.

In this place I cannot chuſe but in ſome ſort I muſt reprehend *Iuſtus*, who wrote vpon this argument; and others who promiſing a Hiſtory are not affraid in contempt of truth, either for fauour or hatred, to commit lies to their poſterity. For they differ nothing from counterfeiters of euidences, and raſers of records; but that theſe men are more corrupted by impunity. For hee
C to the end he might ſeem to imploy his time well, vndertaking to ſet downe the euents of this warre, hath belied me in many things, and hath not been aſhamed to belie his owne countrey. For which cauſe I am neceſſarily inforced in this place to diſcouer that which hitherto I haue concealed, and to reprooue that which he hath falſely teſtified of mee: neither is it to be wondered at that I haue ſo long time deferred the performance therof. For whoſoeuer writeth a Hiſtory ought of neceſſity to ſpeake the truth; yet is it not lawfull for him to inueigh againſt the wickeder ſort too vehemently; not for that they are worthy of this fauour, but for his owne modeſties ſake.

A reproofe of Iuſtus the Hiſtoriographer, that falſly accuſed Ioſeph.

Tell me therefore *Iuſtus* (for thou deſireſt to be held for the man of greateſt note amongſt all »
other Hiſtorians, and art not aſhamed to vaunt and boaſt thy ſelfe of that title) tell mee I pray »
D thee in familiarity (for I muſt ſo talk with thee as if thou wert preſent before me) how I and the »
Galileans haue been the authors of that rebellion, which thy countrey began both againſt the »
Romans & their King. For before I was choſen gouernor of Galilee by the people of Ieruſalem, »
both thou and all the Tiberians were not only vp in armes, but had already made warre againſt »
the ten Cities of Syria. Thy ſelfe hadſt burnt their villages, and one of thy ſeruants died in that »
encountrie: yet not I alone proteſt this, but it is extant alſo in writing in the records of the Em- »
perour *Veſpaſian*, how the inhabitants of theſe ten cities cried out to *Veſpaſian* in the citie of Pto- »
lemais, requiring that thou mighteſt be puniſhed, as the authour of their miſchiefes: and aſſu- »
redly thou hadſt beene puniſhed by the Emperour, had not *Agrippa*, who had receiued commiſ- »
ſion to execute thee, vpon the inſtant requeſt of his ſiſter *Bernice* ſpared thee life, and kept thee »
E bound in priſon for a long time. Furthermore, thy politicke behauiours do ſufficiently expreſſe »
what the reſt of thy life hath beene, and how thou haſt cauſed thy country to rebell againſt the »
Romans: whereof I wil produce hereafter moſt euident arguments, and for thy cauſe will I vrge »
ſomewhat againſt thoſe other Tiberians; and I will make it plaine to thoſe that ſhall reade theſe »
Hiſtories, that thou haſt been no friend to Rome, nor faithfull to thy King. And I enforce theſe »
my authorities from the greateſt cities of Galilee, Sephoris and Tiberias, in which thou *Iuſtus* »
wert borne. For Sephor is ſituate in the heart of Galilee, hauing round about it a number of vil- »
lages, and being a citie ſufficiently able in it ſelfe to attempt & execute any noble action at their »
pleaſure; yet notwithſtanding the citizens therof reſolued to obſerue their faith to the Romans, »
and thruſt me out of doores, forbidding euery man among them to beare armes for the Iewes. »
F And to the end they might be more aſſured in my behalfe, the inhabitants deceiued me in that »
they entreated mee to encompaſſe their citie with a wall: and that done, they willingly entertai- »
ned a garriſon which was ſent them from *Ceſtius Gallus*, who was generall of the Roman Legi- »
ons in Syria in contempt of mee, although at that time I had a great power, and terrified the »
countrey round abouts. But when our great citie of Ieruſalem was beſieged, and that temple »
which was common to all our nation, was in danger to fall into the enemies hands, the Sepho- »
rites ſent no ſuccours, to the end it might not be ſaid that they tooke armes againſt the Romans: »

Tiberias Iuſtus country. Sephoris and Tiberias two chiefe cities of Galilee.

But

But thy countrey Iuſtus being ſituate vpon the lake of Genazareth diſtant from Hippus thirty G
ſtades, from Gadara ſixty, from Scythopolis ſixſcore, in a country obedient to the King, hauing
not any citie of the Iewes round about it, might haue very eaſily kept their faith to the Romans,
if they had liſted. For both the citie & people were furniſhed with munition in all aboundance:
But as thou ſaiſt, I was the cauſe at that time. And who afterwards? For thou knoweſt that before
the ſiege of Ieruſalem, I was in the Romans hands, & that Iotapata was taken by force, & diuers
other caſtles, and that many other Galileans were ſpent in diuers battels. At that time ſhouldeſt
thou haue deliuered thy ſelf of that fear thou hadſt of me, laying thine armes aſide, & preſenting
thy ſelf to the king & the Romans, when thou vndertookeſt arms not of thine owne accord, but
inforced. But the truth is, you expected *Veſpaſians* coming, euen vntill ſuch time as he begirt your
citie wals with a ſiege, & then laid you your armes aſide for feare of danger: yea euen then had H
your citie bin ouerthrown, except the king in excuſe of your folly, had obtained your pardon at
Veſpaſians hands. It was not therfore my fault, but your offence, that behaued your ſelues like ene-
mies. Do you not remember how often times I haue obtained the victory againſt you, and how
few times you could complaine of bloudſhed? But you falling at diſſenſion one with another
haue been the inſtruments of your own ruine; and not for the loue you bare either to the King,
or the Romans, but of your owne malice ſlew 185. citizens, at ſuch time as I was beſieged by the
Romans in Iotapata: Nay more, is not this true, that during the ſiege of Ieruſalem, wherof I haue
made mention, there were more then two thouſand Tiberians ſlaine, or otherwiſe taken priſo-
ners? But perhaps thou wilt alledge, that at that time thou wert no enemy, for that thou wert
fled to the King; but I tell thee that thou fleddeſt thither for the feare thou hadſt of me. I am a I
wicked man, as thou ſaiſt: but what art thou? whom King *Agrippa*, vpon many preſents deliue-
red from puniſhment, at ſuch time as thou wert condemned by *Veſpaſian* to loſe thy head. For
what cauſe hauing made thee priſoner twice, and hauing ſo many times paſt the ſentence of ba-
niſhment againſt thee, and hauing once commanded thee to be thine owne murtherer, hath hee
giuen thee life vpon the importunate ſollicitation of his ſiſter *Bernice?* And after ſo many crimes
commited by thee, hauing entertained thee for his Secretary, when he found thy corruption in
that office, he baniſhed thee from his preſence.

Iuſtus condē-ned to death.

But I will not too exactly touch thee with theſe matters, yet notwithſtanding I wonder at
thine impudence, that haſt openly proteſted, that thou haſt written more exactly and perfectly
of this matter, then any man: whereas thou art vtterly ignorant of thoſe things that were done K
in Galilee. For at that time wert thou at Berytum with the King, and wert no waies priuy to the
ſiege of Iotapata; ſeeing thou didſt not follow vs. Neither couldſt thou be able to learne how
I behaued my ſelfe therein, for that there was no one left aliue to giue thee certain intelligence.
Thou wilt perhaps ſay, that thou haſt carefully deſcribed that, which hapned during the ſiege of
Ieruſalem. And how may this bee poſſible? For thou wert neither agent nor looker on in that
warre; neither haſt thou read the commentaries of *Veſpaſian*. But I coniecture hereby that thou
haſt not read them at all, foraſmuch as thou haſt written cleane contrary to that which is contai-
ned therein. And if thou art ſo confident, that thy Hiſtory is truer then other mens, why didſt
thou not publiſh it during *Veſpaſians* and *Titus* liues, who were the generals of that warre; neither
before King *Agrippa* and thoſe of his race, who were all of them very expert in the Greeke L
tongue? For thou haſt kept it written by thee aboue twenty years, and mightſt haue produced
witnes of thine exact diligence before them, who were priuy to all things. But now when they
are dead, and thou thinkeſt that no man liueth that may reproue thee, thou haſt vndertaken this
boldnes to publiſh thy work. But I haue vſed no ſuch policy or feare in my books, but haue pre-
ſented them to the Emperors themſelues, who haue been eye witneſſes and actors therof. For I
knew in mine owne ſoule that I had ſet downe all things truely: Whereupon I obtained my ex-
pected approbation. Moreouer, I communicated the ſame Hiſtory with diuers others, whereof
ſome of them were preſent in the warre, as was King *Agrippa*, and ſome of his kinred. And
Titus the Emperour himſelfe was ſo deſirous that men ſhould ſearch for the truth of that Hiſto-
rie out of theſe bookes, that he placed them in a library, and cauſed them to be publiſhed, being M
ſubſcribed with his owne hand. As for King *Agrippa*, he ſent me ſeuenty two Epiſtles, teſtifying
the truth of my books, whereof two of them are vnderwritten, to the end that the truth may ap-
peare thereby; King *Agrippa* to his deare friend *Ioſeph*, Health. I haue with great contentment
ouer-read thy book, wherein thou ſeemeſt in my opinion to haue handled this matter more ex-
actly, then any other. For which cauſe I pray thee ſend me the reſt. Farewell my deare friend.

Iuſtus knew nothing of the warres of the Iewes.

Iuſtus publiſht his book when Titus & Veſpaſian were dead.

Manifeſt teſtimonies of the truth of Ioſephus Hiſtory.

The firſt Epiſtle.

The ſecond Epiſtle.

" King *Agrippa* to *Ioſeph* his deare friend, Health: I perceiue by thine owne writing, that thou

needeſt

A needest no intelligence from me, how matters haue passed from the beginning: yet when wee meet next, I will between me and thee certifie thee of certaine things which thou knowest not. Thus was he a witnes of the truth of my accomplished History: not flattering me, for it became him not; neither deriding me, as you perhaps may obiect; for farre was it from so noble a mind to be subiect to so seruile a folly: but only to this end, that the truth of my writings might be cõmended to the reader by the worth of his testimony. And thus much haue I thought good to set downe in way of answere to *Iustus*.

Iosephus prosecuteth his History, and leaueth to debate with Iustus.

Now as soone as I had pacified these troubles in Tiberias, and had established a councell of such as were well affected towards me, I bethought my selfe of that which concerned me to do in respect of *Iohn*. All they of Galilee were of the opinion, that I should arme them all, and that
B in battell array I should match against *Iohn*, and doe iustice vpon him, as hee that had been the author of all this mischief. But for mine owne part, I misliked their counsels, for that my desire was to extinguish these troubles without bloodshed; and for that cause, I incited them with all diligence that was possible, to learne the names of all those who serued vnder him: which being done, and I made priuy what they were, I published a Proclamation, by which I promised both safety and pardon to all those, that would forsake *Iohn*, assigning them the terme of twenty daies, to determine of that which seemed best for their owne security: and I threatned to set fire on their houses, and confiscate their goods, except they gaue ouer their armes. They hearing these things, were greatly troubled, and forsooke *Iohn*: and after they had laid downe their weapons they came vnto me to the number of foure thousand: so that onely fifteene hundreth men re-
C mained with *Iohn* or there abouts; either of citizens, or strangers of Tyre. When *Iohn* perceiued that hee was circumuented by this policy, hee euer after remained quiet in his countrey in great feare.

Foure thousand of Iohns followers forsake him, and follow Ioseph.

At that time the Sephorites grew so bolde, that they tooke armes vnder the confidence and strength of their wals, and for that they saw me distracted with other businesse. They therefore sent to *Cestius Gallus* gouernour of Syria, praying him to repaire vnto them, with all expedition, to take possession of their Citie, or to send them a garrison of men at the least. *Gallus* promised to come vnto them, but he set downe no certaine time of his approach: whereof when I was aduertised, I tooke the men of warre that I had, and marched against the Sephorites, and tooke their Citie by force. The Galileans very glad of this opportunity, and supposing the time was
D come wherein they might satisfie the insatiable hatred that they bare against that citie, marched on with that intent, as if they would haue wholly ruinated the Citie, with all the inhabitants. They therefore trauailed the streets, and set fire on the houses, which they found wholly desolate: For the inhabitants were fled away for feare, and were retired into a fortresse. They therefore ransackt all things, & left nothing vnspoiled: neither was there any kind of misery which they inflicted not on their countrimen. Which when I saw, I was sore grieued; and commanded them to giue ouer, signifying vnto them that it was impiety in them, to shew themselues so sauage towards their countrimen. And seeing that neither by any prayer or command that I made, I could draw them to obedience, for that their hatred surpassed my counsels, I commanded those that were about me, and whom I most trusted, to spread a rumour that the Romanes
E charged vs on the other side of the Citie, with great force. All which I did, to the end that by this rumour I might pacifie the fury of the Galileans, and saue the City of Sephoris: and this policie took good effect. For when they heard this newes they were affraid, and forsook their pillage, to trust to their heels, in especiall for that I who was their generall did the like. For I made a shew, that I belieued the rumor to be as true, as they belieued it: and by this stratagem the citie Sephoris was saued beyond all hope.

Sephoris spoiled.

And hardly escaped Tiberias from being spoiled by the Galileans, thorow this occasion which ensueth. The chiefest of their councell wrote vnto the King, that he should come vnto them, and take possession of their City. The King promised to satisfie them very shortly, and answered them by his letters, and deliuered them to one of his chamber, called *Crispus* a Iew borne, to car-
F ry them to the Tiberians. The Galileans knowing this messenger, tooke him and brought him vnto me: which when the common people vnderstood, of meere spleen they fell to armes, and the next day diuers of them assembled themselues from all parts, and came to the City of Asoch where I made my abode, and made huge exclamations, calling the Tiberians traytors, and the Kings friends, and demanding of mee licence and liberty that they might repaire to Tiberias, and raze it to the ground, being as much displeased against the Tiberians, as they were against the Sephorites.

Tiberias in danger of ruine.

Which

Ioseph consulteth with himselfe.

Which when I heard, I stood in great doubt how I might deliuer the Tiberians from that displeasure, which the Galilæans had conceiued against them: for I could not deny but that the Tiberians had written and sent for the King: for the answere which he made them, did euidently expresse the truth. And hauing a long while debated the matter with my selfe, I sayd vnto them, I know as well as you, that the Tiberians haue offended: neither will I hinder you from spoiling their citie; yet must you proceed to the execution thereof with some iudgement. For the Tiberians alone doe not betray our liberty, but others also, who are more accounted of in the countrey of Galilee. Stay therefore vntill such time as I am throughly enformed, who they be that are authors of this treason; and then you shall haue them all vnder your hands, with all those amongst them, whom you may particularly thinke worthy punishment. By these perswasions I wonne the people, who departed from me wholly contented and pacified. As for the messenger that was sent by the King, I caused him to be imprisoned, hauing respect to an vrgent necessity of mine owne, which constrained mee to depart out of the Kingdome within a little while. And calling *Crispus* secretly vnto me, I charged him to make those souldiers drunke, who had the charge of him, to the end that he might in all security fly backe to the King. Thus Tiberias being ready to be destroyed, the second time by my gouernment and prouidence, auoided at that time a great and fatall danger.

The Galileans wrath pacified, conceiued against the Tiberians.

Iustus desireth to command Galilee.

At the same time *Iustus*, the sonne of *Pistus*, fled vnto the King without my knowledge: the cause of which flight of his, I will orderly expresse. As soon as the Romans had begunne their warre against the Iewes, the Tiberians concluded to obey the King, and in no sort to rebell against the Romans. But *Iustus* egged them on to take armes, thirsting after alteration, and hoping both to obtaine the gouernment of Galilee, as of his owne countrey: but his hope failed him of a successfull end. For the Galileans being enuiously bent against the Tiberians, for those iniuries they had suffered at their hands before the warre, could not allow *Iustus* to be their gouernour. My selfe also, whom the people of Ierusalem put in trust with the gouernment of Galilee, was oftentimes so much mooued, that I failed little of killing *Iustus*; so intolerable was his wickednesse. Hee therefore fearing least my displeasure should shorten his daies, went vnto the King, supposing that he might liue more freely and securely with him. The Sephorites beyond their expectation hauing escaped this first danger, wrote vnto *Cestius Gallus* the second time; requiring him to come vnto them, to the end that hee might be the sooner seized of their citie; or that he should send them forces to withstand the incursions of their enemies: and finally they wrought so much, that *Gallus* sent them store of horsemen, and after them footmen, who came by night, and were receiued into their Citie. But seeing that the countrey round about them was but in poore estate, by reason of the Roman horsmen, I tooke my souldiers, and came to Garizim, where I encamped some twenty stades off from Sephoris, and by night I approached the same, and set ladders to the wall, with which I entred a great number of my soldiers, and became master of the better part of the Citie; from whence notwithstanding we were afterwards constrained to retire, for that we knew not the place, killing before our departure twelue Roman footmen and two horsemen, with some Sephorites, to the only losse of one of ours. Afterwards a fight hapning between vs and their horsemen in open field, we fought for a long time with disaduantage: For the Romans hauing inuironed mee on all sides, my rereward through the feare they conceiued, began to retire. In this skirmish I lost one of my guard, called *Iustus*, who in times past had serued in the very same place vnder the King. At that very time the Kings forces both of horse and foot came thither, vnder the gouernment of *Sylas* captaine of the guard, who encamping some siue stades off from Iulias, beset the high waies that bended towards Cana with men of warre, and the fort of Gamala, to hinder the inhabitants from receiuing any commodities from the countrey of Galilee.

Ioseph assailed the wals of Sephoris.

Silas captaine of the Kings guard.

As soone as I receiued newes hereof, I sent out two thousand souldiers, with *Ieremy* their coronell: who shrouding themselues within a stade of Iulias, neere vnto the floud Iordan, offered nothing else but light skirmishes, vntill such time as I had gathered three thousand souldiers more, and was come vnto them. The next day hauing planted an ambush in a certaine trench neer vnto the enclosure of their campe, I touled out the Kings souldiers to skirmish, hauing first forewarned my souldiers to faine a flight, vntill such time as they had drawn their enemies as far as the ambush; which they cunningly executed. But *Sylas* supposing that our men fledde for cowardize, set forward to follow them as fast as he might possible: but they that lay in ambush charged him on the backe, and discomfited his army: and I presently turning and making head against them, constrained the Kings forces to trust to their heeles. At that time the estate of the countrey

Ioseph putteth the kings soldiers to flight.

A countrey was at a good point, had not ſome curſed ſpirit thwarted mine honeſt purpoſes. For the horſe whereon I roade, falling into a certaine bog, caſt mee on the ground: vvhereby mine hand being thruſt out of ioynt about the wriſt, I was carried into a borough of Cepharnom. My ſouldiers hearing hereof, and fearing leaſt ſome more ſiniſter misfortune had befallen mee, then indeed had done, reſtrained themſelues from purſuing the enemy any further, and turned their backes thorow the griefe they had conceiued by reaſon of mine accident. Hauing therefore ſent for Phyſitions, and cauſed my ſelfe to be dreſſed, I ſtaied there for that day; and being ſeized with a feuer, I was carried by night to Taricheas, according to the aduice of my Phyſitions.

Sylas and his ſouldiers hauing newes of mine accident, recouered their courages: and vnderſtanding that we kept but ſlender watch in our campe, they laid an ambuſh by night on this ſide Iosephs misfortune animateth the enemy.

B Iordan, with their horſemen, & as ſoone as the day appeared, he drew out our ſouldiers to fight: who willingly condeſcended thereunto; & being come into the Plaine, they perceiued the men that lay in ambuſh, by whom they were put to flight, and ſix of our men were ſlaine. But they purſued their victory no further: For hauing newes that certaine ſouldiers had paſt the water of Taricheas to Iulias, they were affraid and returned backe.

Not long after, *Veſpaſian* arriued at Tyre, accompanied with king *Agrippa*. Againſt whom the Tyrians began to vtter many reproaches, telling *Veſpaſian* that the king was both an enemy to the Tyrians & the Romans, alleaging that *Philip* his Generall had betraied the kings palace and the Roman army in Ieruſalem, and that by the kings commiſſion. Which when *Veſpaſian* vnderſtood, hee reproued this impudent bouldneſſe of the Tyriaans, for blaming a king of that Veſpaſian and Agrippa arriue at Tyre.

C power, and a friend to the Romans: and aduiſed the king to ſend *Philip* to Rome, to yeelde account of his actions. But notwithſtanding that *Philip* was ſent thither, yet preſented he not himſelf before *Nero*; for finding him extreamely buſied with troubles and ciuill warres, he returned vnto the king without doing any thing. When *Veſpaſian* was arriued at Ptolemais, the gouernors of the ten cities of Syria cried out againſt *Iuſtus* the Tiberian, accuſing him for burning of their boroughs. *Verſpaſian* therefore deliuered him bound vnto the king, to the end that the ſubiects of his kingdome might haue him puniſhed. But the king before that time, vnwitting to *Veſpaſian*, had kept him priſoner, as it hath been heretofore declared. The Sophonites alſo reſorted to *Veſpaſian*, to ſalute him, and receiue a garriſon from him, with their commander *Placidus*, vvho made many roades into the countrey, and purſued them vntill ſuch time as *Veſpaſian* arriued in Galilee: of which arriuall I haue amply ſpoken in my bookes of the Warres of the Iewes, how The gouernors of Decapolis accuſe Iuſtus. Of Veſpaſians arriuall, and the ſiege of Iotapata read Ioſeph lib. 4. cap 5. of the warres of the Iewes.

D he came, how he fought againſt me, the firſt time neere to the Citie of Taricheas: how I departed from thence to repaire to Iotapata, my taking, my deliuerance, and all my actions and fortunes during the warres of the Iewes, and the ſiege of the Citie of Ieruſalem. But now meeſeemeth that it is neceſſarie, that I deſcribe other things exploited by mee during my life time in other places then in the warres of the Iews. After the ſiege of Iotapata was ended, I was priſoner with the Romans and kept very carefully: yet notwithſtanding, *Veſpaſian* did me much honour. For by his commandement I married a virgin, that was one of thoſe that had been taken captiue in Cæſarea. But ſhe remained not long time with me: for after I was ſet at libertie, and that I followed *Veſpaſian*, ſhee retired her ſelfe to Alexandria. After which, I married another woman

E in Alexandria, from whence I was ſent to *Titus* to the ſiege of Ieruſalem, where I vvas oftentimes in danger of death. For the Iewes laboured what they might to take and puniſh me: and the Romans ſuppoſing that as many and oftentimes as they were repulſed, it was by my treaſon, cried out continually to the Emperour to execute mee for a traitor. But *Titus* well experienced in the changes of warre, pacified the violence which his ſouldiers intended againſt me by his ſilence. And after the Citie of Ieruſalem was taken, *Titus* often ſolicited mee to take that which I liked among the ruines of Ieruſalem, promiſing to giue it me. But I making but ſmall account of any thing after the ruine of my countrey, beſought him that hee would giue me certaine free men, and the ſacred Bible, which I receiued for a great conſolation in my miſeries. All vvhich he gratiouſly granted me. Not long after hauing begd my brother and fifty other of my friends, The danger that Ioſeph paſt betwixt the Romans and Iewes.

F they were giuen me, and I was refuſed in nothing. Entring into the temple by *Titus* permiſſion, I found a great number of priſoners ſhut vp therein, and all thoſe women and children of my friends and familiars, whom I knew, I deliuered them, to the number of one hundreth and ninetie, without paying any ranſome: and I reſtored them to their former free condition. Being ſent with *Cerealis* and one thouſand horſe into the Citie of Thecoa by the Emperour *Titus*, to eſpie if the place were fit for a campe; in returning from thence I ſaw diuers priſoners, who were on the gibbet, amongſt which were three of my familiars; whereat I was grieued in my ſoule, Ioſeph diſchargeth a number of captiues. Ioſeph deliuereth three from the gibbet.

and I came and ſignified the ſame vnto *Titus* with teares : who incontinently commanded that G
they ſhould be taken downe, and as carefully dreſt and cured as might bee : two of vvhich died notwithſtanding the vtmoſt diligence of the Phyſitions, and the third ſuruiued.

Ioſeph repaireth with Titus to Rome, and is honourably entertained by Veſpaſian.

After that *Titus* had appeaſed the troubles of Iudæa, coniecturing with himſelfe that the poſſeſſions which I had in Ieruſalem, would yeeld me but little profit, by reaſon of the Roman garriſon that ſhould be placed there; he planted me in a poſſeſſion in a champaine countrey: and intending to embarke himſelfe to depart for Rome, he tooke me with him in his owne ſhip, & did me great honour. As ſoone as we came to Rome, *Veſpaſian* had great care of mee; for hee lodged me in his owne howſe, vvhere he kept before he was Emperour, & honoured me with the title of a citizen of Rome, and gaue me an annuall penſion in money; and as long as he liued, continued his good affection towards me, forgetting no kinde of bountie which he might vſe towards me.

Ioſeph enuied & ſlandered.

Whereupon I was ſo much enuied, that I grew in danger thereby to loſe my life : For a certain H
Iew called *Ionathan*, hauing ſtirred vp a ſedition in Cyren, and gathered about him ſome two thouſand inhabitants of the country, was the cauſe of their ouerthrow : & as touching himſelfe, being bound by the gouernour of that countrey, and afterwards ſent vnto the Emperour, he ſaid it was I that had ſent him armes & money. But *Veſpaſian* knew his falſhood, and condemned him to death, and commanded him to be executed. After this, mine enemies obiected diuers crimes againſt me, in regard that I was in good reputation: but God ſo wrought that I eſcaped them all. Moreouer, I receiued in gift frō *Veſpaſian* an ample poſſeſſion in Iudæa, & at that very time I forſooke my wife, becauſe her manners pleaſed me not, although ſhe were the mother of my three

Ioſephs third wife.

children, of whom two are deceaſed, and the third, who was called *Hircanus*, is yet aliue. After this I married a wife that was borne in Candie, and was by nation a Iew, and by birth noble, and I
one of the greateſt reputation amongſt the inhabitants, endowed vvith as laudable manners as any other vertuous woman whatſoeuer; as her after-life moſt plainely expreſſed. By her I had two ſonnes, *Iuſtus* who was the eldeſt, and *Simonides*, who alſo vvas ſurnamed *Agrippa*. Thus far as touching my domeſticall affaires. That bountie which I receiued from the hands of the Cæſars, hath alwaies continued mine. For after *Veſpaſians* death, *Titus* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, continued the ſame fauour which his father had ſhewed mee. For although I were

The perpetual fauour of the Cæſars towards Ioſeph.

oftentimes accuſed, yet vvere not mine aduerſaries beleeued. *Domitian*, vvho ſucceeded him, augmented mine honours. For he puniſhed thoſe Iewes that accuſed me, and gaue order that the Eunuch & ſlaue vvhom I kept to teach my ſon, and by vvhom I vvas accuſed, ſhould be puniſh- K
ed. He granted me exemption alſo from all the tributes of Iudæa, which is one of the moſt greateſt honours that a man may receiue. And as touching *Domitia* the Emperours wife, ſhee alwaies continued her good affection towards mee. Behould heere the ſhort recitall of my whode life : whereby let each man coniecture of my manners as him liſteth. But O thrice excellent Epaphroditus, after I haue giuen and offered thee all this ancient hiſtorie of our nation, I will for this preſent pauſe in this place.

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THE LAMENTABLE AND TRAGICALL HISTORY OF THE VVARS AND VTTER RVINE OF THE IEWES:

COMPRISED IN SEVEN BOOKES
BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE of MATTHIAS:

AND NEWLY TRANSLATED OVT OF THE Latin, and French, into Engliſh, by *Tho. Lodge*, D. M. P.

Printed at London by *H. L.* dwelling on Bread-ſtreet hill, at the ſigne *of the Starre.* 1620,

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFVL HIS esteemed friend, M. *Anthony Palmer* Esquire.

SIR, my affection, that had rather bee an Actor then an Orator (do well, then speak well,) hath pickt you out to bee the patron of this tragicall historie of the wars of the Iewes. The reasons that draue me hereunto, are neither the expectance of worldly benefites, nor the fruitlesse vp-shot of ostentation: but your virtue (which is not beloued respectiuely, but onely for it selfe) hath created this good conceit in me, which (if you so please) your accpetance may continue. Now since, as the Philosopher supposeth, it is an action worthy a good man, to do good vnto his friend; so it is no lesse commendable to accept an office of kindnes from a friend. For by giuing, wee bewray our well wishing; and by receiuing, we proportion and continue friendship: vpon this ground I pray you build the good entertainment of my Present, and nourish this good custome in mee (which was vsual both amongst Grecians & Latins) I meane my translation: which if it please you, I haue my wish. As for my maligners, I expect no worse from them then *Iason* the *Thessalian*, who being assailed and wounded by an enimie (who had an intent to kill him) had an inpostumation opened, that saued his life: their stabbe and stroke of disgrace shall cure and heale the hidden and neglected infirmities of my mind; and notwithstanding, I shall both *Genio & ingenio* liue to loue you, and lament their want of charitie. Thus heartily commending mee, I hastily take my leaue, beeing tied prentise of late to other mens importunities.

Your louing Friend,

THO. LODGE.

THE FIRST OF THOSE SEVEN BOOKES, WHICH WERE WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, AS TOVCHING THE WARRE AND DESTRVCTION OF THE IEWES.

The Præface.

In which the author taxeth diuers Hiſtoriographers, of vntruth: and declareth his intent, and ſpecifieth the principall points of this Hiſtorie.

FOR as much as the vvarre vvhich vvas enterpriſed betwixt the Iewes and Romans, hath (amongſt all other) beene the greateſt that eyther hath beene attempted in our age, or heard of in any other; either betweene citie & citie; or nation againſt nation: there haue beene ſome, vvho (rather building their diſcourſe on the vaine and improbable report of others, then their owne iudgements) haue (according to the manner of orators) made a hiſtorie of their hearſay, and haue filled their diſcourſes not onely with vanitie, but alſo with contradiction. Others there were (who for that they vvere eie witneſſes or actors of the ſame) haue according to their owne fancies preferred many lies; either to flatter the Romans, or exerciſe their hatred againſt the Iewes: forging ſomewhiles accuſations, otherwhiles breaking out into praiſes, vvithout any obſeruation of hiſtoricall veritie. For this cauſe, I Ioſeph the ſonne of Mattnias, by birth an Hebrewe, and a citizen and prieſt of Ieruſalem: who in the beginning of theſe wars bare armes againſt the Romanes, and afterwards (being thereunto forced by neceſsitie) vvas preſent at all thoſe things, which vvere attempted and proſecuted in thoſe vvarrs; haue thought good to diſcourſe in the Greeke tongue (in fauour of all thoſe vvho acknowledge the ſoueraignitie of the Roman Empire) all that which heretofore in my owne language I haue imparted to thoſe Barbarians that inhabit the Eaſt. For at ſuch time (as I haue already ſpoken) as theſe moſt bitter and buſie vvarres tooke their beginning, the Romanes were at ciuill vvarres among themſelues: and as touching the Iewes (vvho vvere in yeeres valiant, and in vvits turbulent) they being both ſtrong in power, and rich in money, did ſo inſolently abuſe the time, that being animated by the greatnes of thoſe ſeditions and troubles; they ſomewhiles ſwamme in hope, ſometimes ſweltered in feare of poſſeſsing or loſing certaine ſoueraignties in the Eaſt. For the Iewes hope vvas, that all thoſe of their nation (euen they vvho inhabited the parts beyond Euphrates) vvould haue both followed them in their rebellion, and ſeconded their follies vvith their forces. Moreouer, at that time the Frenchmen (vvho bordered vpon the Romans) ſuffered them not to liue in peace: and the Germans alſo began to take armes. Finally, after the death of Nero, ſeditions raigned euery vvhere: ſo that by reaſon of the opportunitie of theſe times many men vvent about to make themſelues kings, and the ſouldiers whetted on with the couetous deſire of gaine, deſired nothing more then trouble and alteration. For vvhich cauſe, I thinke it a matter both worthy reproofe, and ill beſeeming my reputation, if in ſo vvaightie affaires, I ſhould ſuffer the truth to be ſmothered in incertainties, and ſhould permit the Parthians, Babylonians and the furtheſt diſtant Arabians, and thoſe of our nation inhabiting beyond Euphrates, together vvith the Adiabenites, to obtaine the true knowledge of thoſe euents by mine induſtrie; vvhileſt the Grecians, and diuers of thoſe, vvho haue not borne armes vvith the Romans, being diſtracted vvith factions, and deceiued by adulation, ſhould bee ignorant hereof. Yet ſome of theſe there be, vvho (notwithſtanding their falſe informations) ſtick not to write hiſtories, not onely voide

The dutie of an Hiſtoriographer, and how things that are paſt ſhould bee written.

Ioſeph himſelf had a hand in the warres of the Iewes.

After Neros time all things full of trouble

Ioſeph had written this hiſtorie in the Hebrew toung before.

of all truth, but also no waies answerable to the subiect which they vndertake. For whilest they labour to G
dignifie and extoll the Romans, they altogether suppresse the fame and fortunes of the Iewes: yet cannot I con-
iecture by what meanes they may be held great, who triumph in the conquest of men so obscure and abiect.
The glory of the Romans is diminished if you derogate from their labours at the siege of Ierusalem.
Nay whilest they thus extoll the Romans valour in conquering the Iewes, they nothing at all respect the con-
tinuance of the warres, nor the multitude of the Roman souldiers, nor the honour of their captaines; whose titles
are much embased if they (hauing laboured so much to conquer Ierusalem) should haue any thing derogated
from the honour and prosperitie of their attempts. For mine owne part I am not resolued to contradict those
who shall enhance the glory and noble actions of the Romans, neither to extoll and dignifie the deserts of mine
owne nation, but my resolution is in all truth and sincerity to set down each occurrent, without respect or par-
tialitie towards either part. In performance whereof I will fashion my discourse according to the matter I
entreate of, and as my griefe and sorrow shall inuite me to lament the miseries of my countrey: For the ciuill H
dissension that dismembred the same, was the cause that brought it to confusion: and those tyrants that raigned
Titus his piety towards the Iewes.
amongst vs, were such, who forcibly drew the Romans with sword and fire to seeke the desolation of our holy
temple. The truth whereof Titus Cæsar himselfe can iustifie, who destroied the same; who during all those
warres still pitied the people, for that they (as he well perceiued) were kept in awe by the seditious: And who
oftentimes of his owne accord deferred the surprisall of the Citie, purposely protracting the siege, to the intent
that in the meane time the authours of the sedition and bloudy warres might haue leasure to repent and submit
themselues. Now if any man thinke that I write this, as one that exclaimeth against the tyrants and their thecue-
ries; or that in bewailing the miseries of my lost countrey, I accuse their villanies, and thereby transgresse the
limites of a historie, let it bee imputed to my griefe, and so pardoned. For amongst all the Cities that were euer
All calamities that hapned sithence the beginning of the world being compared with those the Iewes suffered are of no moment.
gouerned by the Romans, our citie onely attained to the top of felicitie, which now alas is brought into extreame
miserie, captiuitie, and desolation. Nay, if all the misfortunes and calamities which the world from the begin- I
ning hath seene, be compared with the infelicitie and fall of the Iewes, they are slight and of no moment.

And to increase our sorrow, no forrainers but our owne familiar friends, and countrimen haue been the ac-
tors of our tragedy. This considered, if any man of too seuere and stoicall iudgement shall reprehend this my la-
mentation, let such a one attribute the deeds I recount, to the history which I write; and reserue the lamenta-
tions and sorrowes thereof to me, who am the historiographer: although in my mind I may iustly challenge the
smooth tongued Grecians, for that (notwithstanding these our so miserable, and so memorable wars happened
in their daies, in respect whereof all other former troubles were obscure and of no reckoning) they haue re-
The Grecian Historiographers ouerpasse the wars of the Iewes with silence.
strained their tongues and pens; and vndertaken an ouercurious silence, to the end they might carpe at those
with greater liberty, who vndertake the publishing thereof: whome though in learning and eloquence they K
both exceede and outstrip, yet are they inferiour vnto them in the matter and subiect they intreate of. For
they forsooth discipher and set down the valiant acts of the Assyrians and Medes, as who should say the ancient
writers had but coldly and scarce conceitfully handled the same: and yet God knoweth they come so far behind
those auncient authours in their writings, as they neither second them in sense, nor equall them in vnderstan-
ding. For such as in times past published any worthy history, endeuored to write that which they themselues
had seene: and for that each of them were eie witnesses of those affaires they committed to writing, they more
effectually performed all that which they promised; the rather for that they accounted it to bee an act of dis-
honestie, to report and publish lies in steed of a history. And truly in my opinion that man is both worthy com-
mendation and praise, who striueth by his studious indeuours, to register not onely the occurrences of times
past, but also those memorable euents that haue happend in his daies: and hee onely and truly is to bee accounted I.
Who may rightly be called a Historiographer.
industrious, not that altereth and pruneth at his pleasure another mans workes, but hee that of himselfe com-
pileth a history, whereof no man hath before time written. For mine owne part (the rather for that I am a
stranger) I haue beene inforced to my no small labour and expence, to refresh the memory and truth of these
euents in the eares of the Greekes and Romans. For as touching their owne learned men, their mouthes are al-
waies open to gaines and controuersies, and to this purpose their tongues still runne on pattens: mary if they come
to a history wherein they should both tell truth, and with great labour enquire of those things that are past, here
are they mum, the trauell is too tedious, the bit is in their teeth, so that they leaue the matter to their perfor-
mance, who are incapable and vnapt both in stile and study, to register the noble actions of royall princes.

Since therefore the Grecians make no account of the truth of history, it behooueth vs both to esteeme and ho-
nour it. Now to discouer vnto you the originall of the Iewes, what their estate hath beene in times past, and af- M
ter what manner they departed out of Aegypt, to shew what countries they conquered, and what colonies they
planted, were in my iudgement both impertinent and to little purpose; considering that diuers of mine owne
nation haue before my time made and written an exact history of the noble attempts of our ancestors: yea many
Greeks also haue translated these mens writings into their owne tongue; & haue as truly, as rhetorically ex-
emplified the same. I will therefore begin my history in that time where these writers and our own prophets
ceased, and set down at large all those wars that hapned in my time: and as for those things that exceed my

knowledge

A knowledge and remembrance, I will onely touch them briefely, and in a word or two. First how Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, tooke the citie of Ieruſalem, and poſſeſſed the ſame for the ſpace of three yeeres, and ſix months: and finally how he was driuen out of that countrey by the Aſmoneans. After this I will ſet downe the diſſenſions that happened amongſt Antiochus (ſucceſſors for the kingdome) and how by this meanes they drew Pompey and the Romans into the managing and medling with their affaires. How Herod likewiſe the ſon of Antipater, being aſſiſted by Soſius, vtterly ouerthrew and canceld their felicity and authority: and how in Auguſtus Cæſars time and after the death of Herod, and during the gouernment of Quintilius Varo, a ſedition was raiſed among the people: and how in the twelfth yeere of Neros raigne the warre began to take head and continuance. That likewiſe which hapned in Ceſtius time, and what warlike executions the Iewes performed in their firſt attempts and reuolts, how they ſtrengthened the cities and forts about them, and how

B Nero (hearing of the great ouerthrow which his army receiued vnder Ceſtius their Generall, and fearing leaſt he ſhould loſe all) made Titus Veſpaſian the Generall of his army: who being attended by his eldeſt ſon, came into Iudæa accompanied with as great a company of Romans as hee could poſsibly gather; what number of their allies inuaded and ſpoiled Galilee, what cities they ſurpriſed in that place, either by forcible aſſault, or by any other compoſition. Beſides all theſe things, I will expreſſe what order and diſcipline the Romans obſerue in their wars, and wherein they are accuſtomed to exerciſe their ſouldiers. I will note down alſo the places and nature of the country of Galilee, and the deſcription of Iudæa, together with the mountaines, lakes and fountains therof, with all the properties of the ſame; not forgetting thoſe miſeries which the captiue cities ſuffered: neither how they were ſurpriſed. All which (together with all thoſe euils and miſeries which during thoſe troubles befell me) will I diſcouer, and diſcourſe with all truth and diligence, the rather in that I publiſh

C them in their eares, who are no waies ignorant of them. After this I will ſet down how (vpon the declining and downfall of the Iewes) Nero died; and how, at ſuch time as Veſpaſian had vndertaken the expedition to Ieruſalem, he was withheld from the action, to receiue and enioy the imperiall dignitie: how at that inſtant when he returned himſelf into Egypt to eſtabliſh that eſtate, the Iewes began to mutiny among themſelues; how many tyrants aroſe among them, who hatched much ciuill diſcord and debate in their gouernment. Againe, how Titus departing out of Egypt, came the ſecond time into Iudæa, and ranged ouer the country, and how and where hee leued and encamped his armies. How and how oftentimes the citie hath beene vexed by ſedition, eſpecially at ſuch time as hee himſelfe was preſent. What aſſaults hee gaue, and how many mounts hee raiſed in begirting the city with a treble wall: the ſtrength and prouiſion of the city, the ſituation and platforme of the temple, and the altars therin: the rites and ceremonies which were vſed vpon feſtiuall daies, the 7. purifications and offices of the prieſts: the garments alſo of the high prieſt, and the holy ſanctuary of

D the temple. All which I will recount without any diſſimulation, or ſwaruing from the truth of hiſtory. After this I will relate what cruelty the tyrants vſed againſt their owne countrimen, and what humanity the Romans ſhewed towards ſtrangers, and how oftentimes Titus (who deſired the ſafety both of the citie and temple) prouoked and inuited the ſeditious to mutuall amity. Furthermore, I will report how the people of the Iewes (after theſe many & grieuous wounds which they both ſuffered and ſunke vnder, ſometimes by war, otherwhiles by ſedition, and many times by hunger) were at length ouerthrowne to their vtter confuſion. Neither will I omit the ſlaughter of ſuch as reuolted, neither the puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that were captiue: but I will ſet down how the temple was burned againſt Cæſars will, and what an infinit maſſe of ſacred treaſure was deuoured by the fire. But to ſhut vp the hiſtorie, I will annex the ſurpriſall of the citie, and what ſignes and

E wonders hapned before the ſame: the captiuity alſo of the tyrants themſelues, and the number of thoſe that were led away into captiuitie: and what miſerie euery one of them endured: how the Romans continuing their warres, vtterly raſed the fortreſſes of their captiues: finally, how Titus in trauailing thorow the whole countrey, eſtabliſhed a forme of gouernment therin; and afterward returning into Italy, triumphed with much honour. All theſe things haue I comprehended in ſeuen bookes: indeuouring as much as in me lieth, to fly and auoide all occaſion of reproofe and reprehenſion from thoſe men, who knew theſe affairs and were actors in the wars. All which I haue done for their ſakes, who rather affect truth, then follow their pleaſure: and according to that order and forme I haue propoſed, I will begin and proſecute my ſtile and hiſtorie.

Antiochus Epiphanes the firſt author and fountaine of the warres of the Iewes.

The Epitome of the warres of the Iewes.

The ſignes & charges after Neroes death.

Titus beſiegeth Ieruſalē.

The manners and ſacrifices of the Iewes.

The humanity of the Romās towards the Iewes.

The burning of the temple, and the ouerthrow of the citie.

The Romans triumph ouer the Iewes.

The cauſe why he wrote this hiſtory.

F

G

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 1. Booke. H

1 *The deſtruction of Ieruſalem by* Antiochus.
2 *The ſucceſsion of princes from* Ionathan, *vntill* Ariſtobulus *time.*
3 *Of* Ariſtobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Eſſæus, Alexander, Theodore *and* Demetrius.
4 *Of the vvarre attempted betweene* Alexander, Antiochus *and* Aretas, *and of* Alexandra *and* Hircanus.
5 *Of the warre betweene* Hircanus *and the Arabians, and of the Expugnation of Ieruſalem.*
6 *Of the warre of* Alexander *with* Hircanus *and* Ariſtobulus.
7 *Of the death of* Ariſtobulus, *and the vvarre of* Antipater *againſt* Mithridates.
8 *How* Antipater *vvas accuſed before* Cæſar, *and how* Hircanus *vvas high prieſt, and* Herod *began* I
to make vvarre.
9 *Of the diſſenſion of the Romans after* Cæſars *death, and of* Malichus *his deceits.*
10 *How* Herod *vvas accuſed and ſet free.*
11 *Of the vvarre of the Parthians againſt the Iewes, and of* Herods *flight and fortune.*
12 *Of* Herods *vvarre for the recouering of Ieruſalem after his returne from Rome, and how hee warred againſt the theeues.*
13 *Of* Ioſephus *death brother to* Herod; *and how Ieruſalem vvas beſieged by the ſame* Herod, *and how* Antigonus *was ſlaine.*
14 *Of the trecherous practices of* Cleopatra *againſt* Herod, *and of his vvarre againſt the Arabians,* K
and of a great earthquake.
15 *How* Herod *vvas confirmed in the peaceable poſſeſsion of the kingdome of Iudæa by* Auguſtus Cæſar.
16 *Of the Cities and monuments repaired and builded by* Herod, *and of his felicitie, and liberalitie towards ſtrangers.*
17 *Of the diſcord betwixt* Herod *and his two ſonnes* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.
18 *Of* Antipaters *conſpiracie againſt his father* Herod.
19 *How* Herod *ſhould haue beene poiſoned, and how the treaſon was diſcouered.*
20 *How* Antipaters *practices againſt* Herod *were knowne and puniſhed.*
21 *Of the golden Eagle, and of* Antipater *and* Herods *death.* L

CHAP. I.

How Ieruſalem vvas deſtroied by Antiochus.

The yeare of the world, 3802. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 162. Ant. li 12. c. 6. Antiochus being ſtirred vp by Tobias ſons, inuadeth Iudæa, and ſurpriſeth Ieruſalem. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 4.

AT ſuch time as *Antiochus* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, made warre againſt *Sextus Pompeius* for the whole gouernment of Syria, there aroſe a ſedition among the Iewes: wherein euery one indeauoured himſelfe to haue the ſoueraigntie ouer others; and thoſe of chiefeſt authoritie and nobilitie amongſt the reſt, diſdained to ſubmit themſelues to ſuch as M were their equals. At that time a certaine man called *Onias* (who was one of the high prieſts) hauing gotten the vpper hand, did driue the ſonnes of *Tobias* out of the Citie; who flying to *Antiochus* for refuge, beſought him in all humilitie that he would lead his forces into Iudæa; offering themſelues to be his guides in that expedition and voiage. *Antiochus* (who long before that time deſired ſuch an occaſion) eaſily cõdeſcended to their requeſts; & leuying a great army entred

A entred their countrey, and tooke the citie by force, and ſlew the moſt part of them, who fauoured *Ptolomy*: and giuing his ſouldiers libertie to ſack the citie, he himſelfe ſpoiled the temple alſo; and for the ſpace of three yeeres and ſixe moneths, forbad all ſacrifices & ceremonies, which before time were accuſtomed and vſed in that place. Whereupon *Onias* the high Prieſt fled vnto *Ptolomey*, and hauing obtained a grant of a peece of ground from him, within the liberties and precinct of Heliopolis, he built a towne and temple in that place, reſembling the citie and ſanctuarie in Ieruſalem. *The yeere of the world, 3802. after Chriſts Nativitie, 62.* The high prieſt Onias flieth to Ptolomey. Ant. lib. 12 cap. 7.

But neither was *Antiochus* ſatisfied with the vnexpected ſurpriſe of the citie, nor with the pillage & ſlaughter of the citizens, but was ſo far tranſported by his paſſions, & incēſed with the rememberance of thoſe euils which he ſuſtained during the ſiege of the city, that he compelled the B Iewes to forſake the cuſtomes of their countrey; commaunding them from that time forward to vſe no more circumciſion of their children, but that they ſhold immolate ſwine vpon the Altar: which whē all of them iointly refuſed to obey, the moſt conſtant among them were for that cauſe put to death. *Bacchides* beeing made chiefe of the garriſons by the appointment of *Antiochus*, what with his innated cruelty, and the impious commaundement that was left him, omitted no occaſion to further his wicked impietie, inſomuch as he particularly tormented ſuch as were of noble birth, and qualitie: that each day for the moſt part, hee repreſented vnto them the freſh face and memorie of the deſolation of their citie: till all of them at the laſt beeing prouoked and whetted on through the grieuouſnes of that which both themſelues and others indured, addreſſed themſelues with confidence to proſecute their reuenge. At length *Matthias* the ſon of *Aſmoneus*, one of the prieſts, who was borne in a village called Modin, accompanied with his fiue ſons C and his own houſhold armed with ſwords, ſlue *Bacchides*: and fearing the power and multitude of the enemies garriſons, ſpeedily retired himſelfe into the mountaines. Thither reſorted diuers of the people vnto him: for which cauſe he wexing more confident and courageous, came down from the mountaines, and ouercomming the captaines of *Antiochus*, draue them out of the borders of Iudæa. At ſuch time therefore as through his happy ſucceſſe he became potent, and was by common conſent of the people (for that he had deliuered them from the ſubiection of ſtrangers) made their Ruler: he died, leauing his eldeſt ſonne, who was called *Iudas* to ſucceed him in the gouernment. Who fearing leaſt *Antiochus* would ſtill continue warres againſt him, gathered together an armie of his countrimen, and was the firſt among the Iewes that made a league with the Romanes; and draue back *Antiochus Epiphanes* at ſuch time as hee enforced himſelfe D once more to inuade the borders of Iudæa, repulſing him with a great ouerthrow. And whereas the remembrance of this victory was yet freſh in mens mindes and memory, he aſſaulted the garriſon of the city: For as yet they were not deſtroied (in which conflict he forced them to forſake the higheſt part thereof, which is called holy) and to betake themſelues into the lower part: and hauing obtained the temple, he made euery place cleane, and compaſſed it with a wall, and made new veſſels for the ſeruice of the temple, and planted them therein, becauſe thoſe that had bin before time conſecrated there, were prophaned. He builded likewiſe another Altar, and began to renue the accuſtomed ſacrifice, and obſerue the rites of religion.

Bacchides crueltie towards the Iewes. Ant lib. 1. cap. 7. 8.

Matthias, confederaced with others, maketh warre againſt Antiochus.

Scarcely was the citie brought to the former eſtate, but *Antiochus* died; who left a ſonne and E heir behind him, who was not onely inheritour of his kingdome, but alſo of his hatred againſt the Iewes: who hauing gathered together fiftie thouſand footmen, & almoſt fiue thouſand horſmen, and foureſcore Elephants, entred by the mountaines of Iudæa; and tooke a towne named Bethſara, neere which *Iudas* met him in a place called Bethzacharie, where the paſſage was ſomthing ſtreight: and before the armies ioyned battell, *Eleazar*, *Iudas* brother, ſeeing one Elephant higher then the reſt, bearing a great tower on his backe, & adorned with golden furniture, thinking *Antiochus* had been there, ranne from his company, and breaking the ranks of the enemies, came vnto the Elephant: but he could not reach him (whom he deemed to be the king) hee was ſo highly mounted; for which cauſe wounding the Elephant in the belly, the Elephant fell vpon him, and preſſed him to death: which act of his had no other ſucceſſe but this, that by at- F tempting ſo great a matter, he gaue a manifeſt teſtimonie that hee preferred his renowne, before his life.

Antiochus dieth and leaueth the kingdom to his ſon Antiochus, who gathereth a huge power and inuadeth Iurie. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 14. 15. Eleazar dieth being ſlain by an Elephant.

Now he that gouerned the Elephant was but a priuate perſon, and although by hap *Antiochus* had been there, *Eleazar* had atchieued nothing elſe in this valiant attempt; but yet hee aduentured his life vnder hope to performe ſome valiant exploit. And this act of his was a preſage vnto his brother of the euent of the whole war that enſued. For the Iewes fought ſtoutlie, and along time: but yet *Antiochus* armie (beeing both more in number and more proſperous) obtai-

Eleazar preferred honour before life.

obtained the victorie; ſo *Iudas* therfore after the loſſe of many of his company, fled vnto the Gophonits, with thoſe of his ſide who eſcaped: And *Antiochus* went to Ieruſalem, from whence after ſome ſtay he departed for want of neceſſaries, leauing a ſufficiēt garriſon; as for the reſt of his armie, he led them for the winter time into Syria. Yet notwithſtanding the kings departure *Iudas* reſted not: but encouraged by many of his nation, who daily came vnto him, and gathering alſo together thoſe who eſcaped out of the former battell, at a village named Adaſa, hee fought with *Antiochus* captaines, where after much & many approbations of his valour in aſſaulting & ſlaughtering a great number of his enemies, he himſelfe at length was ſlaine, and within a few daies after, his brother *Iohn* alſo was betraied, and ſlaine by their treacheries who fauoured *Antiochus*.

The yeare of the world, 3802. before Christs Natiuitie 162.

Antiochus departing from Ieruſalem, leaueth a ſufficient garriſon there. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 18.

Iudas fighteth with Antiochus captains and is ſlaine.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſucceſsion of Princes, from Ionathas *vntill* Ariſtobulus.

AFter him ſucceeded his brother *Ionathas*, who carefully ſtudied for the peace and ſecuritie of his people, and fortified himſelfe by the friendſhip of the Romans, & was reconciled to *Antiochus* his ſonne; yet did none of all theſe things profit him, or acquit him from danger. For the tyrant *Tryphon* (who was tutor to *Antiochus*) laying wait for him, and ſeeking to ſpoile him of his friends, tooke *Ionathas* at ſuch time as he came with a ſmall companie to *Antiochus* who was at Ptolemais, and binding him, led an army againſt Iudæa: from whence beeing repulſed by *Simon*, *Ionathas* brother, and ouercome by him, in diſpleaſure and reuenge thereof, he ſlew *Ionathas*.

Ant. li. 13. c. 1. *The yeare of the world, 3805. before the birth of Christ, 159.*

Ionathas, taken by Tryphōs ſubtilty, is ſlaine.

But *Simon* valiantly beſtirring himſelfe in the gouernment & guide of the affaires of the commom-wealth, tooke Zara, Ioppe, and Iamnia (which were bordering townes:) and ouercoming the garriſon at Accaron, he deſtroied the citie, and aſſiſted *Antiochus* againſt *Tryphon* who beſieged Dora, before that expedition which he made againſt the Medes. Yet would not the greedy mind of the king be ſatisfied, notwithſtanding that *Simon* had thus faithfully ſerued and aſſiſted him in the death of *Tryphon*; but that within ſhort time after, he ſent vnto *Cendebeus* (who was the generall of the army) commanding him to ſacke and ſpoile Iudæa, and to take *Simon*, and make him a ſlaue. But *Simon* though aged in yeeres, fought both youthfully and valiantly, & ſent his ſons with the moſt reſolute men he had, before, againſt *Antiochus*, and himſelfe with the reſidue of his army, aſſaulted another quarter of their enemies camp; and hauing laid many ambuſhes euen in the mountaines, hee in euery place was victorious: and after this his moſt famous victorie, he was proclaimed high prieſt, & deliuered the Iewes from the gouernment of the Macedonians, vnder which they had bin 270 yeers. Finally, by the treacherie of *Ptolomæus* his ſon in law, he was murthered at a banquet; who impriſoning his wife & two ſons, ſent certaine men to kill the third ſon, whoſe name was *Iohn*, otherwiſe called *Hircanus*. But the young man vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe of his fathers voiage, haſted vnto the citie accompanied with a great multitude; for hee greatly hoped that the people would remember his fathers proweſſe, eſpecially becauſe *Ptolomæus* iniquitie was hated of all men; *Ptolemæus* alſo haſted to enter the citie at another gate: but he was ſpeedily repulſed by the people who had already receiued *Hircanus*. For which cauſe he preſently retired himſelfe into a Caſtle named Dagon, ſituate beyond Iericho.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 9. *The yeare of the world, 3823. before Christs birth 141.*

Simon encoūtreth with Cendebeus, & ouercommeth him. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 14.

Simon by the trechery of his ſon in law Ptolomæus is taken & ſlain.

Iohn, otherwiſe called Hircanus. the ſon of Simon.

After that *Hircanus* had obtained the office of the high prieſt, which was left him by his father, and had offered ſacrifices vnto God, he led forth his forces with al ſpeed againſt *Ptolomæus*, hoping to help and deliuer his mother and brethren that were detained priſoners with him: and aſſaulting the Caſtle, notwithſtanding that in all other things he had the better hand, yet was hee ouercome by iuſt griefe and compaſſion. For at ſuch time and ſo often as *Polomæus* perceiued himſelfe to be in danger, hee brought *Hircanus* mother and brethren vpon the walles, and beat them where he might behold them in their torments, threatning to caſt them down frō the wall except *Hircanus* would preſently depart. For which cauſe *Hircanus* was more moued with compaſſion & feare, then with anger & wrath. But his mother being no waies diſmaied with ſtripes which ſhe indured, nor with death wherewith ſhe was threatned, lifted vp her hands to her ſon, beſeeching him that in regard of her miſeries he would not be moued to ſpare ſo impious a perſon, for ſhe eſteemed her death threatned by *Ptolomæus*, dearer then immortalitie it ſelfe; if ſo be hee might receiue iuſt puniſhment for the villany which hee had impiouſly committed againſt their houſe. But when *Iohn* had perceiued the reſolute mind of his mother and heard her intreatie, he was moued to aſſault the Caſtle, & ſtraight way ſeeing her beaten and torne, he relented with

The yeare of the world, 3841. before Christs birth, 133.

Hircanus obtaineth the honour of the hie prieſthood which his father had.

Ptolomæus cruelty againſt Hircanus mother & brethren.

A with compaſſion, and was euen filled with griefe. By which meanes the ſiege continued long, & the Iubilee yeare was come, which falleth out euery ſeauenth yeare: wherin the Iewes ceaſe frō all affaires, as their wont is euery ſeauenth day. *Ptolomæus* deliuered from the ſiege by this accident and occaſion, put *Iohns* mother and his brethren to death, and afterwards fled to *Zeno* the tyrant of Philadelphia, who was alſo ſurnamed *Cotylas*.

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 33.

Ptolomæus murthereth Hircanus mother and bretheren.

In the meane while, *Antiochus* beeing grieuouſly vexed at that which *Simon* had done vnto him, ſent his army into Iudæa, and beſieged *Hircanus* in Ieruſalem, who opening *Dauids* Sepulcher (who had bin one of the richeſt amongſt all the kings of Iudæa) took more then three thouſand talents of money from thence; and wrought ſo much with *Antiochus*, that vpon the payment of three hundreth talents of money, he made him raiſe his ſiege & depart the country. This

The yeere of the world, 3839. before Chriſts birth 125.

B *Hircanus* was the firſt of all the Iewes that with his owne goods maintained outlanders and ſouldiers. But ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* had bent his power and forces againſt the Medes, he took hand-faſt of that opportunity he had offred him, to reuenge himſelf, & preſently aſſaulted the townes of Syria, aſſuring himſelfe he ſhould find them (as indeed they were) void of ſouldiers to defend them. Whereupon hee tooke Medaba and Samea, with the places thereunto adioyning; Sichem and Garizim, which border vpon the Chuthæans, who inhabite the places adioyning to the Temple, that is made after the imitation of that which is at Ieruſalem. Moreouer, hee tooke many cites of Idumæa, and amongſt the reſt Doreon, and Mariſa: and comming into Samaria (where now Sebaſte is ſituate, which was builded by *Herod*) he beſiged it on euery ſide, and left his two ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, to continue the ſiege, who diligently beſieged the place.

Antiochus vpon the paiment of three hundreth talents raiſeth his ſiege.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 15.

Ariſtobulus & Antigonus beſiege Sebaſte.

C There was ſuch a famine in the city, that they were conſtrained to eate vnaccuſtomed meats. For which cauſe, they required aid of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Sondius*, who willingly aſſiſted them, but he was ouercome by *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, and was purſued by the aforeſaid brethren vnto Scythopolis, whither he then retired himſelf: but they retiring againe vnto Samaria, beſieged the citie, & at laſt taking it by force, deſtroied the ſame, & led away the inhabitants captiues. Whil'ſt thus fortune fauoured them more and more, they ceaſed not to purſue their good ſucceſſe, but led their army to Scythopolis: and taking it, they diuided and ſpoiled all the country.

Sebaſte ouerthrowen and ſpoiled.

CHAP. III.

Of Ariſtobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Eſſæus, Alexander, Theodorus, *and* Demetrius.

D

THis felicitie and good hap of *Iohn* and his ſonnes, was accompanied with the enuie of many of his countriemen: and this diſcontent of theirs, was the cauſe of a mutinie. For diuers of the Iewes riſing vp in armes againſt them, were ſo much ouer-ruled by their ambitious paſſion, that they could not containe themſelues from the proſecution of an open and bloudy warre: wherein notwithſtanding they were put to the worſt. From that day forward *Iohn* paſſed the remainder of his life in all felicitie and happineſſe; and after he had gouerned the common-weale for the ſpace of thirtie three yeeres, he departed this life, leauing behind him fiue valiant ſons. He was a man truly happy, & ſo fauoured by Fortune, that he had no occaſion to complaine of her niggardice in bountie. Finally, he alone might iuſtly boaſt himſelf of three excellent endowments: firſt of all, that he was the Prince of his countrey: ſecondly, that he was high prieſt: thirdly, a Prophet, to whom God ſo ſpake, that he was ignorant of no future accidents: he foreſaw & fore-told that his two eldeſt ſonnes ſhould not continue long in the gouernment (whoſe liues are worth rehearſall, although they much declined from their fathers felicitie) for the eldeſt ſonne *Ariſtobulus*, after his fathers death tranſlated the principalitie into a kingdome; and was the firſt that put a crowne on his head; foure hundreth, eightie and one yeeres and three moneths, after the deliuerance of the people from the captiuity of Babylon. As for *Antigonus* (who was his ſecond brother, and whom in appearance he ſeemed to loue moſt in-

The ſeditious ouercomn in warre.

Iohn after hee had happily gouerned the countrey for 33 yeers ſpace dieth.

The yeare of the world, 3861. before Chriſts birth 303.

E

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 19.

F tirely) he made him partaker of his dignitie, and committed the reſidue of them to priſon. Hee impriſoned his mother alſo, for that ſhee had contended with him as touching the principalitie, (which *Iohn* had ſolely committed to her diſpoſe) & was ſo farre giuen ouer to all kind of cruelltie, that he not onely kept her priſoner in bonds, but alſo put her to death by famine. But the reuenge of this his impietie was this, that hee ſlaughtered his owne brother *Antigonus* whom hee intirely beloued, and made both a competitor & partner with him in the kingdome. For by reaſon of thoſe ſcandalous ſlanders, which his enuious and malignant courtiers contriued & inuen-

Ariſtobulus famiſheth his mother.

Ariſtobulus loued Antigonus very deerely.

ted

The yeare of the world, 3861. before Christs Nativitie 103.

ted against him, he commanded him to be put to death. Natheleſſe, vpon their firſt information, G
Ariſtobulus (ouermaſtered by brotherly affection) gaue them no credit; the rather for that he was certainly aſſured, that all things for the moſt part which were obiected against him, were rather enforced vpon enuie, then alledged on good ground.

But when as *Antigonus* returned from the warre, attended with many teſtimonies of his valour and proweſſe, vpon that feſtiuall time, wherein according to the cuſtome of our countrey, wee celebrate the feaſt of Tabernacles; it happened at that time, that *Ariſtobulus* fell ſick and was diſeaſed. *Antigonus* therefore about the end of thoſe feſtiuall daies being attended by his armed men, aſcended vp into the Temple to offer ſacrifice, & the rather reſorted he thither in greater pompe and maieſtie, becauſe hee intended to honour his brother. Heereupon, certaine curſed and wicked detractors repaired to the king, buzzing in his eares, that this great guard of ſouldiers which accompanied *Antigonus*, and that his haughtie reſolution and kingly preſence, was H
rather for a ſoueraigne, then a ſubiect: inferring hereby, that he entred the citie in this Equipage, with an intent to murther him, not contenting himſelfe to haue the onely honour of the kingdome, except hee might reduce the power and poſſeſſion thereof into his owne hands. *Ariſtobulus* though vnwillingly, yet at laſt beeing wonne to believe them, deſirous (in ſeeming not to ſuſpect) to ſhew himſelfe prouident, commaunded his guard to hide themſelues in a certaine obſcure place vnder the ground: as for himſelfe, he tooke vp his lodging in a certaine Caſtle, which in times paſt was called Bari, and afterwards Antonia: giuing his archers this commiſſion, that if *Antigonus* came vnarmed they ſhould let him paſſe; if otherwiſe, that they ſhould kill him. He ſent certaine meſſengers alſo to *Antigonus*, requiring him to repaire vnto him diſarmed. But the
enuious Queene preuented his good intent of his, by a ſubtill ſtratageme complotted and acted I
by thoſe, that with her conſpired against him. For ſhee perſwaded thoſe that were put in truſt to diſcharge this meſſage, to diſcouer nothing of that, which the king had comaunded them: but to ſignifie vnto *Antigonus*, that his brother hauing intelligence, that he had made himſelfe many accompliſhed & compleat armours, with other faire and worthy furniture for the warre in Galilee (which by reaſon of *Antigonus* ſodaine departure frō that place & his owne inſtant infirmitie he might not behold) would count it no little fauour & felicitie to behold & ſee him in his warlike ornaments. Which when *Antigonus* vnderſtood (who by reaſon of his brothers diſpoſition ſuſpected no miſchiefe) he armed himſelfe, and reſorted vnto him, intending to delight and content him with his muſters. But no ſooner arriued hee in the ſtreight which is called the tower of K
Straton, but the guard of *Ariſtobulus* ſette vpon him, and ſlaughtered him, yielding by this meanes a demonſtratiue & certaine teſtimonie, that detraction diſtracteth & deſtroieth all good nature & friendſhip, and that amongſt all our moſt accounted affections, there is no one ſo defenced and fortified, as may abate the edge of enuie.

At this time alſo who would not wonder at a certaine man called *Iudas*? who being by birth an Eſſean, was bleſſed with this felicitie in his prophecies, that his predictions were neither touched with miſtaking, nor tainted with lying. This man perceiuing how *Antigonus* paſſed thorow the temple, cried out to his familiars who attended him in no ſmall number (for ordinarily diuers of his diſciples did attend vpon him:) Ah, how happy were it for mee at this preſent, if I
were dead, ſith that truth dieth before me; and ſome one of my predictions are found faultie and L
deficient? For behould *Antigonus* yet liueth, who ſhould this day haue dwelt with death. The place which was deſtinated for his departure is the towre of Straton, which is diſtant from this place ſome ſix hundreth ſtounds, & yet notwithſtanding there are but foure hours of the day to be paſt: now therfore is the time wherein my diuination ſhall be falſified. Hauing ſpoken to this effect, the old man ſate him downe beeing altogether diſconſolate and penſiue, vntill ſuch time as within a while after it was told him that *Antigonus* was ſlaine in a place vnder ground, which was called the tower of Straton, beeing of the ſame name with Cæſarea which is ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt; which was the occaſion that *Iudas* ſtaggered in his diuination.

The ſorow which incontinently ſeized *Ariſtobulus*, for committing this hainous murther, augmented and increaſed his ſickneſſe in ſuch ſort, that his ſoule was continually troubled with the M
thought of his ſin, & his body thorow extream heat of paſſion dried vp: & the griefe that he felt was ſo vehement, that his entrailes became exulcerate, ſo that hee voided bloud in great abundance. And it ſo fell out by the diuine prouidence, that one of his ſeruants, who was deputed to that office, bearing out that bloud which came from him, miſſed his way, & came to that place where *Antigonus* had bin ſlaine, wherin as yet there appeared ſome ſignes & ſtaines of the bloud-ſhed of *Antigonus*, on which he powred out the bloud of the murtherer *Ariſtobulus*. Which whē they

Antigonus in honour of his brother aſcended vp into the temple.

Antigonus falſely accuſed to his brother.

Ariſtobulus commandeth his guard that if Antigonus came armed, they ſhould kill him.

The Queenes cunning Stratagem against Antigonus.

Antigonus ſuſpecteth not his brother.

Iudas the prophet foretelleth Antigonus death.

Ariſtobulus thorow the griefe he conceiued at his brothers death falleth ſicke.

A ſeruant ſpilleth bloud in the ſame place where Antigonus was ſlaine.

A they perceiued who ſtood hard at hand, they began to cry out with a loud voice, as if the ſeruant had purpoſely ſpilled the bloud in that place. *Ariſtobulus* hearing this cry, demaunded the cauſe thereof: and the more that each man fledde and feared to diſcouer the ſame vnto him, the more inſtantly ſought he to vnderſtand the truth; ſo that at length after hee had vſed threats and violence, he was certified by ſome one of that which had paſt. Whereupon his eyes were ſuddainly filled with teares, ſo that in vehement agonie of minde, he at laſt cried out & ſaid: It is impoſſible, but that the great eye of the diuine Maieſtie ſhould ſee my wicked acts, & the ſuddaine vengeance of my brothers bloudſhed ſhould purſue and ouertake me. How long, O thou impudent body, wilt thou detaine a ſoule already condemned and adiudged to my mother and dead brother? How long ſhal I thus lingeringly languiſh in ſpending a parcel of my bloud vnto them?

The yeare of the world, 3862. before Chriſts birth, 102.

The eye of God diſcouereth euery ſin.

Ariſtobulus dieth miſerably.

B Let them take it all at once, and let not the diuine vengeance laugh any longer to ſee the effuſion of mine entrailes. This ſaid, he died after he had ſcarcely raigned one yeere.

His wife after his death deliuered his brother *Alexander* from priſon, & anointed him king, who was both the eldeſt and ſeemed to be the moſt ſtaied among the reſt of his brethren. Who growing by this meanes to be both proud and potent, put one of his brethren to death, for aſpyring and hunting after the kingdom: as for the other that remained aliue, in that hee contented himſelfe with a priuate and contemplatiue life, he kept him neere about him. He made warre alſo againſt *Ptolomey* that was called *Lathyrus*, who had ſurpriſed the Citie of Aſoth, and put a great number of his enemies to the ſword: natheleſſe, *Ptolomeys* ſide obtained the victory, who retyring himſelfe into the countrey of Egypt, by reaſon that his mother *Cleopatra* purſued him with

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 9.

Alexander aduanced to the kingdom, vſeth much crueltie.

Alexander is ouerthrowne by Theodore.

C open warre; *Alexander* forcibly entred the Citie of Gadara, and the fort of Amathunt (which was one of the greateſt of all thoſe that were round about Iordan) in which place *Theodore, Zenos* ſonne had hoorded vp his chiefeſt & moſt precious moueables, who ſuddainly ſetting vpon him recouered all that which was his, and furthermore laid handes on the kings carriage: in ſeizing which, hee ſlaughtered many Iewes, to the number of tenne thouſand. But *Alexander* after he had recouered this loſſe, inuaded the frontier townes vpon the ſea coaſt, and wan Raphia, & Gaza, and Anthedon, which afterwards by king *Herod* was called Agrippias. But after he had conquered & ouercome theſe places, the common ſort of the Iewes raiſed a mutiny againſt him during a certaine ſolemne and holy feaſt: for al mutinies and ſeditions are commonly raiſed at banquets: and it is thought that he could not haue preuailed againſt thoſe treacheries, had he not bin aſſiſted by the Piſidians & Cilicians, whom he hired to helpe him; for the Syrians, he refuſed to

The ſedition of the Iewes againſt Alexander vpon a feſtiuall day.

D hire them, by reaſon of their naturall hatred they bare againſt the Iewes. Hauing therefore ſlaine eight thouſand of the rebels, he warred vpon Arabia; and ouercoming the Galaadites, and Moabites (and impoſing vpon them a tribute) hee returned to Amathunt: and whereas *Theodorus* was daunted with his proſperous ſucceſſe, he finding the Caſtle without any to defend it, raſed it vnto the ground. After this, he preſently aſſaulted *Oboda*, king of the Arabians: who hauing laid ambuſhments in the countrey of Galaad, in a place fit for ſuch a purpoſe, diſcomfited him & his whole armie, beeing driuen thence into a deepe valley, where they were peſtered with a multitude of Camels.

Alexander aſſaileth the caſtle of Amathunt, and raſeth it.

But *Alexander* eſcaped vnto Ieruſalem, where the people who had conceiued a hatred againſt

E him, beeing encouraged by his great loſſe and ſlaughter of men, began againe to rebell: but then alſo hee ouercame them, and in ſix yeeres ſpace, at ſundry battels hee ſlew aboue fiftie thouſand Iewes; notwithſtanding, hee neuer reioyced in his victorie, becauſe the ſtrength of his countrey was conſumed thereby. For which cauſe giuing ouer his warres, he began to ſeek the peoples fauour by ſweet and mild ſpeeches: but they ſo much hated his inconſtant and variable manners, that when he demaunded of them what he might doe to win their fauours, they anſwered, if he would die, for that ſcarcely they would pardon him if ſo be hee were dead, who had committed ſo many hainous crimes. And therupon the Iewes ſent vnto *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Acerus* for helpe, who in hope of great rewards came and ioyned his forces with the Iewes about Sichem: where *Alexander* met them both, with a thouſand horſemen & ſixe thouſand footmen, that were

Demetrius commeth to helpe the Iewes. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 20.

F hired (hauing at that time ten thouſand Iewes his fauourites) & of the contrary part there were three thouſand horſemen, and fortie thouſand footmen. Before the fight beganne the two kings ſent meſſengers one vnto anothers armie, perſwading one anothers men to forſake their colours and captaines: for *Demetrius* hoped that *Alexanders* hired men would haue forſaken *Alexander* & come vnto him, & *Alexander* hoped that the Iewes that followed *Demetrius* would haue left *Demetrius* and come to him. But when both partes perceiued that the Iewes continued obſtinate in their purpoſe, and the Greekes kept their fidelitie, the two armies encountred; in which encoun-

The war betwixt Demetrius and Alexander, wherein Demetrius is conquerer.

The yeare of the world, 3862. before Christs birth 102.

encounter *Demetrius* had the vpper hand (although *Alexanders* hirelings euidentlie shewed strength and courage.) But the end of this victorie was such as neither partie expected: for they who sent for *Demetrius*, after his victory did forsake him; and fortune changing her colours, sixe thousand Iewes fledde vnto *Alexander* into the mountaines, whither for safetie hee had betaken himselfe. This reuolting much displeased and discouraged *Demetrius*, for hee now thought that *Alexander* vniting his forces was able to bid him battell, and he feared that all the Iewes would at that present follow *Alexander*: for which cause hee returned home. Yet the rest of the Iewes hauing thus lost the helpe of *Demetrius*, would not for al this desist from their rebellion; nay they so long warred with *Alexander*, till at last (the most of them beeing slaine) he draue the rest into the city of Bemeselin, and when he had surprised and sackt the citie, he led them captiues into Ierusalem. But immoderate anger turned his crueltie into impietie: for hauing crucified eight hundreth captiues in the midst of the citie, he killed their wiues, & the children he massacred before their mothers faces; and this pittifull spectacle hee beheld with pleasure, drinking and making merry with his concubines. Wherat the people were so terrified, that the night after, eight thousand of the contrary part fled out of the country of Iudæa, who staied in banishment during the life of *Alexander*. Thus, after he had by those actions sought for the tranquillitie of his kingdome, which he obtained not but with long time and great difficultie, he ceased to make warre against his country.

The Iewes reuolt from Demetrius.

Alexanders immoderate wrath, who crucified viii hundreth captiues.

Alexander ceaseth from warre.

G H

CHAP. IIII.

Of the warre of Alexander *with* Antiochus, *and* Aretas, *and of* Alexandra, *and* Hircanus.

I

Alexander feareth Antiochus, Demetrius brother.

After this, *Antiochus* (who likewise was called *Dionysius*, the brother to *Demetrius*, who was the last of all the race of *Seleucus*) raised vp new broiles against *Alexander*, who fearing him because he had prepared warre against the Arabians, drew a deepe trench along that ground which lieth betweene *Antipatris*, and the Sea-coast of Ioppe: and before the trench he builded a very high wall, and raised towers of wood to hinder his enemies passage. But all this could not keepe out *Antiochus*, but that burning the towers, and filling vp the trenches, he entred & passed ouer them with his forces. And not tarrying at that time to reuenge himself of him who had thus forbidden him passage, he presently marched forward against the Arabians. But the king of Arabia retiring himself into certaine places of his country which were fittest for defence, & returning suddainly to battell with his horsemen (who were in number 10000) rushed hastily vpon *Antiochus* souldiers, and found them vnprouided: so that a hot skirmish began betwixt them, in which the souldiers of *Antiochus*, whil'st hee liued, shewed themselues valiant (though they were on euery side massacred by the Arabians) but so soone as he was slaine (who was alwaies ready to assist those that were in danger) all of them fled: and the greatest part of them were slaine in the battell and in flight: as for those that escaped, they fled into the towne of Cana, where they all (except verie few) died for hunger. After this, the people of Damascus beeing incited by the hatred they bare to *Ptolomey* the son of *Mineus*, sent for *Aretas*, and established him king ouer Cœlosyria: who warring against Iudæa, & ouercomming *Alexander* in battel, retired himselfe vpon composition. *Alexander* hauing taken Pella resorted once more to the towne of Gerasa, in that he was desirous of *Theodorus* riches: & took the place, notwithstanding that it was fortified with 3 wals: & that vpon euery wall there was planted a garrison. He tooke Gaulan & Seleucia & that towne which is called the valley of Antiochus. Moreouer, hauing taken Gamala, which was a most strong castle, and imprisoned the gouernour thereof, who was called *Demetrius*, because he was a wicked person, he returned into Iudæa, after hee had spent three yeeres in warre: where for his prosperous successe he was ioyfully receiued of his nation. But no sooner ceased he from war but he fel sick, and falling into a quartane ague, he thought that hee should driue away his sickenesse, if hee emploied himselfe in some businesse: for which cause being not rid of his disease, he applied him selfe to warre, and labouring aboue his strength, amids those tumults yeelded vp the ghost in the seauen and thirtith yeere of his raigne: leauing the kingdom to *Alexandra* his wife, fully accounting that the Iewes would in all things obey her, because that shee alwaies by misliking and seeking to hinder his crueltie and iniquitie, had won the harts of the people. Neither was he deceiued; for she being admired for her pietie amongst them, obtained the principalitie: the rather for that she was well acquainted with the customes of her countrey, & euen from her childhood detested

The king of the Arabians inuadeth Antiochus souldiers vnawares.

The king of Arabia puttes Antiochus forces to flight, and killeth a great number of them.

They of Damasco, and Aretas against Alexander.

Alexander sick of a quartane feauer. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 22.

Alexandra Alexanders wife thorow the opinion of vertue, obtaineth the kingdom.

K L M

A deteſted them, who violated the holy law. She had by *Alexander* two ſonnes, the eldeſt was called *Hircanus*: whom by reaſon of his yeeres ſhe proclaimed high prieſt, & becauſe of his dull nature ſhee thought that though he were in princely authoritie, yet he would moleſt no man: and therefore alſo made him king. As for the youngeſt ſon *Ariſtobulus*, becauſe he was of a hot ſpirit, ſhe was willing that he ſhould liue a priuate life. *The yeare of the world, 3862. before Chriſts birth, 102.*

Hircanus firſt made high prieſt, and afterward king.

Now there was a certaine ſect among the Iewes, which were called Phariſees, who ioyned themſelues with the Queene: theſe people were thought to bee of the godlieſt ſort, and to bee more skilfull then other in interpreting the ſcriptures: and for that cauſe *Alexandra* fauoured them the more, becauſe ſhe was ſuperſtitiouſly giuen to religion. Theſe hauing by little & little inſinuated themſelues into the fauour of a ſimple woman, now did domineere at their pleaſure,
B diſplacing diſpoſing, impriſoning, and reſtoring to liberty whom they pleaſed, for no other purpoſe, but that they might inioy the profits and commodities of the kingdome; and *Alexandra* bare al charges. This Queene was alwaies deſirous of high attempts, & daily ſtudied to encreaſe her wealth: ſhe leuied two armies, and hired a great many ſtrangers; whereby ſhe did not onely ſtrengthen her owne countrey, but alſo made her ſelfe to be feared of other nations. She ruled others, but herſelfe was ruled by the Phariſees, who at laſt killed *Diogenes*, who was a gallant man, and highly in fauour with king *Alexander*; affirming that through his counſell the king commanded thoſe eight hundred before mentioned to be crucified: and further, they perſwaded the Queene *Alexandra*, that ſhee ſhould put to death all others, through whoſe counſell *Alexander* her husband had beene incited againſt thoſe eight hundred. The Queen beeing blinded with ſu-
C perſtition, thought it vnlawfull to deny any thing which they requeſted: ſo that they put to death whom they pleaſed, til ſuch time as the chiefeſt of thoſe, who were in this danger, in humble vviſe came to *Ariſtobulus*, vvho perſwaded his mother to ſpare thē for their dignitie, & baniſh others, whom ſhe thought had deſerued puniſhment: vvho hauing obtained their liberty, diſperſed themſelues through the whole countrey. Now *Alexandra* ſent an armie to Damaſcus, and becauſe *Ptolomeus* daily vexed the citie, ſhe tooke it vvithout doing any thing worthy of memory: ſhee did ſollicite *Tigranes* king of Armenia with gifts and promiſes (who with an armie had beſieged Ptolemais wherein *Cleopatra* was) but he for feare of troubles in his owne countrey, in that *Lucullus* had entred into Armenia, withdrew himſelfe from thence.

The Phariſees getting in fauour with the Queene are made her chiefe gouernours, and enioy all honours.

Alexandra willingly obeith the Phariſees.

The Phariſes by their enuie & accuſations are the death of many good men.

Ariſtobulus expoſtulateth with his mother.

In the meane time *Alexandra* being ſicke, her yongeſt ſonne *Ariſtobulus* vvith his ſeruants (which were many in number, all truſty, & in the heat of their yong yeares) got all the caſtles: &
D hiring ſoldiers with the mony he found in thoſe caſtles, he proclaimed himſelf king. But *Alexandra* (pitying the complaints of *Hircanus*) impriſoned the wife and children of *Ariſtobulus* in a caſtle neere vnto the North part of the temple, which in olde time was called Baris (as wee ſaid before) afterwards *Antonius* being Emperour, it was called Antonia, as in like maner Sebaſte and Agrippias other cities, were named of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*. But *Alexandra* died before ſhe could reuenge *Hircanus* of the wrongs which *Ariſtobulus* had done him. This Queene raigned nine yeeres, and left *Hircanus* in poſſeſſion of all, whom during her life time ſhe had aduanced to the Kingdome. But *Ariſtobulus* being both ſtronger in power, and more eſteemed in authoritie, encountred with his brother about Iericho, where many of *Hircanus* ſouldiers forſaking their
E king fled vnto *Ariſtobulus*: for which cauſe, both he and the remnant of thoſe that followed him, were forced to fly into the caſtle called Antonia, where he found hoſtages to redeem him. For (as we haue already ſaid) *Ariſtobulus* wife and children were impriſoned in that place: and leaſt any worſe miſhap ſhould betide him, he concluded a peace, vpon condition that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be king, and that he as brother to the king, would content himſelfe with other dignities. Vpon theſe conditions they were made friends in the temple, where in the preſence of all the people, they in moſt friendly ſort embraced each other: which when they had done, they changed houſes, and *Ariſtobulus* went into the kings palace, and *Hircanus* vnto *Ariſtobulus* his houſe.

Ariſtobulus proclaimeth himſelfe king.

Alexandra impriſoneth Ariſtobulus wife and children.

The yeare of the world, 3873. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 95.

Alexandra dieth, and Hircanus ſucceedeth her in the kingdome.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 1.

The brethren contending for the kingdome are accorded vpon certaine conditions.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 2. 3. 4.

CHAP. V.

F

Of the warre betweene Hircanus *and the Arabians, and of the taking of Ieruſalem.*

Antipater perſwadeth Hircanus to fly to Aretas king of Arabia, and to craue his aſsiſtance to recouer his kingdome.

NOw a ſodaine feare inuaded all the enemies of *Ariſtobulus* when they ſaw him (contrary to all expectation) made king; and eſpecially *Antipater* aboue all others, whom *Ariſtobulus* a long time had hated. This *Antipater* was an Idumæan borne, and for his nobilitie and riches was the chiefeſt and beſt reputed of his nation. This man perſwaded

The yeare of the world, 3873. before Christs Natiuitie 95.

ſwaded *Hircanus* to fly vnto *Aretas* king of Arabia, & craue his help to ſet him in his kingdome. G Furthermore, he perſwaded *Aretas* likewiſe to receiue *Hircanus*, and to help him to recouer his kingdome, ſpeaking much againſt the manners of *Ariſtobulus*, and praiſing *Hircanus*; adding that he being king of ſo famous a nation ought to aſſiſt thoſe who were vniuſtly oppreſſed; and that *Hircanus* had manifeſt iniury offered him, being forced to forſake his kingdome, which by the right of ſucceſſion was due vnto him. After he had thus made his way, he in the night time took *Hircanus* and fled with him foorth of the citie: and making all haſte poſſible, they arriued at a town called Petra, with ſafety (which is a towne where the kings of Arabia were accuſtomed to keepe their court) there he deliuered *Hircanus* into the kings hands, and through many gifts and intreaties obtained the fauour that he might be conducted into his kingdome. And to the effecting of the ſame, *Aretas* gaue him an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foote: which power ſince *Ariſtobulus* was not able to reſiſt; hee was ouercome vpon the firſt onſet, and was forced to flie H vnto Ieruſalem: and he had been ſurely taken, if *Scaurus* a captaine of the Romans by taking opportunity at thoſe troubles, had not raiſed the ſiege. For *Pompey* the Great (vvho warred againſt *Tigranes*) ſent him out of Armenia into Syria: vvho comming to Damaſcus, found it newly taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*; who diſmiſſing them from thence, and finding how matters ſtood in Iudæa, haſted thither in hope of a booty. So ſoon as he entred into the confines of the country both of the brethren ſent embaſſadours vnto him, deſiring him to take their partes: but *Ariſtobulus* hauing ſent him three hundreth talents he neglected to doe Iuſtice; for hauing receiued that ſumme, *Scaurus* ſent meſſengers vnto the Arabians and *Hircanus*, threatning the diſpleaſure of the Romans and *Pompey*, except they would preſently raiſe their ſiege: for which cauſe *Aretas* being much abaſhed, returned out of Iudæa vnto Philadelphia, and *Scaurus* repaired vnto Da- I maſcus. Yet ſufficed it not *Ariſtobulus*, that he had eſcaped from being taken, but that gathering all his forces togither, he purſued his enemies: and ioyning battell with them about Papyron, he ſlew ſixe thouſand of them, in which number was *Cephalon Antipaters* brother. But *Hircanus* and *Antipater* being deſtitute of the Arabians helpe, were driuen to hope for ſuccour euen at their aduerſaries hand. For which cauſe, as ſoone as *Pompey* after hee had entred Syria came to Damaſcus, they in humble manner came to him, and giuing him many gifts proteſted vnto him that which before they had done to *Aretas*; earneſtly requeſting him, that he would conſider the violence offered by *Ariſtobulus*, and reſtore *Hircanus* to the kingdom: to whom both by yeers and manners it was due. K

The yeare of the world, 3899. before Christs birth 95.

Meane while *Ariſtobulus* ſlept not, but hauing corrupted *Scaurus*, came in as royall pompe as hee could; but not abiding to debaſe himſelfe, and thinking it diſparagement in more abiect manner then beſeemed a king to ſeeke his owne commoditie, returned from Dioſpolis. Wherat *Pompey* being angrie, at the requeſt of *Hircanus* and his followers, hee went againſt *Ariſtobulus*, accompanied both with the Roman army and the Syrians, who aſſiſted them. When they had paſſed Pella and Scythopolis, and came to Corea (where the confines of Iudæa begin) as they paſſed thorow the midſt of the countrey, they vnderſtood that *Ariſtobulus* was fled to Alexandrium (which was a Caſtle richly built and ſituate vpon a very high hill.) *Pompey* arriuing in that place ſent meſſengers vnto him, commanding him to deſcend; but he becauſe he was called in queſtion about the kingdome, determined rather to hazard himſelf, then obey. But when he ſaw L that the people began to feare; and that his friends willed him to think of the power of the Romans, whoſe ſtrength hee was no waies able to reſiſt; hee allowed their counſaile and came vnto *Pompey*: where hauing alleadged many reaſons to ſhew that he had iuſt title vnto the crowne, he returned againe into the Caſtle. And afterward being vrged by his brother to come & plead his title, hee came and returned thither againe, without any contradiction from *Pompey*. Thus wandred he betwixt hope and feare, and doubting how the matter would go with him, he came to *Pompey* as it were to entreat him to pardon all, and returned againe vnto the mountaine, leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme to derogate any thing from the maieſty of a king; yet becauſe *Pompey* willed him to depart from his Caſtles and to warne his gouernours therof to do the like (whom he had commanded to diſobey, except they receiued letters written by his owne hand) in this he fulfil- M led *Pompeis* minde: yet being angrie and diſcontented, he departed into Ieruſalem, and now fully determined to fight with *Pompey*. But *Pompey* not thinking it beſt to let him haue time to prepare himſelfe, followed him with all ſpeed, and ſo much the willinger, becauſe that neere vnto Iericho he had news of *Mithridates* his death, euen in the fruitfulleſt place of Iudæa, where there are great ſtore of palmes and balme. This balſam is a ſhrub whoſe ſtem beeing cut with ſharpe ſtones droppeth balme out of the woundes thereof, which men gather as it droppeth from the wounds

Antipater with Hircanus fly from Ieruſalem by night to Aretas king of Arabia.

Aretas furniſheth Hircanus with 50000. ſouldiers.

Scaurus captaine of the Romans.

Scaurus receiueth 300. talents from Ariſtobulus & commandeth the Arabians & Hircanus to depart out of the countrey.

Antipater and Hircanus ſeek for Pompeies help. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 6. 7.

Pompey furniſhed both with the Syrians and Romane armie, ſetteth forth againſt Ariſtobulus.

Pompey commaundeth Ariſtobulus to deſcend.

Ariſtobulus reſorteth to Pompey.

Ariſtobulus intends to fight with Pompey.

Hedio * Idumæa.

A wounds thereof. After he had reſted there that night, he in the morning haſted to Ieruſalem: At whoſe ſodaine arriuall *Ariſtobulus* being daunted, in humble maner came vnto him; and promiſing him money, and to yeeld himſelfe and the Citie into his hands, he by this meanes appeaſed *Pompeis* anger. But hee performed no part of his promiſe; for *Ariſtobulus* his aſſociates would not ſuffer *Gabinius* (who was ſent for the money) to enter into the citie: For which cauſe *Pompey* being mooued to diſpleaſure, put *Ariſtobulus* in hold: and comming neere the citie, hee tooke a view at what place it might be eaſilieſt entred, for he did not lightly perceiue how he might batter the walls, they were ſo ſtrong. Moreouer, there was a huge ditch before the wall, and hard by he beheld the Temple ſo ſtrengthened, that although the Citie were taken; yet it might be a ſeeond refuge for the enemy. Whileſt thus he long deliberated what to doe, there aroſe a ſedition
B within the citie, wherin *Ariſtobulus* confederates thought it meet to fight, and deliuer the king out of priſon: but thoſe that fauoured *Hircanus* would that the gates ſhould bee opened to *Pompey*. At laſt *Ariſtobulus* friends hauing the worſt, fled into the temple; and to the end that they might fight it out to the laſt, they cut downe the bridge, by which men goe out of the citie, into the temple. When the reſt had receiued the Romans into the citie, and deliuered vnto them the kings palace, *Pompey* ſent a captaine called *Piſo* with ſouldiers to ſeize the ſame; who leauing a garriſon in the towne (ſeeing he could perſwade none of them that were in the temple to peace) prepared all places about it to batter it. All which time *Hircanus* and his friends ſhewed themſelues readie to helpe them with counſell, and to doe whatſoeuer they were commanded. *Pompey*
C at the north ſide filled the ditch and valley with all kinde of matter: which his ſouldiers carried, although that by reaſon of the huge depth, and for that the Iewes made reſiſtance, it was a thing hard to be done: and it had beene left vndone, had not *Pompey* (obſeruing the ſeuenth day, wherin the Iewes religion forced them to abſtaine from all labour) cauſed it to bee filled vpon thoſe daies; forbidding the ſouldiers to fight at that time, to the intent hee might fill the ditch more conueniently (for it is lawful for the Iewes onely to fight for their bodies vpon the Sabbath.) At laſt when the ditch was filled, and the towres were built vpon the rampire, he beat the wals with thoſe engines which hee brought from Tyre; but they were beaten backe by thoſe who reſiſted from the top of the wals, who darted diuers ſtones at them. Againſt the violent power whereof, the towers that were builded in that quarter, being of a great & goodly building, reſiſted as valiantly and as long as they poſſibly could. But the Romans found but hard meaſure in this place,
D and *Pompey* admired the conſtancie of the Iewes; who beeing amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies darts, yet omitted not any ceremonie: but (as though they had firme peace) they euerie day obſerued their ceremonies, offered ſacrifices and offerings, and moſt diligently obſerued all honour and diuine ſeruice: yea in the very taking of the place, although euerie day they were killed at the altar, yet did they not ceaſe frō the lawfull rites of their religion. At laſt in the third moneth of the ſiege, whereas ſcarcely one tower was beaten downe, they brake in o the temple, and the firſt that attempted to climbe ouer the wall was *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylas* ſonne, and after him two Centurions *Furius* and *Fabius* with their regiments; who compaſſing the temple about (while ſome ſought to hide them ſelues, and other ſome reſiſted) they ſlew them all. There were many prieſts alſo among the reſt; who, although they ſaw the enemies with naked ſwords ruſh-
E ing vpon them, yet beeing nothing at all diſmaied thereat, continued ſtill their ſacrifices; and were ſlaine euen whileſt they offered & incenſed in the temple: preferring the duty they ought to religion euen before their owne ſafetie. Many alſo were ſlaine by their owne countrimen that fauoured the aduerſe part: and many caſt themſelues downe headlong vpon the rockes; otherſome in their furie hauing deſperatly fired all things vpon the wals, burned themſelues for company. So that there twelue thouſand Iewes were ſlaine, but very few Romans: yet many were hurt, and amongſt all that maſſacre there was nothing ſo lamentable, as that the holy ſanctuarie (which neuer any man ſaw before that time) was reuealed to ſtrangers. Finally, *Pompeius* accompanied with his followers, come into the temple, where it was lawfull for none but the high
F prieſt to come, and ſaw the candleſtickes, lamps, table, cenſers, and all the goulden veſſels, and whatſoeuer was within the temple. Moreouer, hee beheld the great quantitie of odoriferous drugges which were kept in ſtore in that place, & two thouſand talents of holy money: yet did he not take away theſe things, nor any thing elſe belōging to the temple. But the day after it was taken, he commanded the Sacriſtans to purge and make cleane the temple, and to offer ſolemne ſacrifice. He likewiſe proclaimed *Hircanus* high prieſt (who had in all things ſhewed himſelfe very forward, and eſpecially at the time of the ſiege:) as alſo for that hee hindred a multitude of ſwaines (who addreſſed for warre) from ioyning themſelues with *Ariſtobulus*: and there-

The yeare of the world, 3903. before Chriſts birth, 61.

Pompey beſieged Ieruſalē.

Ariſtobulus humblie preſent th himſelfe to Pompey. Ant. lib 14. cap. 7. 8.

Pompey vieweth the citie which way it might moſt eaſielie bee battered.

Sedition within the city betwixt Hircanus and Ariſtobulus friends.

Pompey & his enter the citie and ſearch the kings houſe.

Ariſtobulus with his friends flie to the temple.

Pompey fills vp the trench, and obſerueth the ſeuenth day.

Pompey buildeth towers vpon his platformes.

The Iewes intermit not ſacrifice in the midſt & heate of the ſiege.

Twelue thouſand Iewes ſlaine in the temple.

Pompey and his followers enter the ſanctuary.

Pompeies continencie.

Hircanus made hie Prieſt.

The yeare of the world, 3903. before Christs birth, 61.

for like a good captaine got hee the good will of the people more by loue, then by feare. G

Amongst others that were captiues there was *Aristobulus* father in lawe, who was also his vncle: as for those that had bin the chiefe cause of these wars, *Pompey* caused them to be beheaded. He rewarded *Faustus* likewise, and those who fought valiantly with him, with very rich gifts, & imposed a tribute vpon Ierusalem, & tooke from that nation the Cities which they had gotten in Cœlosyria: & appointed them to be gouerned by him who then was president for the Romans; making them keepe within the bounds of their owne countrey. And in fauour of *Demetrius* of Gadara (a libertine of his) he reedified Gadara, which the Iewes had destroied: he deliuered the Mediterranean Cities from their gouernment (for they had not as yet destroied them, because they were sodainly preuented) namely, Hippon, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Samaria, and Marisa, and Azotum, and Iamnia, and Arethusa. The townes also vpon the sea coasts, Gaza, and H Ioppe, and Dora, which before was called Stratons tower, and afterward by *Herod* was altered, who builded most sumptuous buildings in that place, and called it Cæsarea: All these Cities he restored vnto the inhabitants and made them vnder the rule of Syria. And of this place and Iudæa, and of all places from the borders of Egypt vnto Euphrates, hee made *Scaurus* gouernour, leauing him two legions of souldiers. Which done, hee tooke his iourney to Rome by Cilicia, leading *Aristobulus* and his family captiues, who had two daughters and two sonnes, the elder whereof called *Alexander* escaped in the way; as for the younger whose name was *Antigonus*, he with his sisters was carried to Rome.

Pompey causeth the chiefest conspirators to be beheaded.

Pompey deliuereth many goodly cities from the subiection of the Iewes.

Aristobulus & his family caried to Rome.

I

CHAP. VI.

Of the warre of Alexander, *with* Hircanus, *and* Aristobulus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 9.

AT that time *Scaurus* tooke his iourney into Arabia: but by the difficultie of the place he was so hindred, that hee could not come to Petra, yet wasted he all the countrey adioining to Pella; although whilest hee staied to doe this, he endured much euill: For there arose a great famine in his army, notwithstanding that *Hircanus* by *Antipaters* meanes sent them victuals. *Scaurus* also sent the same *Hircanus* as his familiar friend vnto *Aretas*, to perswade him that by disbursing some money, hee should worke his peace. Vpon whose motion *Aretas* condescended and gaue him three hundred talents, and so *Scaurus* with his army departed out of Arabia. K

The Arabian is reconciled to Scaurus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 10.

In the meane time *Alexander* the sonne of *Aristobulus* (who in the way to Rome escaped from *Pompey*) gathered togither a great army, and desperately set vpon *Hircanus*; wasting all Iudæa, which hee hoped quickly to winne; yea the wall which was destroied by *Pompey* at Ierusalem had been builded vp againe as he hoped, had not *Gabinius* (who was sent into Syria to succeed *Scaurus*) who had oftentimes before shewed his valour, at that time also with an army come against *Alexander*. Who fearing the worst, assembled all the forces that hee could to make resistance, so that hee had ten thousand footmen, and a thousand and fiue hundreth horsemen: hee L fortified also the commodious places of the country, to wit Alexandrium, Hircanium, and Machærunt, which were neere vnto the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinius* sent *Marcus Antonius* before him with part of the army, and followed after with the rest; and certaine chosen men out of *Antipaters* company, and other companies of the Iewes, whereof *Malichus* and *Pitholaus* were made chiefe, ioyned themselues with *Marcus Antonius*; and presently after them followed *Gabinius* with all his company, who all went to meet *Alexander*.

Alexander Aristobulus son gathers a great power gainst Hircanus.

The yeare of the world, 3904. before Christs birth, 60.

Alexander gathereth 10000. footmen & 1500. horsemen.

Antipater with his forces goeth out to meet Alexander.

But *Alexander* perceiuing himselfe vnable to encounter with all their vnited forces, fled: but drawing neere vnto Ierusalem, he was constrained to hazard the fight; where losing to the number of six thousand (whereof some three thousand were taken aliue, and other three thousand M slaine) he escaped with the rest. But *Gabinius* as soon as hee came to the castle called Alexandriū, vnderstanding that many had forsaken their places, he by promising them pardō sought to vnite them vnto him before the warre began: but when he perceiued that they hammered on no abiect resolution, he slew the most of them; as for the rest he shut them vp in the Castle. In this battel captaine *Marcus Antonius* did many things worthy of renowme, & although hee had alwaies and at all times shewed himselfe valiant, yet there especially his valour appeared. *Gabinius* leauing some to winne the Castle went vnto the Cities, and strengthened those that were not yet assaulted, and reedified those that were destroied, and by his commaundement Scythopolis and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Iamnia, and Raphia, and Marisa, and Dora, and Gadara,

Alexander fighteth with his enemies, and loseth sixe thousand mē. Marcus Antonius a captain.

What cities the Iewes receiued to inhabite.

A Gadara, and Azotus, and many more began to bee inhabited; so that their inhabitants ioyfully peopled and dwelt therein. Which when he had done he returned to Alexandrium, and began a more vrgent siege: whereat *Alexander* being terrified and made desperate, he sent Embassadors to him, beseeching him to pardon his offences, promising to render vnto him the castles of Macherunt and Hircanium, which were in his power, and besides them Alexandrium: All which *Gabinius* by counsell of *Alexanders* mother destroied, least they might be occasion of new wars. This woman accosted and flattered *Gabinius*, for that shee feared least her husband & the rest of the captiues at Rome should bee any waies damnified. After this *Gabinius* carried *Hircanus* to Ierusalem: and committing the temple vnto his charge, he made others of the nobility rulers of the common wealth, & diuided the whole nation of the Iewes into fiue parts & gouernments,
B whereof one was established at Ierusalem, another at Doris, the third at Amathunt, the fourth at Iericho, the fift at Sephoris a citie of Galilee: & the Iewes being deliuered from the gouernment of one man onely, willingly suffred themselues to be ruled by the nobility. But shortly after, *Aristobulus* escaping frō Rome raised new troubles: who gathering a great army partly of those that desired a change, partly of them that loued him before, took Alexandrium, & began to compasse it again with a wall: but hearing that *Gabinius* had sent *Sisenna*, *Antonius*, & *Seruilius* against him with an army, he went to Macherunt; & forsaking those that were not fit for war, he tooke with him almost 8000. armed men, amongst whom was *Pytholaus* gouernor of them that were reuolted, who with 1000. men fled out of Ierusalē. But the Romans followed & pursued them: & ioining battell with them, *Aristobulus* with his men fought valiantly, till being by force ouercome;
C the Romans slue fiue thousand of them, and almost two thousand fled into a mountaine; and the other thousand breaking the rankes of the Romans with *Aristobulus*, were forced to Macherunt; where the king hiding himselfe the first night amongst the ruines, hoped that hauing respite hee might gather another army, & fortifie the castle: but hauing for two daies sustained the forces of the Romans although vnable to doe it; at last he was taken: & with his son *Antigonus*, who had bin imprisoned with him at Rome, he was carried to *Gabinius*, and from thence to Rome, and the Senat put him in prison: but his sons they sent into Iudæa, because *Gabinius* writ that hee had so promised *Aristobulus* his wife vpon condition the castles might be yeelded. Now *Gabinius* being prepared to war against the Parthians, *Ptolomeus* hindred him, who returning from Euphrates went into Egypt, leauing *Antipater* and *Hircanus* his friends to dispose of all things belonging to the war: for *Antipater* helped him with money, weapons, corne, and men, and hee perswaded
D the Iewes who kept the waies that lead vnto Pelusium, to suffer *Gabinius* to passe. Now in the other part of Syria, at the departure of *Gabinius* there began a commotion, and *Alexander Aristobulus* son once more incited the Iewes to rebellion; & hauing gathered a mighty power purposed to destroy all the Romans that were in that countrey: which *Gabinius* fearing (who was returned out of Egypt at the beginning of these tumults) he sent *Antipater* before, who perswaded some of the rebels to be quiet, yet 30000. remained with *Alexander*. For which cause he was very forward to fight, and went out to battell: the Iewes came against him, and neere vnto Itabyrium they fought, where 10000. were slaine, and the rest were put to flight: and *Gabinius* returned to Ierusalem through the counsell of *Antipater*: who hauing established that estate, went frō thence
E and ouercame the Nabathæans in battel: he likewise permitted *Mithridates* and *Orsanes* priuilie to depart, who were fled from the Parthians, saying that they had escaped from the souldiers. In the mean time *Crassus* who was appointed to be his successor, had Syria deliuered him, who toward the maintenance of the Parthian wars tooke all the golde that was in the temple of Ierusalem, and 2000. talents which *Pompeius* had foreborne to doe: who passing ouer Euphrates was both himselfe and his whole army vtterly ouerthrowne: of which thing it behoueth vs not to speake in this place. After the death of *Crassus*, the Parthians endeauoured themselues to enter Syria; but *Cassius* who succeeded him in the gouernment, repulsed them: and hauing gotten the vpper hand he speedily resorted into Iudæa, & taking Tarichea, he caried away about 3000. men captiues; & put *Pytholaus* to death, for gathering a company of seditious people vnto *Aristobulus* his part. He that caused and counsailed his death was *Antipater*, who was maried vnto a
F noble woman of Arabia called *Cypris*, by whom he had foure sonnes, *Phasaelus* and king *Herod*, *Ioseph*, and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*; who sought the friendship of all potentates round about him by courtesie and hospitality, and especially he got the good will of the king of Arabia by affinitie, vnto whose fidelitie he committed his sonnes, because he had vndertaken the wars against *Aristobulus*. But *Cassius* made a truce with *Alexander*, and in the meane time went to Euphrates to hinder the passage of the Parthians, of which we will speake hereafter.

The yeare of the world, 3804. before Christs Natiuitie 60.

Ant. l. 14. c. 11. Alexanders mother striueth to pacifie Gabinius with rewards.

The change of the gouernment of the Iewes.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 12. Aristobulus escaping from Rome raiseth new troubles.

Aristobulus fighteth with the Romans.

The Romans obtaine the victory, and carry away Aristobulus and his sonne to Rome.

Alexander Aristobulus sonne once more prouoketh the Iewes to rebellion.

The Iewes ouercome by the Romans.

Gabinius ouercommeth the Nabathæans in battell. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 13.

Marcus Crassus taketh away the rest of the gold of the temple.

Antipaters wife a noble woman of Arabia.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Christs Nativitie, 47

CHAP. VII.

Of the death of Aristobulus, *and the warre betweene* Antipater *and* Mithridates.

Ant lib. 14. cap. 14. Cæsar deliuereth Aristobulus from his bonds.

AFter that *Cæsar* had forced the Senate & *Pompey* to fly beyond the Ionian sea, and by that meanes made himselfe sole master of all at Rome, he set *Aristobulus* at liberty, & with two legions of men sent him in haste into Syria, hoping through his meanes speedily to win both it & also al places adioining to Iudæa: but both the hope of *Cæsar* and the forwardnes of *Aristobulus* was ouerthrowne through enuy: for he was poisoned by *Pompeis* fauourites, and euen in his own countrey his body lay vnburied, which notwithstanding was preserued from putrefaction with hony, till such time as *Antonius* sent it vnto the Iews, commanding them to bury it in the kings sepulcher. His sonne *Alexander* also was beheaded at Antiochia by *Scipio*, being first according to the tenour of *Pompeis* letters accused before the tribunal seat, of such things as he had committed against the Romans. *Ptolomæus* the son of *Minæus*, who ruled Chalcis which was vnder Libanus, hauing taken his brethren sen- his sonne *Philippio* vvith them to Ascalon; and he violently taking away *Antigonus* and his sisters from the wife of *Aristobulus* brought them to his father, and falling in loue with the yongest, tooke her to wife: for which cause he was afterward put to death by his father. For *Ptolomæus* hauing slaine his sonne, married *Alexandra*; and for that affinitie sake, was more carefull for her brethren. After the death of *Pompey*, *Antipater* sought all meanes to get *Cæsars* fauour: and when *Mithridates* of Pergamenus was hindred by the garrison at Pelusium to passe any further, with an army into Eygpt, and was by that meanes staied at Ascalon, he perswaded the Arabians to assist him, the rather, because he vvas but a stranger, and he himselfe also seconded him vvith almost three thousand armed Iewes.

Aristobulus & his son slain by Pompeis friends.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 5 Ptolomæus son marrieth Antigonus yonger daughter, & for that cause is slaine by his father.

Ant. l. 14. c. 16.

Mithridates goeth to Pelusium, and thereby obtaineth Antigonus help.

Moreouer, he incited the potentate of Syria, & *Ptolomæus* who inhabited Libanus, & *Iamblicus* and another *Ptolomæus* to assist him; for whose sakes the cities of that country did willingly vndertake the wars. And now *Mithridates* strengthned by *Antipaters* meanes came to *Pelusium*, and becausethey would not suffer him to passe, he besieged the city, in which siege *Antipater* shewed his valour: for making a breach on that side of the wall, where his quarter was, he first of all with his company brake into the citie, and so *Pelusium* was taken. But the inhabitants of *Onias* country who were Egyptians & Iewes, suffered him not to passe any further: yet did *Antipater* handle the matter so discreetly with them, that they did not onely suffer him to passe, but also prouided victuals for his army. Wherupon the citizens of Memphis would not fight, but yeelded of their own accord vnto *Mithridates*: so that passing through Delta, he fought with the other Egyptians in a place called the tents of the Iewes; & being with al his cõpany in danger, he was rescued by *Antipater*, who marching along the riuer side, set vpon & discõfited the left wing of the enemies battel, & rushing vpon them that presled vpon *Mithridates*, he slew many, & pursued the rest that fled till he got their tents, & all with the losse of foure score men. But *Mithridates* flying lost eight hundreth men, & being against all hope preserued out of those wars, was without all enuy a true witnes before *Cæsar* of al that which *Antipater* had both done & deserued. Whereupon *Cæsar* redoubled his courage with praise & promises vnto him, & made him forward to hazard himselfe for him. In a word he proued & shew'd himself a stout warrior, & hauing many wounds in euery part of his body he bare a badge & testimony of his valour & vertue. Afterwardwhen the state of Egypt was quiet he returned into Syria, where he made him a citizen of Rome, and granted him the immunities therof: & did so honour him in other things & vse him so friendly, that he made him a patterne for all to imitate: and for his sake he confirmed *Hircanus* in the high Priesthood.

Mithridates victory against the Egyptians.

Antipater performeth many noble exploits and exposeth himselfe to all danger for Cæsars sake.

Cæsar maketh Antipater a free citizen of Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

How Antipater *was accused before* Cæsar: *of the Priesthood of* Hircanus: *and how* Herod *made warre.*

Antigonus Aristobulus son commeth to Cæsar to accuse Pompeis friends for his fathers death.

AT the same time *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus* repairing to *Cæsar*, against his vvill vvas a cause of *Antipaters* greater felicity: for comming to complain of his fathers death (vvho was as it vvas thought through *Pompeis* enuy poisoned) and to accuse *Scipio* of crueltie vvhich was vsed against his brother; whereas he should haue abandoned all passion vvhich moued him to mingle hatred with his miseries, contrariwise hee accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater*

as

A as though they had vniuſtly driuen him and his brethren out of their natiue ſoile, and grieuouſly iniured the people, to obtaine their intent; alledging that they had ſent aide into Egypt to *Cæſars* forces, not for good will, but for feare of auncient enmitie, and that hereby they might acquite themſelues of the good will they bare to *Pompey*. At theſe wordes *Antipater* (caſting away his veſture) ſhewed the number of his wounds, ſaying, it was not needfull to vſe words to proue what affection he had borne to *Cæſar*; for his very body would ſhew it, although hee himſelfe held his peace: adding, that he admired the impudent bouldneſſe of *Antigonus*, who beeing ſonne to an enemie of the Romans, and a fugitiue from the Romans, and ſtill continued his fathers purpoſe of noueltie and ſedition, ſhould dare to accuſe others before the Romane Empe-

The yeare of the world, 3917. before Chriſts birth, 47.

Antigonus falſely accuſeth Hircanus & Antipater.

Antipater caſting off his garmẽt, ſheweth his many wounds.

B rour; demaunding of him how he durſt hope to obtaine any good thing, who ought to be contented with his life onely: alledging, that he craued not maintenance for that hee wanted, but that he might raiſe a rebellion amongſt the Iewes, & againſt them who ſhould beſtow any thing vpon him.

Which when *Cæſar* heard, he ſaid that *Hircanus* vvas moſt worthy to be high prieſt, and bade *Antipater* wiſh vvhat dignitie he wold haue: who leauing that to the pleaſure of the giuer, he was made gouernour of all Iudea. And moreouer, he obtained to reedifie the raſed wals of his countrey, and *Cæſar* commanded that thoſe honours ſhould be engrauen in the Capitoll, that it might be a token in time to come of *Antipaters* iuſtice and vertue. *Antipater* hauing attended *Cæſar* out of Syria, firſt of all repaired the ruined walles of his country which *Pompey* had raſed: and going thorowout all the countrey, he threatned the obſtinate, & perſwaded the ſeditious to obedience,

Cæſar createth Hircanus high prieſt, & to Antipater he giueth the gouernment of Iudæa.

Ant lib. 14. cap. 16.

C admoniſhing them, that if they obeied *Hircanus*, they might liue in wealth and peace, and enioy happineſſe & an vniuerſall felicitie: but if they ſuffered themſelues to be led with the vain hopes of thoſe, who for their priuate cõmodities ſought for alteration, that then they ſhould find him in ſteed of a Procurator, the Lord of all; and *Hircanus* in ſteed of a king, a tyrant, and the Romans and *Cæſar*, in ſteed of friends, deadly enemies: for that they would not ſuffer his power to be ouerthrowne, whõ they themſelues had eſtabliſhed for king. But not withſtanding he ſpake theſe words, yet (becauſe he ſaw *Hircanus* more dull, and not of ſo feruent a ſpirit as the care of a kingdome required) he himſelfe ſettled the eſtate of the countrey, and made *Phaſaelus* his eldeſt ſon gouernour of the army, & the Lord of Ieruſalem and of his owne liuing, & ſent *Herod* his youngeſt ſonne to gouerne Galilee (although he vvas very young:) vvho beeing by nature of a valiant courage, found out a preſent occaſion to ſhew his braue mind: for he tooke *Ezechias* vvhich was

Antipater repaireth the walles of his countrey.

An ipater chargeth his ſubiects to obey Hircanus.

Phaſaelus and Herod, Antipaters ſonnes.

Herods fortitude.

Herod baniſheth the thieues out of Syria.

D captaine of thieues, vvho as hee vnderſtood vvas vvont to prey vpon the confines of Syria with a great multitude, and put him to death vvith many other thieues: vvhich thing was ſo gratefull vnto the Syrians, that in all townes and villages they made ſongs of *Herod*, as though hee had reſtored them to peace, and to their poſſeſſions.

At length, the glory of this fact came to the eares of *Sextus Cæſar*, vvho was *Cæſar* the Emperours kinſman, who then ruled Syria. *Phaſaelus* alſo did ſtriue to ouercome the towardneſſe and good reputation of his brother, by daily increaſing and winning to himſelfe the good wils of the inhabitants of Ieruſalem: ſo that during the time he gouerned the Citie, he did nothing inſolently through might or power: for vvhich cauſe the people honoured *Antipater* as their king, & re-

Phaſaelus obtained the fauour of the people of Ieruſalem.

E uerenced him as Lord of all, yet vvas his fidelitie and good vvill neuer the leſſe towards *Hircanus*. But it is impoſſible that any man that liueth in proſperitie, ſhould not bee enuied. For *Hircanus*, although before time he vvere mooued ſomething at the glory of theſe young men, and eſpecially with the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Herod*, beeing often annoied with frequent meſſengers, who ſpred his praiſe for euery thing he did: yet in particular he was ſtirred vp by many enuious perſons, vvho are vvont to haunt the courts of Princes, vvho vvere grieued that *Antipater* and his ſonnes ruled vvithout offence. Theſe men told *Hircanus* that hee onelie enioyed the bare name of a king, and that *Antipater* and his ſonnes ruled all; and that hee ſo long would permit and vvink at them, til that at the laſt they would make themſelues kings; for they now did no more ſo much as pretend themſelues to bee Procurators. But leauing that title, they tooke vpon them the dig-

Hircanus animated by enuious men againſt Antipater and his ſonnes.

F nities of Lords and maiſters, without any regard or reuerence towards him; for *Herod* had put to death a great multitude of Iewes againſt the law, vvhereas neither by vvord of mouth, nor by writing, the king had giuen him any ſuch authority: and that *Herod* if he were not a king, but a priuate perſon, was to be brought into iudgement, there to anſwer the matter and ſhew the king a reaſon, & ſatisfie the lawes of his countrey; which permitted no man to be put to death before by law he was conuicted. By theſe perſwaſions *Hircanus* grew angry: ſo that not concealing his wrath, he cauſed *Herod* to be ſent for to anſwere the matter: who both for that his father aduerti-

Herod called to his anſwer before the councell.

ſed

The yeare of the world, 3922. before Christs birth, 24.

sed him thereto: and becauſe he truſted to the equitie of his cauſe, firſt leauing a garriſon in Gali- G
lee, he repaired vnto the king; and came accompanied with a ſtrong guard, leaſt either he ſhould ſeeme to derogate from *Hircanus* dignitie, if he ſhould lead forth many; or that for want of defence he ſhold expoſe himſelf to the enuie of his aduerſaries. *Sextus Cæſar* alſo fearing the young man leaſt any euill ſhould betide him amongſt his enemies, ſent vnto *Hircanus* manifeſtly warning him to free *Herod* from the crime of murther. For which cauſe *Hircanus* who loued *Herod*, and was willing ſo to do of his own accord, did acquite him. Whereupon, he ſuppoſing that he had eſcaped againſt the kings will, went to Damaſcus vnto *Sextus*, purpoſing not to obey, if hereafter he were ſent for. Natheleſſe, *Hircanus* was once againe incited by bad people againſt *Herod*, who certified him that he was gone away in a rage, and that he would enterpriſe ſomething againſt him: which *Hircanus* belieuing, knew not what to doe, ſeeing his enemie more potent H
then himſelfe.

Hircanus abſolueth Herod.

Hircanus once more incited by the wicked.

Shortly after, *Sextus Cæſar* proclaimed him Generall of the army, both in Syria and Samaria: ſo that now he was greatly to be feared, not onely for that he was highly in fauour with the cõmunalitie, but alſo for the forces which he cõmanded. So that hereupon *Hircanus* fell into an extream feare, verily perſwading himeſelf that *Herod* with his whole army wold preſently come againſt him. Neither was his ſuſpicion in vaine: for *Herod* angry at the pretẽded crime wherof he was accuſed, came with a great army to Ieruſalem, intending to depoſe *Hircanus*; which he had effected, had not his father and brother gone foorth to meet him, and pacified him, intreating that he would account that terror (wherin he had put put his enemies) and his owne indignation I
for a ſufficient reuenge, & that he ſhold ſpare the king, by whoſe fauour he came to be ſo potent: adding moreouer, that he ſhould not thinke it a diſdaine that he was called to anſwer his accuſations; but ſeeing that he was accquited of them, hee ſhould ſhew himſelfe grateful to the king. Neither ought he ſo to reuenge the diſcontent he had taken, that hee ſhould ſhew himſelfe vnthankfull to him who had ſaued his life. Moreouer, he was to conſider the fortune of warres, together with the cauſe thereof, and thinke that the warres hee now pretended, were very vniuſt; bidding him not to be too confident of the victorie, being to fight againſt his owne king, who had alwaies bin gratious vnto him, and neuer cruell; onely beeing as it were vrged therunto by ſome of his councell, who beeing meerely enuious, rather to ſatisfie their owne miſlikes, then in re- K
regard of his diſgraces, framed a ſhadow of an accuſation. *Herod* pacified heerewith, ſuppoſed it to be ſufficient for him to obtaine the thing he hoped for, to haue ſhewed his forces vnto his nation.

Herod gathering a great army, cometh to Ieruſalem to depoſe Hircanus.

Herod diſſwaded by Antipater from attempting againſt Hircanus.

At this time began ciuill war among the Romans neere vnto Apamia: for *Cæcilius Baſſus*, for the loue hee bare to *Sextus Pompey*, ſlue *Sextus Cæſar* at vnawares, and made himſelfe gouernour of his army: and other captaines of *Cæſars*, to reuenge his death, made after *Baſſus* with all their forces; vnto whom *Antipater* by his two ſonnes ſent aide both for *Cæſars* ſake that was ſlaine, as for *Cæſars* ſake that was yet aliue: for he was an entire friend and wel willer vnto them both, and theſe warres continuing long, *Marcus* came out of Italy to ſucceed *Sextus*.

Baſſus murthereth Sextus Cæſar by treaſon.

Marcus, Sextus ſucceſſor.

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CHAP. IX.

Of the diſſenſion amongſt the Romans after Cæſars *death, and of the treacherie of* Malichus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 2.

AT this time aroſe great and bloudy ciuill warres amongſt the Romanes, at ſuch time as *Cæſar* was traiterouſly ſlaine by the treaſon of *Caſsius* and *Brutus*, after he had ruled the Empire 3. yeeres and ſeauen moneths. By reaſon of which murther their troubles daily increaſed, & the nobility being at variance amongſt themſelues, euery one followed that courſe, that they thought moſt expedient for themſelues. Whereupon *Caſsius* preſently marched into M
Syria, to take poſſeſſion of the gouernment of the army which was about Apamia, where hee made *Marcus* and the legions that were at variance, and *Baſſus* friends: and raiſing the ſiege from Apamia, and leading the army in his owne perſon, he forced euery citie to be tributarie: ſo that he grew to exact without meaſure. Whereas therfore he commaunded the Iewes to contribute ſeauen hundreth talents; *Antipater*, who feared his diſpleaſure, appointed his ſons, and other of his friends preſently to gather the mony, & eſpecially among the reſt he gaue this charge to one *Malichus* a friend of his, beeing by neceſſitie inforced thereunto. But *Herod* firſt of all got *Caſsius* his fauour, who brought a hundreth talents which hee had collected out of Galilee, which was his part or prouince: for this cauſe *Caſsius* accounted him as a deere friend. As for the reſt, he accuſed

Iulius Cæſar ſlaine by Brutus & Caſsius.

Caſsius leuieth money in the cities.

Herod, Caſsius friend.

Caſsius ſeuere in his exactions.

A cuſed them of negligence, and was angry at the other Cities: So that for that cauſe hee deſtroied Gophna and Ammauntes, and other two of the baſeſt cities, marching onward as if he intended to kill *Malichus*, for that he had bin ſo careleſſe and negligent in gathering the tribute mony. But *Antipater* (preſently disburſing vnto *Caſsius* a hundreth talents) ſaued both him and all the reſt of the Cities. Yet *Malichus* after *Caſsius* was departed, did no more remember how beneficiall *Antipater* had been vnto him, but oftentimes did treacherouſly lie in wait for to murther *Antipater*, who hindred and withſtood his villanous pretence; notwithſtanding that himſelfe had often confeſſed that *Antipater* had ſaued his life. *Antipater*, fearing both his power and ſubtilltie, paſſed ouer the riuer Iordan to gather an army that he might reuenge thoſe treacheries. But *Malichus* being diſcouered, by his impudencie ouercame *Antipaters* ſonnes: for through manie

B oathes and excuſes, he won *Phaſaelus* chiefe of the garriſon in Ieruſalem, & *Herod* alſo who was maſter of the armorie, that they ſhould be a meanes to reconcile him to *Antipater*. Whereupon, *Antipater* intreating *Marcus* (who was Generall of the army in Syria, and had determined to kill him) he was ſaued. The reaſon that *Marcus* would haue put him to death, was becauſe *Malichus* ſought to make an alteration.

The yeare of the world, 3922. before Chriſts Nativitie, 42.

Malichus forgetfull of Antipaters kindneſſe.

Antipater gathereth an armie againſt Malichus.

Now *Caſar* being young, and *Antonius* warring againſt *Caſsius* and *Brutus*; *Brutus* and *Caſſius* hauing gathered an army in Syria, in conſideration that *Herod* had ſtood them in ſteed where need required, they made him Procurator of all Syria; giuing him a band of horſemen and foot-

Octauius Auguſtus ſucceedeth after Caſar.

men. Moreouer, *Caſsius* promiſed him that if the warres had a happy end, hee would make him king of Iudæa. But it ſo came to paſſe, that the power and expectation which all men had of *He-*

C *rod*, was the cauſe of *Antipater* his fathers death. For *Malichus* being hereby put in feare, hired one of the kings officers for a certaine ſumme of money to poiſon *Antipater*, by which meanes he died, being thus vniuſtly rewarded for his good will toward wretched *Malichus*. He was a worthy man and fit to gouerne, who had recouered the kingdome being loſt, for *Hircanus*. *Malichus* (perceiuing that the people was incenſed againſt him, becauſe they ſuſpected that he had poiſoned *Antipater*) pacified and moderated their diſpleaſure by denying the fact; yet to the intent he might be ſtronger, he gathered about him a guard of armed men: for he thought that *Herod* would not let the matter ſlip ſo, but that he would preſently come with an army to reuenge his fathers death. But by the counſell of his brother *Phaſaelus* (who ſent him word that he ſhold not openly be reuenged vpon *Malichus*, leaſt a ſedition might ariſe among the people) hee patientlie permitted it ſo to be, and ſuffered *Malichus* to purge himſelfe, & permitted him to be freed from

Antipater poiſoned by Malichus.

Herod intendeth to reuenge his fathers death.

D ſuſpicion, and celebrated a moſt ſolemne funerall for his father: which done, hee went vnto Samaria, and appeaſed the ſedition, wherewithall the Citie was diſquiered. After this, he returned to Ieruſalem, intending in that place to celebrate the feſtiuitie, ſending certaine of his armed men before him, and appointing the reſt to accompanie him. But *Malichus*, who feared this approach of his, had ſolicited *Hircanus* to giue order that no ſtrangers ſhould intermingle themſelues among the people who were at that time purified.

But *Herod*, contemning both him that commanded, and his commiſſion, entred the citie by night: whereupon *Malichus* once more came vnto him, and wept for *Antipater*. *Herod*, although he could very hardly bridle his diſpleaſure, yet diſſembled he the ſame: and ſent letters vnto *Caſ-*

Malichus toyneth with Hircanus.

E *ſius*, wherein he complained of his fathers death: the memorie of whoſe hate being refreſhed by this offence, he writ againe vnto *Herod*, willing him to reuenge his fathers death: which that hee might the better effect, he ſecretly commaunded the captaines of his regiment that they ſhould aſſiſt *Herod*. Now for that after the ſurpriſall of Laodicea, all the reſt of the citie came to *Herod*, bringing gifts and crownes, he appointed this for a fit time of his intended reuenge. Now *Malichus*, ſuſpecting that *Herod* would worke reuenge at Tyre, purpoſed ſecretly to get away his ſon, who was there a pledge, and hee himſelfe purpoſed to flie into Iudæa: But deſpaire of his owne ſafetie vrged him to greater matters, for hee hoped to incite the Iewes to take armes againſt the Romans, for that *Caſsius* was now buſie in the warres againſt *Antonius*: ſo that hee thought hee might eaſily depoſe *Hircanus*, and ſo make himſelfe king. But he was preuented by the deſtinies:

Caſsius chargeth Herod by letters to reuenge his fathers death.

F for *Herod* ſuſpecting his purpoſe, inuited him and *Hircanus* to ſupper: at which time hee made a ſhew as though he had ſent one of his ſeruants to cauſe a banquet to be prepared, but indeed he ſent him to the captaines to foretell them that they might lie in wait for *Malichus*: who, remembring what charge *Caſsius* gaue them, came forth of the Citie vnto the ſhore next adioyning vnto the towne, all armed with ſwords; where compaſſing *Malichus* round about they killed him with many wounds. *Hircanus* hereat aſtoniſhed, fell in a ſwoune, and beeing ſcarcely come to himſelfe, he demanded who killed *Malichus*? One of the captaines anſwered, that *Caſsius* gaue

The decree of fate laugheth at humane hope.

Herods tribunes murther Malichus.

that

The yeare of the world, 3922. before Christs birth, 41.

that commaundement: wherupon he answered, Truly *Cassius* hath preserued me and my countrey, in killing him who was a traitor to vs both: but whether heerein hee spake as he thought, or that for feare he approued the fact, it is vncertaine. And thus was *Herod* reuenged vpon *Malichus*. G

CHAP. X.

How Herod *was accused and reuenged.*

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 20.

AFter *Cassius* was departed from Syria, there arose another sedition amongst them in Ierusalem: for *Fælix* came with an armie against *Phasaelus*, thinking so to bee reuenged vpon *Herod* for killing *Malichus*. It chanced that *Herod* at that time was at Damascus with *Fabius* a Romane captaine, who comming to assist *Phasaelus*, by the way fell sick; so that hee could not succour him: but it so fell out that *Phasaelus* without any help, did of himselfe ouercome *Fælix*, and therewithall reproued *Hircanus* as vngratefull, who had bothfauoured *Fælix*, and suffered *Malichus* his brother to take and keepe his castles (for already had hee seized many of them, and especially one of greatest strength called Massada) yet all these did not protect him from the violence of *Herod*, who was no sooner recouered of his sickness, but presently he tooke all the rest, and Massada: and at *Hircanus* humble sute, permitted him to depart from thence. He also chased *Marion* the tyrant of the Tyrians out of Galilee, who occupied 3. castles in that countrey: as for all the Tyrians that he tooke, he spared their liues, and sent some away with rewards, wherby he got the good will of the citie, and the hatred of the Tyrant. This *Marion* was made Tyrant of Tyria by *Cassius*, who through the meanes of such like instruments had gotten into his hand all Syria: & *Marion* for the hatred he bare to *Herod*, tooke with him *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* his son: & by *Fabius* his meanes, whom *Antigonus* had gained vnto himselfe for money, he also got *Ptolomæus* to assist him in this expedition. Now *Ptolomæus* who was father in lawe to *Antigonus*, furnished him with all necessaries: *Herod* likewise preparing himselfe against them, gaue them battell in the entrance into Iudæa, and got the victory: & hauing put *Antigonus* to flight he returned into Ierusalem, where he was honoured by all men for his desert in that victory, so that euen they that before despised him, by reason of his affinity newly contracted with *Hircanus*, sought his friendship & familiarity. This *Herod* long before this time had a wife which was a noble woman of that country, named *Doris*, & had by her a son named *Antipater*: but he then married *Mariamme*, *Alexanders* daughter, who was *Aristobulus* his son, & *Hircanus* his neece, by reason wherof he came to be familiar with the king. But when *Cassius* was slaine neer vnto Philippi, *Cæsar* departed into Italy, & *Antonius* into Asia: at which time the chiefe of the Iewes came and accused *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, alledging that they by force got vnto themselues the rule & disposition of the countrey, & left *Hircanus* onely the bare name of a king. But *Herod* beeing thē present, so won & wrought himselfe into *Antonius* fauor by a great sum of money, that he permitted not his enemies to speak one word more; who therupon returned home. Afterward, a hundreth men of the most honorable amongst the Iewes, repaired to Daphne neer Antiochia vnto *Antonius* (now doting on the loue of *Cleopatra*) who being chosen frō amongst the rest, because of their eloquence & nobility of birth, propounded an accusation against the two brethren. *Messala* presented himselfe to return them answer, being assisted by *Hircanus* by reason of the affinity that was between him & *Herod*. *Antonius* hauing heard both parties, demanded of *Hircanus* whom hee thought to be the fittest to gouern their cōmon-wealth: who answered, *Herod* & his brethren. Whereat *Antonius* was exceeding glad (for he had bin their fathers guest, and was most courteously entertained by *Antipater*, when he came with *Gabinius* into Iudæa) and thereupon hee made them both Tetrarchs, leauing vnto them the rule of all Iudæa: which when the Iewes Embassadors misliked, he took 15 of them & put them in prison, where he almost killed them, & reiected & derided the rest: wherupon there arose greater tumults amongst them in Ierusalem. At last the Iewes sent another embassage of a thousand men vnto Tyre, where *Antonius* soiourned with an intent to come to Ierusalem with violence. *Antonius* hearing their exclaimes, sent out the Magistrates of Tyre against them, comanding them to kill all they could catch of the Iewes, charging them also to confirme their authority, whom he himselfe had constituted Tetrarchs. But *Herod* & *Hircanus* went before them toward the sea shore admonishing them earnestly to be contēted, lest they by this their indiscreet proceeding should becom not onely the cause of their own deaths, but also of war against their country: but for that they would not be reclaimed by these admonitions *Antonius* sent out certaine armed men, who killed many of them, & wounded the rest. *Hircanus* after this disaster both caused the dead to be buried, and the wounded to be cured: notwithstanding all this, they that escaped would not containe themselues in peace, but they so troubled the citie, that *Antonius* in his displeasure slue those that he had in hold.

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Antigonus Aristobulus son put to flight by Herod.

Doris, Herods first wife, of good birth, by wh om hee had Antipater.

The chiefest Iewes repaire to Cæsar, to accuse Phasaelus & Herod. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 21.

The Iewes once more complaine against the two brothers

Antonius maketh the two brothers Tetrarchs.

Antonius cōmandeth in Tyre.

Sedition in Ierusalem against the brethren.

Antonius slue the captiues.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XI.

The yeare of the world, 3923. before Christs birth, 41.

Of the warre of the Parthians against the Iewes: of the flight of Herod *and his fortune.*

TWo yeeres after this, *Barzapharnes* gouernour of the Parthians, accompanied vvith *Pacorus* the kings ſonne, ſeized vpon Syria; and *Lyſanias* who ſucceeded his father *Ptolomæus*, ſon of *Mineus*, promiſing a thouſand talents and fiue hundreth vvomen, perſwaded him to put *Antigonus* in poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Iudæa, and depoſe *Hircanus*. *Pacorus* induced by theſe promiſes, went himſelfe along the ſea coaſt, giuing commaundement to *Barzapharnes* to paſſe through the midſt of the country; but amongſt the reſt of the places bordering on the ſea, the Tyrians would not receiue *Pacorus* (notwithſtanding that the citizens of Ptolemais and Sidon had giuin him entertainment) wherfore he gaue part of his horſmen vnto one who was the kings butler, called *Pacorus*, as himſelfe was; commaunding him to paſſe into Iudæa, and learne what their enemies meant to do, & to help *Antigonus* where need required. Who as they waſted the countrey about Carmelus, many Iewes came of their owne accord and ioyned with *Antigonus*, ſhewing themſelues very prompt to fight: for which cauſe he ſent them before to take a place called Drymos; where hauing fought with his enemies and put them to flight, he purſued them with all ſpeed as far as Ieruſalē: & his number beeing augmented, he came vnto the kings houſe. But *Hircanus* and *Phaſaelus* met them with a ſtrong company, & fought with them in the market-place: where the enemies were forced to flie, & part of them were by *Herod* ſhut vp in the temple; and he appointed ſixtie men to keep them, which he placed in the houſes next adioyning: but the people bearing a grudge to the two brethren, burnt them with fire: whereat *Herod* being angry (for that his men were conſumed with fire) ſette vpon the people, and killed a great many of them, and euery houre one laid wait for another: ſo that euery day ſome was murthred. Now the feaſt of Pentecoſt drawing nigh, all places about the temple, and all the whole citie was filled with people of the country, wherof the moſt part was armed, & *Phaſaelus* kept the walles, and *Herod* with a ſmall company kept the kings palace, who aſſaulting their enemies vpon a ſuddaine as they were in the ſuburbs, kild a great many of them, and put all the reſt to flight: part of them he couped vp in the citie, others he ſhut in the temple, and the reſt between the vttermoſt Rampire. Whereupon *Antigonus* requeſted that *Pacorus* might com and conclude a peace betwixt them. *Phaſaelus* moued by theſe his praiers receiued the Parthian into the citie, & entertained him into his houſe, accompanied with 5. hundreth horſemen, who came vnder a pretence to make peace; but in effect he reſorted thither to help *Antigonus*: he craftilie conſpiring againſt *Phaſaelus*, perſwaded him to repaire vnto *Barzapharnes* as an Embaſſador to treat a peace; notwithſtanding that *Herod* altogether diſſwaded him, willing him to kill the traitor, and not to truſt his ſubtiltie: adding that the Parthians were naturally vnfaithfull.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 21.

Lyſanias perſwadeth Barzapharnes to depoſe Hircanus and enſtate Antigonus.

A ſore fight in the market plate betwixt Antigonus & Hircanus.

Daily ſlaughters in Ieruſalem.

Phaſaelus entertaineth the Parthian, and with him fiue hundreth horſe.

Pacorus treaſon and ſubtiltie.

Pacorus departing out of the citie, tooke *Hircanus* with him that he might bee the leſſe ſuſpected, & leauing ſome horſemen with *Herod* named * *Eleutheri*, he followed *Phaſaelus* with the reſt. When they came neer vnto Galilee, they found the inhabitants at variance and vp in armes, and met with *Barzapharnes* (who craftily with pretence of courteſie and friendſhip hid his treacherie) who after hee had beſtowed gifts vpon them, and that they were retired, laid an ambuſh for them: wherof they had intelligence at ſuch time as they came to a place of the ſea coaſt named Ecdippon. For in this place they vnderſtood of the thouſand talents that were promiſed, & how that *Antigonus* had giuen the Parthians more then fiue hundreth women of thoſe that were amongſt them, and that oftentimes they had been laid wait for, and that they had been latelie taken, but that delay was made till ſuch time as *Herod* was ſurpriſed in Ieruſalem, for feare leaſt he hearing what was becom of them, might prouide for himſelf. Now they might perceiue that theſe were not only words: for they might behold their keepers not far off, yet would not *Phaſaelus* forſake *Hircanus*, notwithſtanding that *Offilius* often exhorted him to flie (vnto vvhom *Saramalla* the richeſt among the Syrians had declared all the platform of their treaſō:) but he chooſe rather to go vnto *Barzapharnes*, & to vpbraid him to his face that hee had treacherouſly laid wait for him: but eſpecially for that in regard of mony he had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted, wheras he himſelfe wold haue giuen more for his life & liberty, then *Antigonus* had done for the kingdom. At theſe words the Parthian with oaths & proteſtations craftily freed himſelf frō ſuſpiciō, & no ſooner repaired he to *Pacorus*, but preſently the Parthians, who ſtaied behind, & had charge ſo to

The yeare of the world, 3924. before Christs birth, 40.

* Or free.

Herod in Ieruſalem, and Phaſaelus in the campe are in danger of their liues.

The yeare of the world, 3924. before Christs birth 40.

to doe, laid hands on *Phaſaelus* and *Hircanus*, who openly exclaimed againſt their falſehood and periurie. G

Herod is laid for to be betraied.

In the meane time a butler was ſent out for that purpoſe, who ſought to ſurpriſe *Herod*, & by ſome ſtratageme to toule him out of the Citie, who wrought by all the meanes he could, according as he was inſtructed. But *Herod*, who was alwaies wont to miſtruſt the perfidious practices of barbarous nations, being certaine that thoſe letters which diſcouered the treaſons, were fallen into the enemies hands, would not goe foorth; though *Pacorus* pretended a iuſt cauſe, inciting him to ride out and meet them that brought the letters: wherein was contained neither the taking of *Phaſaelus*, nor the treaſons, but onely vvhat *Phaſaelus* had done. But long before this, *Herod* by others vnderſtood, that his brother *Phaſaelus* was taken; and *Mariamme* a very vviſe vvoman, *Hircanus* daughter, vvith many intreaties perſwaded *Herod* not to goe forth: but that hee ſhould beware how he truſted himſelf to the mercy of that barbarous people, who did now as it H were openly aſſault him. Whil'ſt *Pacorus* was conſulting with his accõplices how he might priuilie effect his treaſons (ſeeing it was not poſſible openly to circumuent a man of ſo great vviſedome) *Herod* in the night time whil'ſt his enemies neither knew nor ſuſpected his intent, took his neereſt kinsfolke & fled into Idumæa: vvhich beeing once knowne, the Parthians followed him. For which cauſe, he made his mother, his brethren, and the young maiden deſpouſed, and her mother and youngeſt brother to keep on their iourney, and he with his ſeruants warily aſſaulted the Parthians; and hauing in euery aſſault killed a great number of them, hee haſted towards the Caſtle of Maſſada, and in his retreat ſuſtained more harme by the Iewes, then by the Parthians: who as they had bin alwaies troubleſome, ſo now ſome threeſcore furlongs from the towne, ſet vpon him; where *Herod* obtaining the victorie, killed a great many of them, and in remembe- I rance of that valiant act, hee builded vpon that place a moſt rich palace for the king, and erected there a moſt ſtrong tower, which by his owne name he called Herodium. And when he fled many ioyned with him: but vvhen hee came to Threſa, a towne of Idumæa, his brother *Ioſeph* met him, and perſwaded him to leſſen the number of his followers: for Maſſada vvould not receiue ſuch a multitude (for the number of the multitude was aboue nine thouſand:) for vvhich cauſe *Herod* according to his counſell diſmiſſed thoſe that were vnfit for his turne, & ſent them into Idumæa, giuing them neceſſaries for their iourney. As for thoſe that vvere choſen men & fit for his purpoſe, he retained them vvith him, and ſo vvas he receiued into the Caſtle: vvhere leauing eight hundred ſouldiers to defend the women, and prouiſion ſufficient for thoſe that were with- K in, he himſelfe vvent vnto Petra, a citie of Arabia.

Herod in the night time flieth into Idumæa.

Herod more hotly purſued by the Iewes then the Parthians.

Herods victory.

Herodium.

Maſſada.

Petra a citie of Arabia.

Now the Parthians at Ieruſalem began to ſack the houſes of them that were fled, & the kings palace; they onely abſtained from *Hircanus* mony, vvhich did amount to more then three hundred talents: as for other mens goods they found not ſo much as they expected; for *Herod* long before that time ſuſpecting the infidelitie of the Parthians, had caried all his riches & iewels into Idumæa; & euery one of his followers did the like. When the Parthians had taken the ſpoile, they were ſo impious that they left no place of the whole countrey free frõ their tyrannous war. They deſtroied the citie of Marſa alſo, and bound *Phaſaelus* and *Hircanus*, and deliuered them to *Antigonus* to be ſcourged, who preſently with his teeth bit off *Hircanus* eares, to the end that if by ſome alteration he chanced hereafter to get looſe, he might be no more high prieſt: for none L might offer ſacrifice that wanted any member of his body. But *Phaſaelus* his fortitude preuented the crueltie of *Antigonus*; who hauing neither weapon nor his handes at libertie, beat out his owne braines againſt a ſtone and died, demonſtrating himſelfe by that act, to be the true brother of *Herod*, and that *Hircanus* had degenerated: hee died manfully by a worthy death, and anſwerable to ſo famous a life. Yet ſome reported that hee recouered after that hurt, and that *Antigonus* ſent a Chirurgion vnder pretence to cure the wound, who filled the ſame with venemous medicines, and ſo killed him. Well, be it as it was, it was in him a gallant reſolution.

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Antigonus biteth off Hircanus eares.

It is reported likewiſe, that vnderſtanding before his death by the meanes of a certaine vvoman that *Herod* vvas eſcaped, he ſpake theſe words: Now I ſhall die with a courage, who leaue behind me one that will take vengeance of my enemies, and ſo he died. Although the Parthians M had not yet receiued the women (which was the chiefe thing they lookt for) yet leauing them, they eſtabliſhed *Antigonus* in Ieruſalem, and led *Hircanus* priſoner into Parthia. But *Herod* vvith all ſpeede haſted into Arabia, as if his brother had beene yet aliue, to the intent hee might borrow money of the king of Arabia, wherewith onely hee hoped that the crueltie of thoſe barbarous Parthians might be mitigated towards *Phaſaelus*: for his opinion was that although the Arabian had now forgot his fathers friendſhip and were hard harted, yet at leaſt hee would lend him

Phaſaelus words before he died.

The Parthians eſtabliſh Antigonus king.

A him money seeing it was to redeem his brother, whose son he meant to leaue in pawn for it. For *Herod* took with him a son of his brothers into Arabia that was seuen years old, and purposed to haue giuen three hundreth talents for his ransome, and had made the Tyrians intercessors for him to the Parthians: but fortune preuented his endeuours, so that his loue and care for his brother preuailed nothing. He found also that the Arabians had now cast away the league of amity: for *Malichus* their King sent to him as he was yet in the way, charging him with all speed to depart out of his dominions, framing an excuse that the Parthians had sent Embassadors vnto him, to request him to driue him out of his country; but indeed the cause was, that he would not repay that which *Antipater* had deserued, nor recompence his sonnes now comfortless, for those good turnes that he had receiued at their fathers hands: and those who counselled him to this, were such as offered to forswear those summes, which *Antipater* had put them in trust with, who were the chiefest men about him. For which cause, *Herod* perceiuing the Arabians to be his foes, for that which he thought would haue procured him friendship, answered the messenger according as griefe moued him, and took his iourney towards Egypt: and the first night he lodged in a countrey temple, to the intent that those of his company that were behinde him might ouertake him. The next day comming to Rhinocolura, his brothers death was told him; where, after he had there mourned his fill, he went forward.

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B Animaters to impudence.

Herod perceiueth the Arabians to be his enemies.

Now the King of Arabia (though too late) repented himselfe of that which hee had done to *Herod*, and sent speedy messengers after him, to will him to returne, repenting himselfe that hee had so iniuriously intreated him. When *Herod* was come to Pelusium, the watchmen of the citie C would not permit him to passe: for which cause he himself in person went to the gouernors, who reuerencing the fame and dignity of the man, conducted him to Alexandria; whither he no sooner resorted, but *Cleopatra* receiued him very honorably, intending to make him the generall of her army which she was preparing at that present. But he neither regarding the offers & request of the Queen, nor yet discouraged by the hard winter season, nor the dangers of the seas, tooke his iourney towards Rome; and being in great danger of shipwrack neer vnto Pamphilia, both he and the rest of the passengers were inforced to cast away the most part of their loading: with much adoe he arriued safe at Rhodes, which had been sore molested by *Cassius* wars; there was he intertained by certaine of his friends, *Ptolomæus* and *Sapinius*: and although his money grew scant, yet there he builded a great galley with three ranks of oares, and in it (being accompanied D with his friends) he sailed to Brundusium, and from thence went presently to Rome. Where first of all (in regard of familiarity between his father and him) he went to *Antonius*, declaring vnto him both his own calamity, and the miserable desolation of the whole countrey; and how leauing his deerest friends besieg'd in a Castle, himself in humble maner through the stormy winter seas was come vnto him, humbly craving succour at his hands. Whereupon *Antonius* compassionating his calamity, and remembring his familiarity with *Antipater*, and contemplating the vertue of *Herod* who stood before him, determined vpon the present to make him king of the Iews, whom before he himselfe had made Tetrarch: for he loued not *Herod* so well, but he hated *Antigonus* as much: for he held him both for a seditious person, and for an enemy to the Romans. Now to the accomplishing of this, he found *Cæsar* farre more ready then himselfe, who called E to mind the seruice that *Antipater* did in Egypt vnder his father, and his entertainment & friendship in all things: and beside all these, hee was wrought and won by *Herods* courage and valour. For which cause, he procured the Senate to be assembled; at which time *Messala* and after him *Aratinius* in the presence of *Herod* recounted his fathers deserts & fidelity towards the Romans, declaring *Antigonus* to be an enemy; not only because that not long before he had reuolted, but for that now lastly in despite of the Romans hee had by the assistance of the Parthians vsurped the kingdome. Vpon which considerations the Senat being moued, and *Antonius* affirming it to be expedient for the Roman warres, that *Herod* should be created King, the whole Senate condescended: and after the Senate was dismissed, *Antonius* and *Cæsar* went forth with *Herod* between them, and the Consuls went before accompanied with other Magistrates to offer sacri- F fice, and to register the decree of the Senate in the Capitoll. And *Antonius* feasted *Herod* the first day of his raigne.

Herod in great dangers repaireth to Rome.

Herod repairing to Rome, hath conference with Antonius.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 13.

Herod findeth both Cæsar & Antonius fauourable vnto him.

Herod praised before the Senate.

Herod made King by the Romane Senate.

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CHAP. XII.

Of Herods *warre after he returned from Rome to recouer Ierusalem, and against the theeues.*

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 23. Antigonus getteth Massada.

AT this time *Antigonus* besieged those that were left in the castle of Massada, who had great store of victuals, and wanted nothing but water. For which cause *Iosephus Herods* brother purposed to flie vnto the Arabians with two hundreth of his deerest friends, for that hee had intelligence that *Malichus* repented him that he had giuen *Herod* no better entertainement. Yea hee had forsaken the Castle, had not great store of raine fallen that very night, wherein hee intended to flie: for the wels and cisterns being now filled with water, there was no cause to flie: so that voluntarily issuing out of the Castle, he assaulted *Antigonus* souldiers, and killed very many of them; sometime in open warre, and sometime by policy: yet fought they not alwaies with fortunate successe, but returned sometimes with losse.

The wars between Antigonus soldiers & Ioseph, Herods brothers.

In the meane time, *Ventidius* (who was General of that Roman army which was sent to expulse the Parthians out of Syria) after he had repulsed them resorted into Iudæa, vnder pretence to succour *Ioseph* and the rest that were besieged, but in effect to get *Antigonus* money. When as therefore he drew neere vnto Ierusalem and had receiued the mony he looked for, he departed with the greatest part of his army, leauing *Silo* behinde him with a few to colour his pretence: and *Antigonus* hoping for a second supply from the Parthians, fee'd *Silo* not to molest him for the present, seeing hee was in great possibility. By this time *Herod* hauing sailed from Italy to Ptolemais, and gathered a great army of strangers and his owne countrimen together, came into Galilee against *Antigonus*, being assisted with the forces of *Ventidius* & *Silo*, whom *Delius* who was sent from *Antonius*, perswaded to establish *Herod* in his kingdome. But *Ventidius* was busie in appeasing the broiles that the Parthians had made in the cities, and *Silo* was corrupted by *Antigonus*: yet did not *Herod* want aide, for euery day the further he marched into the country, the more his army increased, for all Galilee (a very few excepted) yeelded vnto him. Whereupon he purposed first of all to go to Massada, to deliuer his friends that were there besieged, but Ioppe hindered his purpose; which for that it was an enemy towne, he thought it best to take it before he went further, lest that whil'st he was going to Ierusalem, his enemies should haue a place behind him to fly vnto. Now *Silo* ioyned armies with *Herod*, reioycing that hee had found occasion to resist, because he was persecuted by the Iewes; whom *Herod* with a loose wing of his army and a small company of men, terrified, and presently put to flight, and saued *Silo* also who had much adoe to make resistance against them. This done and Ioppe taken, he hasted to Massada, and the people of the countrey (some of them for his fathers sake, other some for his owne, and many for both) ioyned themselues vnto him: many also came vnto him for hope, because he was now King; so that now he had a very puissant army: but *Antigonus* hindred his iourney, by planting certain ambushes in places conuenient where *Herod* was to passe, and yet for all this he little harmed him.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 24. Herod against Antigonus.

Herod intendeth, after he hath taken Massada and Ioppe, to besiege Ierusale.

Herod hauing easily taken Massada, and rescued his friends from thence, he went to Ierusalem; where both *Silaes* souldiers, and many of the Citie came and followed him, being now terrified with the greatnesse of his forces: there pitching their tents at the west side of the towne, they that guarded that part assaulted them with darts and arrowes; and others issuing by troupes foorth of the Citie, assaulted the forefront of the army. Whereupon *Herod* caused one to goe about the wals of the Citie, and to proclaime how that he was come for the good of the whole Citie, and that he would not take reuenge of any, though hee were his open enemy; and that he would pardon euen them that had been most seditious. But when *Antigonus* his followers with loud exclamations hindred the cryers voyces from being heard, least any man should alter his minde: *Herod* presenly commanded his men to beat the enemies off from the wal; who with their arrowes speedily forced all that were in the towers to fly. At this time *Silo* was detected to haue been hired with money: for he sollicited many souldiers to cry out, that they wanted all things; and to aske money and victuals, and to craue to be dismissed and sent into some place of opportunity, there to abide during the winter, nay hee himselfe sought to bee gone. But *Herod* went vnto the captaines that serued vnder *Silo*, and called many of the souldiers together, requesting them not to forsake him at that exigent, whom *Cæsar*, *Antonius*, and the whole Senate as they knew had sent thither, promising them that within one day he would relieue all their necessities. When he had thus entreated them, himselfe went about the fields, and brought them

Herod begirteth Ierusalem with a siege, and proclaimeth the cause of his comming.

Siloes subtilty being corrupted by the Iewes.

Herod gathereth great store of prouision.

so

A so much prouision that he cut off all *Siloes* excuses: and forecasting least hereafter there should be any want, he sent letters to Samaria (for that citie about this time had rendred it selfe vnto him) willing them to bring victuals, and wine & oyle, and cattell vnto Iericho. *Antigonus* hearing this, presently sent certain of his men to lie in ambush in the fields, & suddenly to set vpon those that came for prouision, and kil them, & so hinder them from carrying any victuals to the camp: who obeying his commandment, went with a great number of souldiers to Iericho, & placed themselues vpon the mountains, with an intent to espy if any body carried prouision to the army. In the meane time *Herod* rested not; for taking with him ten companies (fiue of the Romans, and fiue of the Iewes, amongst whom were mixed three hundreth that were hired, and besides them a few horsemen) he came to Iericho, where he found the citie without inhabitants, and 500. with
B their wiues and families had placed themselues vpon the tops of the mountaines; whom when he had surprised, he permitted them to depart. But the Romans brake into the citie, and sacked it, where they found the houses stored with all maner of riches: and the King leauing a garrison at Iericho, returned. He sent likewise the Roman souldiers to the cities which were on his side, to wit, Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria, that they might abide there till winter was past. *Antigonus* also through *Silo* his meanes (whom he by money had made his friend) obtained that a part of his army might (during the winter time) abide at Lydda, for *Antonius* sake: and the Romans being now discharged from the warres, abounded in all things.

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Herod accompanied with ten troups commeth to Iericho.

The Romans got a great prey.

All this time *Herod* was not idle, for accompanied with two thousand foo men and fiue hundreth horse, he went about Idumæa, & sent also his brother *Ioseph*, least by *Antigonus* his meanes
C the people should rebell. And he himself hauing carried his mother and the rest of his kindred, whom he tooke from Massada, into Samaria; and hauing placed them where no danger might betide them; himself went into Galilee, to subdue that part of the country, which as yet was not in his hands, and to expell from thence the garrisons left by *Antigonus*. And when he was come to Sephoris, notwithstanding it stew mightily, he easily took it; for the garrison before he assaulted it fled; and finding there great store of prouision, he refreshed his souldiers, which now with winter weather were sore tired, and then sent them against the theeues, that lay lurking in dens and caues; who making often incursions vpon the country, molested the inhabitants no lesse then if they had been an army of enemies. And sending before three companies of footmen, and one troupe of horsemen, into a village called Arbela, himselfe forty daies after came thither with
D the whole army. For all this the theeues feared him not, but arming themselues, came to meet him, trusting to to their experience in warlike affaires, and their owne desperate courage: and ioyning battell, the right wing of their battell put the left wing of *Herods* to flight: but he with his right wing presently succoured them, and recalled his men that fled; and rushing violently vpon his enemies, he a little asswaged the forces of the enemy, till at last the forefront of their battell, not able to stand any longer, fled. *Herod* pursued them euen vnto Iordan, and killed many of them; those that escaped fled ouer the riuer; and thus he freed Galilee from that feare; saue that yet he had left some lurking in the caues, and therefore he was constrained there to make a longer abode. Wherefore first of all hee gaue the souldiers the fruit of their labours, and distributed to euery one of them an hundreth & fifty drachmes of siluer, and vnto the captains more,
E and so sent them where they should passe the winter. Also hee writ vnto his youngest brother *Pheroras* to prouide necessaries for them in the market; and to build a wall about the castle of Alexandrium: which he performed.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 24. Herod taketh the citie of Sephoris.

Herod setteth forth against the theeues.

In the meane while *Antonius* passed the time about Athens, and *Ventidius* sent for *Silo* and *Herod* to assist him in the warre against the Parthians, charging them, that before their comming they should settle the estate of the Iewes. Now *Herod* gladly & willingly sent *Silo* vnto *Ventidius*: and in the meane time he with his army went against the theeues in the caues. These caues were
M in very steepe mountaines, so that there was no way to come vnto them, saue onely by crooked and very narrow passages: and these mountains were all rocks of stone cleane throughout, hanging ouer the vallies; so that the King a great while was doubtfull what to do, seeing the place
F was so difficult to come to. At last, *Herod* deuised a way scarcely heard of before; for he put the valiantest of all his men into coffers, and so let them downe into the edge of the caues, and they killed the theeues and their families, and cast fire at them that resisted. And *Herod* seeking to saue some of them, caused a cryer to bid them come vnto him: but there was not one that willingly came vnto him, and those that were forced chose rather to die, then to be his captiues. So that an old man hauing seuen sons and a wife, who all requested that they might goe forth to the King, and saue their liues, killed them all after this manner. Himselfe stood before the doore of the caue,

The yeare of the world, 3926. before Christs birth 38.

Ant. l. 14. c. 25. The description of the caues where the theeues kept.

The yeare of the world, 3926. before Christs birth 38.

and bade them come forth one by one, & alwaies as one of them came forth he killed him. And *Herod* being in a place where hee might behold this spectacle, being moued with compassion stretched forth his hand and requested him to spare his children: but hee being nothing moued to compassion by *Herods* words, vpbraided *Herods* base mind: and hauing butchered his sons, he also killed his wife, and casting the dead bodies down into the vallies, finally he cast himself likewise downe headlong. G

Herod hauing thus taken the caues, and slaine those that were in them, leauing a part of his army, so much as he thought might suffice to represse any that should attempt any rebellion, and making *Ptolomæus* chiefe ouer that part, returned into Samaria, carying with him three thousand footmen, and six hundreth horsemen against *Antigonus*. After whose departure those that were accustomed to trouble Galilee, and molest it, hauing now (as they thought) opportunity, assaulted *Ptolomæus* at vnawares & killed him: and wasted the country, retiring themselues into marish grounds & secret places. Which when *Herod* vnderstood, he presently came to succor the countrie, and killed the most part of the enemies, and hauing taken all the castles by force, he exacted a hundreth talents for recompence of that reuolt to be paied by the cities. Now the Parthians being put to flight, and *Pacorus* slaine, *Ventidius* being willed thereto by letters from *Antonius*, sent vnto *Herod* a thousand horsmen, and two legions of footmen to assist him against *Antigonus*. Now *Antigonus* writ letters to the generall of the foresaid company named *Machæra*, desiring him to help him, and complaining that *Herod* iniured him, promised him a summe of mony. But he thinking it not best to forsake him hee was sent to succor, especially seeing that *Herod* would giue more, would not bee suborned by him: yet counterfaiting himselfe to bee *Antigonus* his friend, meaning vnder that pretence to creep into the knowledge of his secrets, which not regarding *Herods* counsel he went to discouer, notwithstanding that *Herod* disswaded him from it: But *Antigonus* perceiuing his intent, shut him out of the citie, & like an enemy draue him away from the walles, till such time as *Machæra* was ashamed of that he had done, and so returned to Amathunt vnto *Herod*. And being in a rage that things fell out against his expectation, hee killed all the Iewes he found, not respecting whether they fauoured *Herod* or *Antigonus*. *Herod* heereat was moued, and thought to be reuenged vpon *Machæra* as vpon an enemy, yet he bridled himselfe and hasted to *Antonius* to let him vnderstand *Machæras* cruelty. *Machæra* remembring how he had offended, followed the King, and with many entreaties besought him to be friends, and obtained it. Yet *Herod* kept on his iourney to *Antonius*, and hearing that hee was now with a great armie besieging Samosata (which was a very strong citie neer vnto Euphrates) he made the more haste, thinking it now a fit time to shew his vertue, and that hereby he might win *Antonius* fauour the more. So soone as he came to *Antonius* he ended the siege, killing a great number of enemies, and had for his labour a great part of the spoile: and *Antonius* though before that he admired his vertue, yet then was his opinion encreased, so that he had a greater hope of his honor and attaining to the kingdome. So *Antigonus* was constrained to render the Citie.

Ptolomy captaine of Herods souldiers slaine. H

Machæras iniquity. I

The yeare of the world, 3927. before Christs Natiuitie, 37. K

Antonius admireth Herods valour.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the death of Ioseph: *how* Herod *besieged Ierusalem*: *and how* Antigonus *was slaine.* L

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 25.

IN the meane season *Herods* affaires in Iudæa went backward: for hee left his brother *Ioseph* gouernour of all, commanding him to doe nothing against *Antigonus* till his returne. For hee little trusted to *Machæras* helpe, because of the parts hee had plaied before. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding his brother to bee farre off, not regarding what charge was left him, went to Iericho accompanied with fiue companies which *Machæra* sent with him, thinking now in haruest time to haue taken away their corne: but being assaulted by the enemy vpon the mountaines and in difficult places, himselfe was there slaine, shewing himselfe in that fight a worthy & valiant man: and there was not one left aliue of all the Roman soldiers, for they were all newly gathered out of Syria, and they had no old soldiers amongst them to assist them who were ignorant in warfare. *Antigonus* not contented with the victory became such a tyrant, that hee caused the dead corps of *Ioseph* to be scourged: and hauing the dead bodies in his power, hee cut off *Iosephs* head, although *Pheroras* his brother offered fifty talents to redeeme the same. M

Antigonus cruelty against Iosephs carcasse.

After *Antigonus* had obtained this victory, there was such a change in Galilee, that those who

A who fauoured him, tooke the chiefeſt of *Herods* fauourites, and drowned them in a pond. Alſo there aroſe a great change in Idumæa; where *Machæra* repaired the wals of a certaine Caſtle called Githa. All this while *Herod* heard nothing of the newes; for after *Samoſata* was taken, *Antonius* made *Soſius* gouernour of Syria, leauing order with him, that hee ſhould helpe *Herod* againſt *Antigonus*, and ſo he departed into Egypt. *Soſius* ſent two companies of ſouldiers with *Herod* into Iudæa to help him, and hee himſelfe with the reſt of the army followed. When *Herod* was at Antiochia neere Daphne, his brothers death was manifeſted vnto him in a dreame: And whileſt he was troubled thus, ſo that hee leapt out of his bed, euen at the ſame inſtant the meſſengers who brought tydings of his death, entred into the houſe: and weeping a little for griefe, as it were deferring his ſorrow till another time, hee went towards his enemies; ſo that he
B haſted aboue his ſtrength. When hee came to Libanus, hee tooke eight hundreth inhabitants of that mountaine to helpe him, and ioyned vnto them one of the Romane legions; and not expecting the day time, with them he entred into Galilee, and meeting with his enemies, hee forced them to fly vnto the place from whence they came: and euery day he aſſaulted their Caſtle: But before he could take it, being wearied with cruell winter, he was conſtrained to lead his armie into the next village. Within a few daies his number being increaſed by one other legion which *Antonius* ſent, he put his enemies in ſuch a feare, that they in the night time fled and forſooke the Caſtle. And now he haſted to Iericho to be reuenged vpon thoſe that killed his brother: where there befel him a moſt ſtrange accident, from the which being againſt all hope deliuered he perſwaded himſelfe that God bare an eſpeciall loue vnto him. For when many no-
C bles that night had ſupped with him, ſupper being ended, and euery one being gone forth, incontinently the houſe wherein he ſupt fell downe: *Herod* took this as a Præſagium both of the dangers and proſperous ſucceſſe hee was to haue in his warres. And the next morning early hee remooued from thence, and about 6000. of the enemies deſcending from the mountains aſſaulted the vantguard, but they durſt not ioyne battell with the Romans, but moleſted them ſtanding afarre off with ſtones and darts, and they wounded many: ſo that alſo *Herod* himſelfe paſſing along, was wounded in the ſide with a dart. *Antigonus* deſirous to ſhew himſelfe moſt potent, as well in multitude of men, as alſo in courage, ſent *Pappus* a friend of his with an army into Samaria, who there got the victory of *Machæra*. *Herod* went about the enemies country and tooke there fiue townes, and deſtroied two thouſand of the inhabitants, and firing the houſes, he returned to
D his army neere vnto a village called Cana.

The yeare of the world, 3927. before Chriſts birth, 37.

Herod certified of his brothers death in a dreame.

Herods dining roome fell after he had forſaken it, and gone to bed.

Euery day there came flocking vnto him a very great number of Iewes, both from Iericho and from other parts of the countrey, ſome of them hating *Antigonus*, other ſome louing *Herod* for his valiant deeds: for many without any reaſon deſired an alteration. Whileſt thus hee haſted to fight, *Pappus* with his men neither fearing the multitude, nor ſtrength of their enemies, came fiercely vpon them, and offered battell. The battell being begun, the others a while abſtained, only *Herod* remembring his brothers death ventured more then the reſt, to the end to be reuenged vpon them that were the authors therof: and ſo he eaſily ouercame the enemies army; and ſtill aſſaulting the freſh men, hee put them all to flight. There was a mighty ſlaughter: for many being forced to fly into the village from whence they came, he purſued them and ſlew an
E infinite number. Laſtly, ruſhing amongſt the enemies that fled, he brake into the village, where all the houſes were full of armed men, and euery houſe toppe full of men to defend it: and becauſe he eaſily ouercame thoſe that were abroad, he ouerthrew the houſes, and ſo forced them that were within to come foorth. Others hee killed in companies with the ruines of the houſes wherein they were; and if any one chanced to eſcape, the ſouldiers without that were already armed, with ſwords kild them: ſo that there were ſuch heaps of dead bodies, that they who had the victory could not paſſe thorow the ſtreets for them. The enemies were ſo diſcouraged with this ouerthrow, that the whole multitude of them (ſeeing thoſe that were ſlain in the village) fled away: and *Herod* by the benefite of his good fortune had euen then come to Ieruſalem, had not winter ſtormes hindred him, which was the onely cauſe that he at that time got not a full con-
F queſt; and that *Antigonus* was not vtterly ouerthrowne, who thorow feare and deſperation was purpoſed to leaue the Citie. But *Herod* towardes night hauing giuen his friends leaue to depart to reſt their wearie bodies, being himſelfe heated with his armour, after the manner of ſouldiers went to waſh himſelfe, accompanied onely with one Page. And before hee came to the bathe, one of his enemies met him hauing a ſword drawne in his hand; and then another; and afterwards a third; and after them more: and theſe eſcaped out of the battel, and came to the bath to hide themſelues; and ſeeing the King there, they were ſore affraid, and ſought to hide thēſelues,

The number of the carcaſſes hinder the ſouldiers paſſage.

The yeare of the world, 3918. before Christs Nativity, 36.

and so passed by him being astonished and amazed, although the King at that time was naked G
and weaponlesse: and in so much as none were present there to surprise them, they escaped; and
Herod was very well contented that hee had no harme by them. The next day after, hee behea-
ded *Pappus* who was the Generall of *Antigonus* his army, and sent his head to his brother *Phero-*
ras; who was ruler of his army, in reuenge of his brother that was slaine: for *Pappus* was he that
slew *Ioseph*.

Herod beheadeth Pappus Antigonus captaine. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

The winter being past, hee with his army came to Ierusalem, and besieged it, pitching his
tents before the temple, where it was easiest to take the Citie, and where before time *Pompey*
had entred it (which was about the third yeare after *Herod* was made king in Rome.) Now when
he had quartered his army as he thought best for his purpose, and cut off the suburbs, he caused
three rampiers to be raised, and towers to be builded vpon them: and leauing there his trusty H
friends that would not slack their busines, he went into Samaria to visit his betrothed which was
the daughter of *Alexander*, who was son to *Aristobulus*, who (as we before made mention) was
despoused vnto him: and he wedded her euen in the time of the siege, as who should say, now he
contemned his enemies: after his mariage rites were performed, he returned to Ierusalem with
a farre greater army: *Sosius* also seconded him with a great army of footmen & horsmen, whom
he sent before him through the midst of the country; and he himselfe came after by Phœnicia.
Now when all his whole army was assembled together, to the number of about some 11. legions
of footmen, and six thousand horsmen, beside the Syrians that came to helpe him, which were
no small number, he laied his assault and battery to the northermost wall, and the rather because
he thought himself warranted by the decree of the Senate, whereby he was declared to be King. I
Sosius also was warranted by *Antonies* letters, whereby he commanded him to help *Herod* with
all the army that was vnder his gouernment. Mean while those Iewes that were within the citie
were diuersly troubled: for a multitude of the weaker sort, gathering themselues together about
the Temple, grew to this resolution, that whosoeuer should fortune to die in this attempt should
bee most happy and beloued of God. But those who were hardiest amongst them, ioyning
themselues together, robbed and took away from the rest what they could, but in especial they
tooke victuals from that part that was next the citie: so that they neither left meat for horses nor
men, and the valiantest of them all being set to defend the wals against those that besieged them,
hindred the aduersary from erecting their rampiers, so that they still found some new deuice to
hinder the force of their engines; neither did they any waies preuaile so much as by their mines K
which they made. As for the theeues, the King fought to represse their incursions by placing
an ambush of men to intercept them; by which meanes he relieued the want and scarcity of vic-
tuals, by fetching prouision from places farre distant: But notwithstanding they in their fight
failed in no sort to expresse their incredible valour; yet did that military experience which the
Romans had, ouer-master them by ods. Natheless, notwithstanding the imminent danger wher-
in they were plunged, they fought with them in open field: but where it chanced that the Ro-
mans by digging two seuerall mines, brake all at once into the midst of them; yet suddenly re-
paired they the breach that was made in the wall, and fortified the other part therof. In a word,
they neither spared hands nor engines, but were all of them determined to fight it out euen vnto
the last cast: and although they were besieged with so huge an army, yet they defended the town L
from them fiue moneths, till such time as certaine of *Herods* chosen men valiantly scaling & clea-
ring the wals, brake into the Citie, and after them *Sosius* his Centurions. Those places that nee-
rest adioyned the temple were the first of all that they intercepted, and the whole army entring
the citie, it was lamentable to see how in euery corner the people were massacred: for the Ro-
mans being displeased that the siege continued so long time, became more cruell, and *Herods* ar-
my endeuoured to let no one of the aduerse part escape. By which meanes many were slaine,
both in the narrowest places of the streets, as also in their owne houses: yea euen then also when
they fled into the temple, without respect of age or womanhood. For although the King intrea-
ted the soldiers to spare the people: yet for all that, they neuer restrained their cruell hands, but
like madmen they raged against all; men, women, and children. At that time also *Antigonus* nei- M
ther respecting his former condition, nor his present estate, came & prostrated himself at *Sosius*
his feet, beseeching him to be mercifull vnto him; but *Sosius* nothing compassionating his cala-
mity, cruelly derided him, and called him *Antigona*: yet did he not permit him to depart free as
a woman, but put him in prison.

The yeare of the world, 3919. before Christs Nativitie, 35.

The Iewes valiantly defend themselues.

Herods soldiers after fiue moneths siege enter the city. Slaughter in Ierusalem.

Sosius taketh Antigonus.

Now when *Herod* had conquered his enemies, hee endeuoured to to the vtmost to appease
the fury of the souldiers; for all the whole multitude were desirous to see the Temple, and the
holy

A holy veſſels therein: but he reſiſted them, appeaſing ſome by threatnings, reclaiming others by force, and the reſt by intreaties, ſuppoſing that it had been better for himſelfe to haue been conquered, then by obtaining the victory, to miniſter a means whereby thoſe things ſhould be diſcouered which were not lawfull to be reuealed. Hee therefore preſently repreſſed the ſouldiers from ſacking the citie, inueying much againſt *Soſius*, & obiecting againſt him, that the Romans would deſolate the citie both of men and mony, and leaue him King of a place without ſubiects: adding further, that he eſteem'd not the Empire of the whole world to be a recompence for ſuch a maſſacre of his citizens. Hereunto *Soſius* replied, that in equity the ſouldiers were to haue the ſacking of the towne, in recompence of that labour they had ſpent in the ſiege. But *Herod* gaue him this anſwer, that he had rather recompence euery man out of his own treaſury; and by this
B meanes he redeemed as it were the reliques of his deſolate countrey: and in the end performed that which he had promiſed. For he bountifully rewarded euery ſoldier and captain, according to his merit, and gaue *Soſius* a kingly reward; ſo that no man went away without money. This done, *Soſius* dedicated a golden crowne vnto God, and ſo departed, leading *Antigonus* captiue with him, to the end to preſent him vnto *Antonius*. This man deſirous to continue his life, and entertaining himſelfe with this cold hope euen vntill the laſt, receiued in the end that reward which his faint heart deſired, and was beheaded.

Herod being now King, made a diſtinction betweene the citizens; and thoſe who had fauoured him, hee vſed very honourably, and put thoſe to death who had followed *Antigonus*: and when money failed, he diſtributed all his kingly ornaments, and ſent them to *Antonius* and his
C company. Yet did he not quite redeeme himſelfe from all annoiances: for *Antonius* being now captiuate through *Cleopatra* her loue, in all things yeelded vnto her deſire: and *Cleopatra* hauing raged ſo againſt her owne kinred, that ſhee had not left one of them aliue, now turned her furie vpon ſtrangers, and accuſing the nobilitie of Syria vnto *Antonius*, ſhee perſwaded him to put them to death, that ſhe might thereby the eaſier obtaine their poſſeſſions. Afterward, her couetous minde ſought to effect the like againſt the Arabians, and the Iewes alſo: inſomuch that ſhee ſecretly went about to cauſe the kings of thoſe places, *Malichus* and *Herod*, to be put to death. *Antonius* made a ſhew as though he would haue granted her requeſt; yet he thought it great impiety to kill good men, and ſo great kings: yet notwithſtanding, hee no more accounted them his friends, but tooke a great quantity of ground from the limits of both their countries, and a vine-
D yard in Iericho, where Balme grew; and gaue her all the Cities on this ſide the riuer Eleutherus (Tyre and Sidon onely excepted.) Now when ſhe had obtain'd the dominion of theſe cities, ſhe followed *Antonius* vnto Euphrates, who ſet forward to make war againſt the Parthians, and afterward by Apamia and Damaſcus ſhee came into Iudæa: where *Herod*, hauing ſomething pacified her angry mind with great gifts, obtained to pay her yeerly two hundreth talents for that part of his country, which *Antonius* had giuen her; and ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to get himſelfe an intereſt in her fauour, he conducted her vnto Peluſium: and not long after, *Antonius* returned out of Parthia, and brought *Artabazes*, the ſon of *Tigranes*, captiue, and gaue him to *Cleopatra*: for all the money and riches which he had got, and the captiues likewiſe, were beſtowed on her.
E

The yeare of the world, 3929. before Chriſts birth, 35.

Herod liberally beſtowes money vpon the ſouldiers.

Antigonus beheaded. Ant. lib. 11. cap. 1.

Cleopatras cruelty againſt her kinred.

Cleopatras couetouſnes.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the treacherous practice of Cleopatra *againſt* Herod: *of* Herods *warre againſt the Arabians, and of a very great earthquake.*

ABout ſuch time as the Actiacum war was afoot, *Herod* prepared himſelfe to attend *Antonius*; ſeeing for the preſent all troubles were pacified in Iudæa, and he had already got the caſtle of Hircanion, which *Antigonus* ſiſter had in her poſſeſſion. But *Cleopatra* craftily preuented him in this his iourney; ſo that he could not go with *Antonius*: for
F ſhe deſiring the ruines of both the kings (as was before mentioned) perſwaded *Antonius* that he ſhould cauſe *Herod* to make war againſt the Arabians: whom if he ouercame, then ſhe ſhould be made Queen of Arabia; and if ſo be himſelf were ouercom, then ſhe ſhould be queen of Iudæa: intending hereby, that one of theſe potentates ſhould ruinate the other. But this practice of hers was greatly to *Herods* gaine: for firſt of all making head againſt thoſe of Syria that were his enemies, with all the power of horſemen he could make, which was very many, and meeting them at Dioſpolis, he ouercame them, though they valiantly reſiſted: who hauing the ouerthrow, ſtir-

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Chriſts birth, 30. Ant. l. 15. c. 5. Cleopatras ſubtil treaſon againſt Herod.

red

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Christs Nativity, 30.

red vp a mighty army of the Arabians to help them, ſo that an infinite company was gathered together about Cœloſyria, expecting the Iewes neere vnto a citie called Canatha. Where King *Herod* meeting them, purpoſed not to fight vnaduiſedly, but to compaſſe his owne army round about with a wall: but his army remembring their former victory, would not be counſelled, but violently aſſaulted the Arabians, & at the firſt onſet put them to flight. *Herod* purſuing his enemy was greatly endangered by the treaſon of the inhabitants of Canatha (who were ſet on by *Athenio*, that was one of *Cleopatras* captains, who had alwaies born him ill will) for the Arabians encouraged by their help, returned again to battell; and they two ioyned their forces together, & ſet vpon *Herod* in ſtony & difficult places, and put his army to flight, and ſlew many of them: and thoſe that eſcaped fled into a little village hard-by, cald Ormiza; where the Arabians cõpaſſing them about, took both the men & their tents with all their furniture. Not long after this ouerthrow of *Herods* ſoldiers, he came & brought help, but too late, & to little purpoſe: but the cauſe hereof was, for that the captaines of his army would not obey his commandement: for if they had been obedient, *Athenio* had not had opportunity to work him that iniury; yet was he reuenged vpon the Arabians, and daily made incurſions vpon their borders, and ceaſed not to inuade and ſpoile them, vntill by many, he had cried quittance with them for their one victory.

Ant. l. 15. c. 6.

The Arabians deſeat Herods army.

The Actian warre between Antonius and Auguſtus.

While thus he purſued his enemies, a great calamity befell him in the ſeauenth yeare of his raigne, and in the midſt of the Actian warre: for about the beginning of the ſpring time, there chanced a great earthquake, which ſlew an infinite multitude of beaſts, and thirty thouſand people: yet the army had no harme, for it lay in an open place. With the report hereof the Arabians were highly encouraged (for ſuch as report an euill occurrent, doe alwaies redouble the miſery thereof in relating it) for which cauſe, the Arabians, making account that all Iudæa was ouerthrowne, and that there was no man left aliue to reſiſt them, entred into Iudæa, aſſuring themſelues to conquer the countrey: and before their comming, they ſlew the Embaſſadours of the Iewes that were ſent vnto them. *Herod*, perceiuing his countrimen terrified by the ſuddaine approach of their enemies, and not onely broken, but wearied with the greatnes & continuance of their calamities, rowſed vp their drouping ſpirits that were tired with ſuſpect, and encouraged them on this wiſe. I ſee no reaſon of your preſent feare, neither do I admire, that you were terrified with the puniſhment of Gods indignation: but it is a cowardly minde to be daunted by the comming of your enemies, who are but men; and whoſe violence, if your ſelues pleaſe, yee may repreſſe. For mine owne part, I am ſo farre from being diſcouraged by the approach of my enemies, that I rather think that God hath of his prouidence ſent this earthquake as a bait to allure and incite the Arabians to inuade vs, to the end, that through our meanes he may puniſh them: for the cauſe that moueth them to aſſault vs, is, not the truſt they repoſe in their owne valour and great armie, but it is our miſery that inuiteth them. Yet who knowes not that the hope is fruſtrated that is founded not vpon a mans priuate vertue, but vpon another mans misfortune? There is nothing aſſured in humane affairs, in reſpect either of proſperous ſucceſſe, or aduerſe fortune, which a man may perceiue to alter vpon all occurrents: as we our ſelues may witnes by our own experience. For in the firſt conflict ye ouercame; in the ſecond ye were ouercome; and now the third time (for ought I can coniecture) they, thinking themſelues ſure of the victory, ſhall by vs be ouercome: for they who miſdoubt nothing are raſh in their proceedings, whereas they that are fearefull and timorous, prouidently ſeeke to preuent their dangers: ſo that I am encouraged to hope for victory euen by your feare.

Another calamity of Herods.

Herods oration to his diſmaied ſouldiers.

Feare giueth confidence.

For when as you were too confident, and againſt my will and direction ruſhed in vpon your enemies, *Athenio* found opportunity to hurt vs: but now ſith I perceiue in your mindes a certaine remiſneſſe and a forecaſt, it is an euident token vnto mee of aſſured victory. It behooueth you therefore not onely before the conflict to continue your accuſtomed mindes, but alſo in the conflict to ſhew that yeare men, armed both with hearts and hardineſs; to the end, that our impious enemies may well ſee, that neither anie humane calamitie, nor diuine puniſhment can daunt the courage of the Iewes, whil'ſt the breath is in their bodies: and that neuer a one of you all will ſuffer the Arabians to domineere ouer your goods and poſſeſſions, whom manie times you haue almoſt made your ſlaues. Bee not therefore terrified with this motion of a body that hath no ſoule: neither yet perſwade your ſelues, that the earthquake portendeth any maſſacre; for euen the elements themſelues by their owne nature are ſubiect to ſuch defects, and portend no other miſhappe, but that which they bring with them. Perhaps the plague and famine, and earthquake haue ſome tokens demonſtrating them before they come: but when they are once come, they ſignifie nothing elſe; but at laſt end, and ceaſe of themſelues. But ſay we ſhould

be

A be ouercome, can war enforce more harme against vs, then the earthquake hath done? Truely, it is an euident token of our enemies ruine, and that by their owne cause, who most cruelly, contrary to the law of all nations, butchered our Embassadors, offring to God such sacrifice for the good successe of their wars. They cannot hide themselues from the sight of God, and from his mighty power, but presently they shall feele punishment for their offence, if filled with the courageous spirit of our nation, we be stird vp to reuenge that impious violating the law of all nations, and so euery one march on to fight, not for his wife and children, or country; but to reuenge the murther of our Embassadors: who will lead our army, and knowe better then we that are aliue to direct the same. For mine owne part (if you will bee ruled by me) I will be the first that will lead you, and will hazard my selfe for you: for you know ful wel, that if your valour be not
B eclipsed by some headlong rashnes, there is nothing that may make head against you.

The yeare of the world. 3934. before Christs birth. 30.

Herods peroration.

" " " " " " " "

After he had by these or such like perswasions sounded his souldiers, and found them in some sort encouraged therby, he offred sacrifice to God. And presently after, with all his army he passed ouer Iordan: and pitching his tents at Philadelphia, not far from his enemy, he made a shew to assault a Castle that was between them and him, and so skirmished with them afarre off, desirous to draw them to the battell: for the enemies had sent to intercept the castle, but *Herods* forces gaue them the repulse, and in despight of them kept the hill. Thus euery day made he an offer to fight, brauing the Arabians: & seeing they would not come to the shocke (for they were in great feare, and *Athemus* their generall for very feare was ready to giue vp the ghost) hee assaulted them in their trenches, and cast down their rampier, so as they were constrained to come
C forth to battell, without any order; and their horsemen and footmen were confusedly mixt together. And although the Iewes in number were inferiour vnto them, yet they were inferiour to the Iewes in courage; yet they became now more hardy, because they despaired of the victory: and so long as they stood to it, they had no great losse: but when they turned their backes, then many were slaine by the Iewes, and many perished being troden on by their fellows. Those that escaped, were forced to retire themselues into their trenches, where *Herod* besieged them: and although they were all ready to be put to the sword, yet was there such penury of water, that for drinke they were all like to perish. For which cause, they sent Embassadours to the king, offring him fifty talents to let them go: but he contemned them, and so much more earnest was he, by reason that their want of water was so great, that comming out by flocks of their owne accord,
D they offred themselues to the Iewes: so that in this sort there came forth foure thousand in fiue dayes, and the sixt day the whole multitude (despairing of their liues) came out to fight, with whom *Herod* conflicting, slew about seauen thousand. Hauing in this sort weakned the Arabians, that he had now extinguished all their strong men, the countreymen admired him, and were so much daunted at his puissance, that they wished him for their Ruler.

Herod sacrificeth to God before the battell.

The Arabians through extreame thirst are enforced to yeeld to the Iewes.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod *was exalted vnto the Kingdome.*

E IN continent after this his prosperous successe, there did betide vnto him a sea of cares and griefes, in respect of the loue which he bare vnto *Antonius*, whom *Cæsar* had now lately ouerthrowne at the battell which was fought at Actium: yet was hee more affraid then hurt by this his suspicion: for *Cæsar* accounted not *Antonius* fully conquered, so long as *Herod* and hee kept together. Wherefore, the king timely foreseeing those dangers that might ensue, went to Rhodes, where at that time *Cæsar* abode: in which place, in the habite of a priuate man, and without a crown, but with a kingly courage, he presented himselfe before him, and with vnfained constancy spake vnto him in such manner as followeth; I was, O *Cæsar*, made king of Iudæa by *Antonius* his meanes: and I must confesse, that I haue beene a king, who, what in mee lay, haue serued his turne, and sought his profit: yea, I must not deny, but that (had not the Arabians
F hindred mee) I had with all the power I could haue made, seconded and assisted *Antonie* against thee: yea, although personally I could not go, yet did I what I could to help him, and sent him many thousand measures of corne. Nay, though he had the ouerthrow at Actium, yet did not I forsake him, who had deseru'd wel at my hands; & althogh I was not able to assist him with force of armes, yet I confirmed him by my counsell the best I could, inculcating oftentimes vnto him, that there was one onely way to redresse his aduersity, to wit, by the death of *Cleopatra*; whom if he killed, I promised him to assist him with money, strong holds, and an army; yea, and with mine

Ant. lib. 15. c. 7.

Herods oration to Augustus Cæsar.

" " " " Herod speakes freely before Cæsar. " "

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Christs birth 30.

mine owne person against thee: but the loue of *Cleopatra*, and God who had already designed the victory vnto thee, stopped his eares. For which cause, O *Cæsar*, I am conquered with *Antonius*, and haue forsaken my crown & dignity with his fortunes: & I am come vnto thee, hoping that at thy hands I may obtaine pardon. To this *Cæsar* answered: Liue in safety, and raigne now with greater securitie then before; for thou deseruest to rule others, who with such constancie didst defend and maintaine thy friendship. At this time endeuour thy selfe to continue faithful toward them that are more fortunate then *Antonius* was: for, for my part I haue conceiued a great hope and expectation of thy valour and prowesse; yet did *Antonius* well, in that he rather obeied *Cleopatra* then thee: for by his follies haue we now purchased thy friendship. That thou hast begun to do well, it hereby appeareth, because *Ventidius* hath signified vnto me, that thou hast sent him succours against his enemies. For which cause, by this my present decree, be thou established in thy kingdome, and I will shortly let thee know, that I wil be beneficial vnto thee: so as thou shalt haue no cause to bewaile the losse of *Antonius*. By this speech he exhorted the king not to misdoubt of his friendship, and withall put a crown vpon his head, and made a decree, and sealed it, testifying how he had remitted all things done by *Herod*, and confirmed him in his kingdom, and rehearsed many things therein, greatly tending to *Herods* praise. *Herod* (hauing first pacified *Cæsar* with many gifts) requested him to pardon *Alexander*, one of *Antonius* his friends, who earnestly and in humble manner desired the same: but *Cæsar* being very angry, answered, that hee for whom he entreated, had greatly and many times offended, and so repeld *Herod* with this answer.

Cæsars answer to Herod.

Herods gratulation toward Cæsar.

Afterward, *Cæsar*, trauailing into Egypt through Syria, was entertained by *Herod* with all royall pomp possible: and that was the first time that hee shewed himselfe to take part with *Cæsar*, when neere vnto Ptolemais he took a view of the souldiers with *Cæsar*, and made a banquet for him and all his friends, and feasted the whole armie likewise. And in as much as he trauailed to Pelusium through dry grounds, when they returned againe, he prouided water for them, & furnished the army with all necessaries: so that both *Cæsar* and the souldiers thought the kingdom a small recompence for his deserts. For which cause, after he came into Egypt, and that *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* were now dead, hee did not onely increase his honour, but also restored vnto him that portion of his country which was taken away, and giuen to *Cleopatra*: and besides that, Gadara, and Hippon, and Samaria, and other cities, about the sea-coast; to wit, Gaza, & Anthedon, and Ioppe, and Stratons tower: and moreouer gaue him foure hundreth Galathians, which before were *Cleopatra* her guard: and there was nothing that so much moued *Cæsars* liberalitie, as the courageous minde of him vnto whom he was so liberal. After the first Actian solemnitie, he added vnto *Herods* dominion Trachon, and Batanæa, and Auranitis bordering vpon it. For this cause *Zenodorus* (who for money hired *Lysanias* his house) continually sent theeues out of Trachon to robbe the people of Damascus: who in humble maner went to *Varus* (who was at that time gouernour of Syria) entreating him to informe *Cæsar* of their calamity. *Cæsar*, vnderstanding thereof, writ back againe, commanding him to extinguish all the thieues: whereupon *Varus* with an armie went to those places which were most suspected, and rid the countrey of the theeues, and tooke the territorie from *Zenodorus*: and *Cæsar* (least it should againe bee a refuge for theeues to spoile Damascus) gaue it to *Herod*, and made him ruler ouer all Syria. And tenne yeeres after, returning to his owne countrey, hee commanded the gouernours to doe nothing without *Herods* counsell: and after *Zenodorus* his death, hee gaue him all the countrey betweene Trachon and Galilee. But that which *Herod* esteemed aboue all the rest, was, that *Cæsar* lou'd him best of all next to *Agrippa*: and *Agrippa* loued him most of all men next vnto *Cæsar*. Thus now he touched the very top of felicity: and so increasing in high mind, he imploied himselfe chiefly to piety.

Cæsar increaseth Herods dominion.

Herod made gouernour of Syria.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Cities and buildings reedified and built by Herod, *and of his liberalitie towards strangers, and of his felicity.*

The yeare of the world, 3947. before Christs Natiuitie, 17. Ant. lib. 15. ca. 10. 12. 13 14 Herods buildings.

IN the fifteenth yeer of his raigne hee repaired the Temple, and enclosed twice so much ground as was before about the Temple with a strong wall, wheron he bestowed great costs and charges to beautifie it: as the great porches will testifie, which hee built about the Temple, and a Castle on the North-part thereunto adioyning, which he built euen from the foundation. The Castle was so rich and sumptuous, that it was equall vnto the kings palace, and

in

A in the honour of *Antonius*, he named it Antonia. He builded himselfe also a palace in the vpper part of the City, and in it two houses, huge, and richly adorned: so that the Temple was not to be compared vnto them. And calling them by his friends names, he tearmed one of them Cæsarea, and another Agrippa; whose names and memories he did not onely solemnize, and write in his priuate houses, but also throughout the whole country, and in euery part of the city. For in the countrey of Samaria he compassed a towne with a wall, which was about twenty stounds, and called it Sebaste, and he sent thither six thousand inhabitants, giuing them a most fertil soile and demeasnes. There also amongst other buildings, he erected a very huge temple, and dedicated it to *Cæsar*, and gaue the inhabitants of that place especial priuiledges. About the temple was there a piece of ground containing three stounds & a halfe. For this monuments sake, *Cæsar* added vnto his dominion another country; for which cause he erected another temple vnto him, neere vnto the head of Iordan, of white marble, in a place called Panium, where there is a mountaine rising an infinite height into the aire, at the side whereof there is an obscure valley, where there are high rocks, that (by drops of water falling on them) are made hollow: so that the water, standing in their concauity till they run ouer, falleth downe with a stream of such a length as is admirable. At the foot of this valley on the out-side, there spring certaine fountaines, and many think this to be the head of the riuer Iordan; which, whether it be true or no, we will declare hereafter.

The yeare of the world. 3947. before Christs birth. 17.

B

The fountain-head of Iordan.

At Iericho also (betweene the castle of Cyprus, and the other ancient kings houses) he erected other buildings, fairer & more commodious for them that came thither, calling them after the
C names of his friends. Finally, there was no conuenient place in the whole kingdome, wherein he erected not some thing in honour of *Cæsar*: and hauing in euery place of his own kingdome deuised and dedicated temples vnto him, he in Syria also where he ruled did the like, founding in very many cities, temples, which he called by the name of Cæsar. And perceiuing, that amongst the cities of the sea coast, there was one called Stratons tower, which, being very old, was ruinated; and for the situation thereof deserued reparation and cost: he repaired it all with white stone, and built a very roiall palace therein, wherein chiefly he shewed a mighty minde. For this city standing in the midst betweene Dora and Ioppe, there was no port or hauen in that coast: so that whosoeuer sailed from Phœnicia into Egypt, were in great danger, by reason of the violent windes that blew frō Africa, which blowing but a very easie gale, inforce the water with such a
D violence against the rocks on the shore, that the waues, rebounding back again a good way within the sea, make the whole sea tempestuous. But the king, with his liberality and cost ouercomming nature, builded a port or hauen in that place, far bigger then that of Piræum, and within it made most safe stations for ships. And although the nature of that place was altogether contrary to his intent, yet he so ouercame that difficulty, that the sea could do that building no harme: and it was so gallant and beautifull to behold, as though there had bin no let any way to hinder the adorning thereof. For hauing measured out such a place (as we haue spoken of) for the port, he laid a foundation in the bottome twenty elles deep of stone, whereof most of them were fifty foot long, nine foot thicke, and tenne foot broad, and some bigger; and all the bottome of the hauen where the water came, was laid with these stones. Which done, he raised a wal of two
E hundreth foot; whereof a hundreth foot was builded to breake the violence of the waues, and had a name according to the vse it serued for. The other hundreth foot serued for a foundation of the wall whereof the hauen was compassed, which was repleniished with many goodly towers; the greatest and faireſt whereof he named Drusius, after the name of *Cæsars* kinsman. There were very many vaults also to conduct such things into the towne as were brought into the hauen, and about them a paued place for them to walk in, that came out of the ships: The entrance therunto was on the north side; for by reason of the situation of the place, the north-wind there is the calmest.

Herod makes a greater port then that of Piræum.

An apt description of a hauen.

Before the entrance were 3 great colossus held vp on euery side with pillers: they which are on the left hand, are propt vp by a tower being a solid rock of stone. But at the entrance on the right
F hand were two huge stones ioind together, which make a greater tower then the other. There is also a house adioining vnto the hauen built of white stone: The streets of the cities comming to that place, are of one bignes & proportion. Vpon a hill opposite to the mouth of the hauen, was there builded a temple very beautiful and exceeding great, which he dedicated to *Cæsar*, wherin was placed *Cæsars* colossus, fully as great as *Iupiters* at Olympus: for it was made after that example, equal to that at Rome, & that of *Iunoes* at Argos. The city he builded for the inhabitants of that prouince, and the port or hauen for seafaring men. The honour and credit he attributed to

Cæsar,

The yeare of the world, 3947. before Christs birth 17.

Cæsar, and by his name called it Cæsarea. He also made other buildings, as the Market, the Theater, and the Amphitheater, which are worth the memorie. And he euery fift yeere ordained certaine sports, and called them after the name of *Cæsar*. And himselfe first proposed very ample rewards in the 192 Olympiade; in so much that he not only gaue roiall gifts to the victors, but also to the second & third after them. He repaired Anthedon also, which was destroied by the wars, and called it Agrippium: and loving *Agrippa* very dearly, he caused her name to be engrauen ouer the portall hee builded in the temple. Neither was he vnmindfull of his parents: for in the richest soile of the whole kingdom he built a city for a monument of his father: and by his name called it *Antipatris*, being a very rich soile, both for trees and riuers. At Iericho also he built a very gorgeous and strong castle, and called it Cyprus, in honour of his mother. Hee likewise built a tower in memorie of his brother *Phasaelus*, at Ierusalem, and cald it *Phasaelus* his tower (of the compasse and beauty of this tower we will speak hereafter.) He also called another city Phasaelus, which is situate in a valley beyond Iericho, toward the north.

Cæsarea in time past cald the tower of Straton. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 10. 12. & lib 17. cap. 5.
Agrippium.
Antipatris.
Cyprus.
Phasaelus tower.

G

H

Hauing thus eternized the memorie of his friends and kinsfolk, hee did not forget to doe the like to himself: for he built a castle on a mountain neer Arabia, hauing on one side a strong place of defence, and this castle he called Herodium after his owne name. By the same name also hee called a tomb, which he builded sixtie stounds from Ierusalem, artificially made in manner of a womans dug, which hee richly adorned: for within compasse of the top of it, hee caused round turrets to be placed: & round about it he builded princely houses, gallantly adorned both within and without. He also brought water from a great way off, with great cost & charges, and made a paire of stairs of pure white marble, to go vp, which had two hundreth steps. For the whole hil was made by art, and it was made of an exceeding height: at the foot thereof likewise hee built another palace, and houses to receiue his friends and their cariages: so that this castle, for the abundance of all necessarie places, seemed a city, and yet was it all the kings palace. Hauing erected thus many buildings, he shewed his braue mind in strange cities likewise: for at Tripolis, and Damascus, and Ptolemais he builded publike bathes, which are called exercises. He builded the wall of Biblus; and seats, porches, temples, and markets at Berytus and Tyre: at Sidon and Damascus he builded a Theater, and a water-conduit at Laodicea, a sea-towne. At Ascalon he built fountaines or lakes very sumptuous, and bathes with pillers, that for greatnes and gallant worke were miraculous. To other places he gaue woods and ports: and to many cities he added fields, as though they had been fellow-cities of his kingdome. Also, toward the maintenance of bathes he gaue a yeerly annuitie for euer: as namely, to those at Cous, to the intent hee might be an eternall benefactor. Moreouer, he gaue all poore people corne; and hee often and in sundry places gaue the Rhodians money to build a nauie of ships. At his owne proper cost he repaired Pythium, which was burnt with fire. What should I say of his liberality which he extended to them of Lycia and Samia? or the magnificent gifts which he vsed toward all the people of Ionia; yea, all things that their hearts could desire: whereby he relieued all their necessities? Nay, both the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolites, and the citizens of Pergamus in Mysia, receiued very many benefits at his hands. He paued also a large street in Antiochia of Syria, which was in length twenty stounds, and that with faire marble. This street before that time was so full of durt, that no man could go through it; and all along it hee built galleries, that people might go dry through it in rainy weather.

Herodium.

Herodium a castle resembling a city.
Herods bounty to all men.

The yeare of the world, 3954. before Christs birth 10.

Herod famous through the world.

I

K

L

Some one may say, that these benefits he thus bestowed, were done for the proper vse of those people on whom he bestowed them: but no man can deny, but that which hee did for the citizens of Elis, was not onely common to those of Achaia, but to all the world, where the games, called *Olympica Certamina*, were solemnized. For, *Herod* seeing them decay onely for want of maintenance, and that this was the onely remainder of all the ancient monuments of Greece, he not onely in his person at that time became one of the proposers of rewards in that Olympiade which he assisted when hee went to Rome; but also gaue a yeerely stipend to maintaine the same, lest for want it should be left off. It is not to be told what debts and tributes he remitted; for he deliuered the Phasaelites & Balaneotes, and other townes of Cilicia, from the paiment of a yeerly tribute: yet was he not so liberall to them as he would haue been, fearing lest the enuy of some might accuse him of some further meaning, if he should be more bountiful to the cities then those that were the owners thereof. He exercised his body likewise in exercises fit for so valiant a mind: for he was a very skilful hunter, wherin he had alwaies his purpose, by reason of his skill in riding; so that in one day he kild forty wilde beasts. That country hath many Boars, but it hath more store of Harts & wilde Asses. He was such a warriour as no man was able to encounter

M

Herod a great hunter.

A counter withall; ſo that many were aſtoniſhed to ſee him exerciſe himſelfe, who admired him for caſting a dart, and ſhooting an arrow. Beſide the vertue both of his mind and body he had alſo good fortune; for very ſeldome the euent of warre was otherwiſe then he expected: which if it ſometime chanced, it was not through his fault, but through the raſhneſſe of his ſouldiers, or elſe through treaſon.

The yeare of the world. 3954. before Chriſts birth. 8.

Herod beſides the vertue of mind & body had the bleſſings of fortune.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the diſagreement betweene Herod *and his ſonnes*, Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.

B BVt his priuate and domeſtical ſorowes ſeemed to enuy him his publike felicity, and moſt aduerſe fortune befell him through the means of a woman, whom he loued as himſelfe. For being now made King, he put away his wife, which he firſt maried (which was a Ladie borne in Ieruſalem, whoſe name was *Doris*) and maried *Mariamme* the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Ariſtobulus* ſon, which cauſed troubles in his houſe, both before, but eſpecially after he returned from Rome. For he baniſhed his eldeſt ſon *Antipater*, whom he had by *Doris*, out of the citie, only for his childrens ſake that he had by *Mariamme*, licenſing him only at feſtiual times to come vnto the citie in regard of ſome ſuſpicion of treaſon intended againſt him. And afterward he ſlew *Hircanus* his wiues vncle (notwithſtanding that hee returned out of Parthia vnto C him) becauſe after he ſuſpected that he intended ſome treaſon againſt him; whom *Barzapharnes*, after he had taken all Syria, took away priſoner with him. But his owne countrimen that dwelt beyond Euphrates, in commiſeration redeemed him from thraldom; and had he bin counſelled by them and not come vnto *Herod*, he had not bin killed: but the mariage of his neece cauſed his death: for, for that cauſe, & eſpecially for the loue of his natiue ſoil, he came thither. That which moued *Herod* to kill him was, not for that he ſought the kingdome, but becauſe he had right vnto the kingdom. *Herod* had fiue children by *Mariamme*, two daughters, and three ſons. The youngeſt was ſent to Rome to ſtudy, where he died. The other two he brought vp like Princes, both for their mothers nobility ſake, and for that they were borne after he was King. But that which aboue all other was moſt forcible, was the loue hee bare to *Mariamme*, which from day to day D tormented him more violently, in ſuch ſort, that he felt not any part of thoſe griefes which this his beſt beloued enforced againſt him. For *Mariamme* hated him as much as hee loued her: and hauing a iuſt cauſe and colour of diſcontent, and moreouer being imboldned by the loue which he bare her, ſhe euery day vpbraided him with that which he had done vnto *Hircanus* her vncle, and vnto her brother *Ariſtobulus*. For *Herod* ſpared him not, although he was a child; but after he had made him high Prieſt in the ſeuenteenth yeare of his age, he preſently put him to death, after he had ſo honoured him: who when he came to the altar clothed in ſacred attire vpon a feſtiuall day, all the people wept: and the ſame night was he ſent to Iericho, and drowned in a lake by the Galathians, who had receiued commiſſion to perform the murther. Theſe things did *Mariamme* daily caſt in *Herods* teeth, and vpbraided both his mother and ſiſter, with very ſharpe and E reproachfull words: yet he ſo loued her, that notwithſtanding all this he held his peace. But the women were ſet on fire: and that they might the rather moue *Herod* againſt her, they accuſed her of adultery, and of many other things which bare a ſhew of truth: obiecting againſt her that ſhe had ſent her portraiture into Egypt vnto *Antonius*; and that through immoderate luſt ſhee did what ſhe could to make herſelfe knowne vnto him, who doted vpon womens loue, and was of ſufficient power to doe what wrong he pleaſed.

Ant. lib. 15. c. 3. & l. 16. c. 13.

Herod expelleth Antipater out of the city and killeth Hircanus his wiues grandmother.

Herods children by Mariamme.

Mariamme hatefully vpbraideth Herod with Hircanus death.

Herods mother and ſiſter do falſely accuſe Mariamme to him.

Hereat *Herod* was ſore moued, eſpecially for that he was iealous of her whom hee loued, bethinking himſelfe vpon the cruelty of *Cleopatra*, for whoſe ſake King *Lyſanias* and *Malichus* King of Arabia were put to death; and now hee meaſured not the danger by the loſſe of his wife, but by his owne death which he feared: For which cauſe being drawn by his affaires into the countrey, he gaue ſecret commandement vnto *Ioſeph* his ſiſter *Salomes* husband (whom hee knew to be truſty, and one who for affinity was his wel-willer) to kill his wife *Mariamme*, if ſo be *Antonius* ſhould haue killed him. But *Ioſeph* not maliciouſly, but ſimply to ſhew her how greatly the King loued her, diſcloſed that ſecret vnto her: and ſhee when *Herod* was returned, and amongſt other talk with many oaths ſware that he neuer loued woman but her; indeed (quoth ſhe) it may well be known how greatly you loue me by the commandement you gaue to *Ioſeph*, whom you charged to kill mee. *Herod* hearing this which he thought to be ſecret, was like a mad man, and preſently

Herod ſecretly chargeth Ioſeph to kill his wife.

Herods ſuſpicion betwixt Ioſeph and his wife.

The yeare of the world, 3954. before Christs birth 10.

presently perswaded himselfe that *Ioseph* would neuer haue disclosed that commandement of his, except he had abused her; so that hereupon he became furious, and leaping out of his bed, he walked vp and downe the palace: whereupon his sister *Salome* hauing fit opportunity, confirmed his suspicion of *Ioseph*. For which cause, *Herod* growing now raging mad with iealousie, commanded both of them to be killed. Which done, his wrath was seconded by repentance; and after his anger ceased, the affection of loue was presently renued: yea so great was the power of his affection, that he would not beleeue she was dead, but spake vnto her as though she were aliue, vntill in processe of time being ascertained of her funeral, he equalled the affection he bare her during her life, by the vehemency of his passion for her death. *Mariammes* sonnes succeeded their mother in her wrath, and recogitating what an impious act it was, they accounted their father as a mortall enemy, both before and after they went to study at Rome, and especially after they came againe into Iudæa. For as they encreased in yeares, so did the violence of their minde increase. And they being now mariageable, one of them married the daughter of their aunt *Salome*, who accused their mother; the other married the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. And now to their hatred was there ioyned a liberty to speake more freely against them, and by this occasion of their boldnes many were animated to calumniate them: so that some did openly tell the King that both his sonnes sought to worke treason against him, and that the one of them prepared an army to helpe the other to reuenge the death of their mother; and that the other (to wit hé that was sonne in law to *Archelaus*) purposed to flie, and accuse *Herod* before *Cæsar*. *Herod* giuing eare vnto those calumniations, sent for *Antipater* whom hee had by *Doris*, to the end he might defend him against his two sonnes, and sought to aduance him aboue them. But they thought this alteration intollerable; seeing one, whose mother was but a priuate woman, so preferred: and they moued with their owne nobleness of birth could not containe their indignation, but vpon euery occasion shewed themselues offended; yet were they euery day lesse accounted of. As for *Antipater*, he wrought himselfe into fauour: for he knew how to flatter his father, and raised many slanders on his two brethren, partly inuented by himself, partly diuulged by some of his fauourites, whom he set a worke about the matter, till that at last hee put his brethren out of all hope of hauing the kingdome. For he was now by the Kings Will and Testament declared King, so that hee was sent as a King vnto *Cæsar* in a kingly habit and pompe, onely he wore no Crowne: and in time he so preuailed, that hee wrought his mother into *Mariammes* steed; and with flatteries and calumniation so mooued the King, that hee began to deliberate about the putting to death of his sonnes. For which cause, he conducted his son *Alexander* with him to Rome, and accused him before *Cæsar*, that he had giuen him poyson. But hee with much adoe hauing obtained liberty to pleade his own cause, and that before an vnskilfull Iudge, yet more wise then *Herod* or *Antipater*, hee modestly held his peace in all things that his father had offended in: and first of all he purged his brother from danger of that crime, and taking the whole matter vpon himselfe, he in very good sort acquited himselfe thereof. And afterwards he inueighed against *Antipaters* subtilty, and complained of those iniuries, which had been offered him, hauing beside the equity of his cause, sufficient eloquence to acquit himselfe: for hee was a vehement orator; and knew well how to perswade. Last of all, hee obiected that his father hauing a desire to put both him and his brother to death, had laid an accusation vpon him: wherat the whole audience wept, and *Cæsar* was so moued, that not regarding the accusations that were laid vnto them, he presently made *Herod* and them friends, vpon these conditions, that they in all things should be obedient vnto their father; and that their father should leaue the kingdome to whom he pleased.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Christs birth 8.

Herod commandeth both Ioseph and Mariamme to be slaine.

Mariammes sons inheritors of her displeasure.

Herods debate with those sons he had by Mariamme.

Ant. lib. 16. cap. 4.

Antipater by disgracing his brothers, is declared his fathers heire.

Herod accuseth Alexander before Cæsar.

A reconciliation betweene Herod and his sons.

Hereupon *Herod* returned from Rome, and though he seemed to haue forgiuen his sonnes; yet laid he not his iealousie and suspicion aside. For *Antipater* still vrged his argument to make *Herod* hate his other two sons, though for feare of him that reconciled them, he durst not openly shew himselfe an enemy vnto them. Afterward *Herod* sailed by Cilicia, and arriued at Elæusa, where *Archelaus* receiued him very curteously, thanking him for the safety of his sonne in law, and very ioyful for that they were made friends: for he wrote vnto his friends at Rome with all speed possible, that they should be fauourable vnto *Alexander*, when he came to plead his cause. And after this entertainement, he conducted *Herod* vnto *Zephyrius*, giuing him gifts to the value of thirty talents, and so took his leaue of him. *Herod* as soone as hee came to Ierusalem assembled the people together, & being assisted by his three sons, he shewed vnto them the cause of his going to Rome, and blessed God, and thanked *Cæsar*, who had appeased the discord of his house, and that had made his sons friends; which he esteemed more then his kingdom: and I (quoth he) will

Archelaus kindly entertaineth Herod and his sons.

Herods worthy oration to the people, wherein hee distributeth honors to his three sons.

A will make their friendſhip firme. For *Cæſar* appointed me king, & gaue me leaue to chuſe whom I pleaſed for my ſucceſſour, for the which I giue him harty thankes. And now I heere conſtitute al three of my ſons kings: which purpoſe of mine firſt I beſeech Almighty God, & ſecondly you to fauor: for the one of them for his yeeres, the other for their nobility of birth, haue right to the crowne and kingdome: which is ſo large, that it may ſuffice many; ſo that you for your parts reuerence them whom *Cæſar* conioyned and I their father ordained, giuing them not vnfit, nor vnlike honours, but ſuch as they haue deſerued. For a man cannot do a greater pleaſure vnto him whom he honoureth aboue his yeeres, then he ſhall giue diſcontent vnto him whom hee diſhonoureth. For which cauſe, I will conſtitute to euery one of them ſuch friends and wel willers, as with whom they be moſt conuerſant, and of them I will require pledges of a concord and vnity B amongſt them. For I know that diſcords and contentions ariſe by malice of thoſe who are conuerſant with Princes, & that if they be wel diſpoſed, they will increaſe friendſhip. And I requeſt not onely theſe, but alſo all ſuch as beare rule in my army, that they hope in mee onely for the preſent: for I giue not my ſonnes the kingdome, but the honour and dignitie thereof; and they ſhall haue pleaſure as though they were kings themſelues, yet I my ſelf will beare ſway, although I am vnwilling to do it. Let euery one of you conſider my age, my courſe of life, and piety: for I am not ſo old that any one may quickly deſpaire of me, nor I haue not accuſtomed my ſelfe to ſuch kind of pleaſure, as is wont to ſhorten yong mens daies; and we haue been ſo religious that we are in great hope of long life. But if any one deſpiſe me, and ſeeke to pleaſe my ſons, ſuch a one will I puniſh. I doe not forbid them to be honored, whom my ſelfe haue begotten, for that C I enuy them: but becauſe I know well that ſuch applauſes nouriſh pride and arrogancy in the fierce minds of yong men. Wherefore if all they that apply themſelues in their ſeruice, conſider that I will be ready to reward the good; and that thoſe who are ſeditious, ſhall find their malice to haue an vnprofitable euent at their hands, whom they ſo flatter: I eaſily perſwade my ſelfe that all men will be of my mind, that are of my ſons mind. For it is good for them that I raigne, and that I am friends with my ſons. And you O my good ſonnes, retaine in your minds that ſacred nature, which maketh the very brute beaſt to entertaine naturall affection: then reuerence *Cæſar* who reconciled vs: and laſt of all obey me who requeſt, and entreate that at your hands, which I might command, namely that you remaine brethren. And I will now giue you both kingly attire and honour, and I pray God that if you will continue and remaine friends, I may D continue in this minde.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Chriſts birth, 8.

Herod giueth not the kingdome to his ſons, but the honors of the kingdome.

Herod conuerteth his ſpeech to his ſonnes.

After he had thus ſpoken, he ſaluted them very louingly and diſmiſſed the people, ſome praying that it might bee as hee had ſaid: others (who deſired alteration) made as though they had heard nothing. Yet for all this, the diſſenſion amongſt the brethren was not appeaſed, but each of them miſtruſting worſer euents, departed from one another. For *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* ſtomached the matter, that *Antipater* had his deſert confirmed, and *Antipater* was grieued that his brethren ſhould haue the ſecond place after him; yet he could ſo craftily carry himſelfe, that no man could perceiue his hatred towards them. And they deriued of a noble race ſpake all they thought, and many endeuored to ſet them on; and others as friends inſinuated themſelues into their company, to learne what newes: ſo that *Alexander* could not ſpeake a word, but preſently it E was carried to *Antipater*, & from him to *Herod* with an addition; ſo that when *Alexander* ſpake any thing ſimply, meaning no harme, it was preſently interpreted in the worſt ſenſe poſſible: and if he chanced at any time to ſpeake freely of any matter, preſently it was made a great thing. *Antipater* ſuborned men to ſet him on, that ſo his lies might be ſhadowed with colour of truth; and that if he could proue any one thing true, all lies and tales elſe diuulged might thereby bee iuſtified to be true. Now all *Antipaters* familiars were either naturally ſecret, or elſe hee ſtopped their mouthes with bribes, leaſt they ſhould diſcloſe his intents: ſo that one might iuſtly haue tearmed his life a ſecrecy of malice. All *Alexanders* friends were either corrupted by money, or flattering ſpeeches, wherewith *Antipater* ouercame all, and made them theeues and proditors of ſuch things as were either done or ſpoken againſt him: and himſelf doing all things, F he dealt ſo warily, that at laſt thoſe calumniations came vnto *Herods* eare: and he counterfeited his brothers perſon, and ſuborned other tale-carriers, telling what they could againſt *Alexander*; and pretending good will towards his brother, at firſt fainedly reproued them, and afterward ſeriouſly alledged their ſayings as accuſations: ſo that hereby *Herod* was very wroth, but turned all as though *Alexander* went about treaſon, and ſought to kill his father: and nothing made ſo much credit be giuen to theſe calumniations, as that *Antipater* colourably excuſed his brother. *Herod* incenſed hereat, euery day withdrew his affection more and more from the two

Herod by his words did not vtterly extinguiſh the hatred between his ſons.

Antipaters treaſon againſt his brother Alexander.

By what means Antipater corrupted his brother Alexanders friends.

Antipater whetteth Herod and his courtiers againſt Alexander.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Christs Nativity, 8.

brethren, and daily encreased his loue towards *Antipater*. The nobility also were inclined after G
the same maner: partly of their own accord, and partly for that they were so cõmanded: so did
Ptolomæus the chiefest of all the nobility, and the Kings brethren, and all his kinred; for all mens
expectation was vpon *Antipater*. And that which grieued *Alexander* the more, was, that all
these mischiefes, wrought to his ouerthrow, were done by the counsell of *Antipaters* mother;
for shee being a stepmother, was cruell, and hated them being borne of a Queene, farre more
then a stepmother doth her sons in law. And although all men followed *Antipater* for the hope
which they had of him; yet were they also compelled thereunto by the Kings cõmaund, who
gaue an especiall charge to their deerest friends, that none should follow *Alexander* or his bro-
ther: so that he did not onely terrifie those of his owne kingdom, but also those of other foraine
nations. For *Cæsar* had giuen him such authority: for hee gaue him licence to take any one that H
was a fugitiue from him, out of any Citie, although it were not vnder his dominions. And the
young men were ignorant of the offences laide vnto their charge, and so were more easily en-
trapped being vnaware of them: for their father did not openly tel them of any matter, but they
euery day perceiued their fathers good will towards them to decay, which so much the more
encreased their griefe. In like manner *Antipater* by little and little mooued *Pheroras* their vncle
and *Salome* their aunt against them, daily consulting with his wife, whom he should incite against
them.

Glaphyra Alexanders wife increased his conceiued suspicion by her words.

Now *Glaphyra Alexanders* wife encreased their malice euery day, recounting her owne nobili-
ty, and bearing her selfe aboue all that were in the whole kingdom: for she deriued her pedigree
by the fathers side, from *Timenus*; by the mothers side, from *Hystaspis* his sonne called *Darius*: in- I
ueying very much against the baseness of *Herods* wiues, and his sister, who were chosen for their
beauty, and not for their nobility of birth. For *Herod* (as we haue said) had many wiues, both for
that it was lawfull by the custome of their countrey, and because *Herod* delighted in many; and
all of them hated *Alexander*, for *Glaphyras* pride and contumelious speeches. And *Aristobulus*
made *Salome* his enemy, although shee was his wiues mother: for shee was before mooued by
Glaphyras speeches, and he often vpbraided his wife with her base birth, still telling her that hee
had married a priuate woman, and his brother *Alexander* a Queene. And his wife often with
weeping teares told this to her mother: adding moreouer, that *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* threat-
ned, that if they got the kingdom, they would make their other brethrens mothers weaue with
their maides; and that they would make them notaries of villages, deriding that they applied K
themselues to learning. *Salome* moued hereat, could not containe her selfe, but told all to *Herod*,
who easily beleeued her, because she spake against her sonne in law. Moreouer, another accusa-
tion was laid to their charge, wherat the King was greatly moued: for he was enformed that *A-*
lexander and *Aristobulus* did often bewaile their mother, and lament her hard hap with sighes,
and curse him: and that often when hee bestowed some of *Mariammes* cloathes vpon his later
wiues, they threatned that in short time in steed of princely attire, they should weare a black ha-
bite. Whereupon *Herod*, though he feared the constant mindes of the yong men, yet because he
would not take awy all hope of amendement, he called them vnto him (for hee was to saile to
Rome) and as a King threatned them in few words, and like a father gaue them many admoniti-
ons, and requested them to loue their brethren, promising them forgiuenes of their former of- L
fences, so that hereafter they amended all: But they beseeching him not to beleeue accusations
forged against them vpon malice, and answering that the effect of matters would easily acquite
them, requested him not so easily to beleeue tales, but refuse to giue malignant people oppor-
tunity and recourse vnto him: for that there would alwaies be some that would maliciously in-
uent tales to tell, whilest there was any one that would giue them the hearing and beleeuing
thereof. For they knew that *Salome* was their enemy, and *Pheroras* their vncle, and both of them
bare cruell minds, and were hard hearted; and especially *Pheroras*, who was fellow with his bro-
ther of all, sauing only the crowne, and had his owne reuenues amounting to a hundreth talents
a yeare, and receiued all fruits of the whole countrey beyond Iordan, which was giuen him by
his brother. *Herod* also had obtained of *Cæsar*, to make him Tetrarch, and bestowed vpon him M
a Princesse for his wife, despousing vnto him his wiues sister, after whose decease he despou-
sed vnto him his eldest daughter, and gaue him three hundreth talents with her for a dowry. But
Pheroras fell in loue with his maid, and forsooke a Princesse: wherat *Herod* being angry married
his daughter vnto his brothers sonne, who was afterwardes slaine by the Parthians; but *Herod*
presently pardoned *Pheroras* offence. Diuers before this time were of opinion that in the life-
time of the Queene, hee would haue poisoned *Herod*; and *Herod* although hee loued his brother
very

Aristobulus obiecteth to his wife her base birth. Ant. lib. 16. cap. 7.

Alexander & Aristobulus often times bewaile their mother, & by that means prouoke their father.

The two brothers excuse themselues before their father Herod.

A very well; yet becauſe many who had acceſſe vnto him told him ſo, he began to miſdoubt: and ſo examining many that were ſuſpected, laſtly he came to *Pheroras* friends, & none of them confeſſed it: yet they confeſſed that he was determined to fly vnto the Parthians with her whom he was ſo in loue withall; and that *Coſtabarus Salomes* husband was priuy thereunto vnto whom the King married her, after her firſt husband for ſuſpicion of adultery was put to death. *Salome* her ſelf alſo was not free frō accuſation: for *Pheroras* accuſed her that ſhe had contracted matrimony with *Syllæus*, who was procurator to *Oboda* King of Arabia, who was a great enemy of the Kings: and ſhe being conuicted both of this and all things elſe, whereof her brother *Pheroras* accuſed her, yet obtained pardon as likewiſe *Pheroras* did: ſo that the whole tempeſt of all their family was turned againſt *Alexander*, and light vpon his head. *The yeare of the world. 3956. before Chriſts birth. 8.*

B The King had three Eunuches whom he loued dearly, and euery one knowne by their offices: for one of them was his butler; the other was his cooke; and the third got him to bed, and lay with him: theſe three *Alexander* with great gifts ouercame. Which the King vnderſtanding, by torments forced them to confeſſe it, and declared with what promiſes they were therto by *Alexander* induced, and how he had deceiued them: affirming that there was no truſting to *Herod* who was a ſhameleſſe old man; and that he died his haire, to make himſelfe ſeem yong: and that he in deſpite of him would be his ſucceſſor, and then hee would be reuenged vpon his enemies, and make his friends happy, and eſpecially them: and that the whole nobility did ſecretly obey him, and the captaines of the army and gouernours did priuily come vnto him. Hereat *Herod* was ſo terrified, that he durſt not preſently diuulge their confeſſions, but night and day he ſent C ſpies to learne what was ſaid or done; and whom he ſuſpected, them he preſently killed: ſo that his whole kingdome was full of iniquity. For euery one as his malice moued him fained calumniations, and many deſirous of bloodſhed abuſed the Kings wrath as they pleaſed againſt their enemies, and credit was giuen to euery lie, and no man was ſo ſoon accuſed, but preſently he was puniſhed; and he who preſently before accuſed others, was now accuſed himſelfe, and carried to be puniſhed with him whō he accuſed. For the Kings perils ſhortned the time of triall for their liues, and he became ſo tyrannous, that hee afforded not a good looke vnto them that were not accuſed, and ſhewed himſelfe moſt fierce and violent euen to his deareſt friends: ſo that he baniſhed many out of his kingdome, and railed againſt ſuch as hee had no power ouer. *Antipater* increaſed this miſchiefe more & more, and gathering together a great company of his friends, he D omitted no kind of calumniation. The King likewiſe was terrified by the rumours and tales of pickthankes, that he thought alwaies that hee ſaw *Alexander* before him with a drawne ſword. For which cauſe he ſuddenly tooke him and caſt him in priſon, and tortured his friends, many of which died in torments, becauſe they would not confeſſe more then in conſcience was true: others not able to endure the torments, were forced to confeſſe that *Alexander* and his brother *Ariſtobulus* thought to haue wrought treaſon againſt their father, and that they expected their time till he went a hunting; reſoluing in themſelues that hauing kild him, they would preſently flie to Rome. Although theſe and ſuch like calumniations were no waies probable, yet extreamitie of paine forced men *extempore* to inuent them, and the King willingly belieued them, as it were comforting himſelfe thereby in that hee might not bee thought to haue impriſoned his E ſonne vniuſtly. *Alexander* perceiuing that it was impoſſible for him to aboliſh his fathers ſuſpicion, thought it better to yeeld himſelfe guilty: and ſo wrote foure books againſt his aduerſaries, and confeſſed the treaſon: affirming that he had many partakers therein, namely *Pheroras*, and *Salome*, who were the chiefe; auouching that before that time he had had the vſe of her bodie in the night time: and how though he himſelfe was vnwilling, yet ſhe forced him therunto. Now the bookes came vnto *Herods* hands, which charged the greateſt amongſt the nobilitie with moſt hainous matters. *Archelaus* fearing his ſon in law and daughter to be in great danger, ſpeedily came into Iudæa, & ingeniouſly appeaſed the Kings wrath: for ſo ſoon as he came vnto *Herod*, he cried, Where is that wicked ſonne in law of mine, or where may I ſee the face of that wretch that goeth about to murther his father, that I may teare him in peeces with mine owne F hands, and marry my daughter anew to a better husband? for although ſhe be not priuy to his counſell, yet is ſhe defiled for that ſhe was wife to ſuch a man. Nay I admire thy patience who art in ſuch danger, and ſuffereſt *Alexander* yet to liue: for I came thus haſtily out of Cappadocia, thinking hee had beene put to death, to talke with thee concerning my daughter, whom I married to him for thy ſake and honour. Wherefore now let vs take counſell what to doe with them both: and ſeeing thou art too fatherlike and not able to puniſh thy ſonne, thy treacherous ſonne, let vs change roomes, and let me be in thy place to reuenge thee: with ſuch like inuectiues

Alexander corrupteth his fathers Eunuches, and telleth them he is to ſucceed in the kingdome.

Herod feareth his ſonne Alexander.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 8. Herods cruelty.

Herod caſteth Alexander into priſon and tortured his friends.

Alexander during his impriſonment wrote foure books againſt his enemies.

Archelaus King of Cappadocia.

The yeare of the world, 3958. before Christs birth 8.

he deceiued *Herod* (though otherwiſe firme in his purpoſe.) Then *Herod* ſhewed him the books G
that *Alexander* had writ: and reading euery chapter with deliberation, *Archelaus* took occaſion
fit for his purpoſe, and by little and little laid all the fault on *Pheroras*, and thoſe that were accu-
ſed in the book. And perceiuing the King to giue eare vnto him, let vs (quoth he) conſider whe-
ther the yong man was not circumuented by the treachery of ſo many lewd perſons, & not thou
by the yong man: for there appeares no cauſe why he ſhould fall into ſuch wickednes, who now
enioyed the kingdome and hoped to ſucceed thee therein, had hee not been perſwaded thereto
by other men, who ſeeing him a yong man, entiſed him vnto ſuch naughtineſs. For we ſee that
through ſuch men, not only yong men, but alſo old men, and moſt noble families, yea, and whole
kingdoms are ruinated. *Herod* vpon theſe ſpeeches began ſomewhat to relent, ſo that he appea-

Archelaus & Herod conſult vpon Alexanders books.

Herod is incenſed againſt his brother Pheroras.

ſed his wrath toward *Alexander*, and encreaſed it towards *Pheroras*; for he was as it were the ſub- H
iect of the whole booke. Who perceiuing the King ſo to truſt to *Archelaus* friendſhip, that hee
was led by him to doe what he pleaſed, leuing *Alexander*, he in humble manner came to *Arche-
laus*, ſeeking impudently for ſuccor at his hands, of whom he had not deſerued any fauour. *Ar-
chelaus* anſwered him, that he knew no waies to obtain his pardon, who was guilty of ſo hainous
crimes, and conuicted manifeſtly to haue practiſed high treaſon againſt the Kings owne perſon,
and to be the cauſe of all theſe miſeries that had now befallen the young man, except that hee
would lay aſide all ſubtle dealing, and denying of his fact, and confeſs the crimes wherof he was
accuſed; and ſo in humble wiſe go vnto his brother who loued him dearely, and craue pardon;
promiſing him that if he would ſo doe, he would do him what good he could. Hereupon *Phero-
ras* obeyed *Archelaus* his counſell, and putting on a black attire, hee in pitifull manner and with I

Pheroras attired in a mourning garment with tears falleth before Herods feet and craueth pardon.

teares proſtrated himſelfe at *Herods* feet, and crauing pardon obtained it, confeſſing himſelfe to
be a moſt wicked & vile perſon, and to be guilty of all that which was obiected againſt him, and
that the cauſe which moued him to do all thoſe things, was the frantick and mad fits he fell into
for the loue of that woman. Now when *Pheroras* became his owne accuſer, and a witnes againſt
himſelfe, then *Archelaus* endeauoured to mitigate *Herods* wrath towardes him, and excuſe his
faults with fit examples: for he alledged that his brother attempted greater matters againſt him,

Pheroras by Archelaus meanes pacifieth Herod.

whom notwithſtanding for natures cauſe hee pardoned: adding that in euery kingdome as in
mighty bodies, alwaies ſome part began to ſwell, which notwithſtanding was not preſently to
be cut off, but to be cured by eaſie meanes.

Archelaus vſing many ſpeeches vnto *Herod* to this purpoſe, at laſt quite appeaſed his wrath K
toward *Pheroras*, ſtill counterfeiting himſelfe to be angry with *Alexander*, affirming that hee
would take his daughter away with him, till at laſt he forced *Herod* of his own accord to entreat
for the yong man, requeſting him againe to deſpouſe his daughter vnto him. *Archelaus* after
much entreaty anſwered, that hee was willing that the King ſhould beſtow his daughter vpon
any ſaue *Alexander*, for he greatly eſteemed the law of affinity. *Herod* replied, that if he did not
diuorce his daughter from *Alexander*, he ſhould thinke that hee beſtowed his ſonne vpon him:
for they had no children, and his daughter was dearely loued of the young man; ſo that if hee
would permit her to ſtay ſtill there, for her ſake he would pardon all *Alexanders* offences. Here-

Archelaus cõpelleth Herod of his own accord to be entreated for Alexander.

to *Archelaus* with much adoe agreed, and ſo was reconciled vnto his ſonne in law, and he vnto
his father. Yet *Herod* affirmed that he muſt needs be ſent to Rome to ſpeake with *Cæſar*, for hee L
had written the whole matter vnto *Cæſar*. Thus *Archelaus* craftily deliuered his ſon in law from
danger, and after his reconciliation was made, they ſpent the time in feaſting & mirth. Vpon *Ar-
chelaus* departure, *Herod* gaue him ſeuenty talents; and a throne of pure gold adorned with pre-
cious ſtones, and Eunuches, and a concubine named *Panichis*; and rewarded euery one of his
friends according to their deſerts. And all the Kings kinred by the Kings appointment and con-
ſent, beſtowed rich gifts vpon *Archelaus*; and both hee and all his nobility accompanied him to
Antiochia.

Herod diſmiſſeth Archelaus & his friends with great preſents. Ant. lib. 16. cap. 11.

Not long after there came one into Iudæa far more ſubtle then *Archelaus*, who both diſannul-
led the reconciliation made for *Alexander*, and cauſed his death alſo. This man was a Lacede-
monian borne named *Eurycles*, who by mony ſought to haue obtained the kingdome. This man M
brought vnto *Herod* rich gifts as it were for a bait of that he intended; hee had ſo behaued him-
ſelfe in Greece that it could no longer tolerate his exceſſe: and *Herod* againe rewarded him with
farre greater gifts then thoſe were that he gaue him: but he eſteemed his liberality as nothing,
except he bought it with the blood of Princes. For which cauſe hee circumuented the King,
partly by flattering him, partly by praiſing him fainedly, and eſpecially by his owne craft and
ſubtilty: and quickly perceiuing his inclination, he both in word and deed ſought to pleaſe him;

Eurycles the Lacedemonian ſecretly accuſeth Alexander to his father, and is the cauſe of his death.

ſo

A So that the king accounted him among his chiefeſt friends. For both the king and all the nobility honoured him the more for his country ſake, in that hee was a Lacedemonian. But hee very eaſily perceiuing the feeble ſtay of *Herods* houſe, and the hatred between the brethren, and how the king was affected towards euery one of them; he firſt of all entertained himſelfe at *Antipaters* houſe, making a ſhew in the meane while of good will towards *Alexander*, pretending and proteſting, that in times paſt he had been *Archelaus* companion; and by this meanes he quickly crept into fauour with him, as an approued friend: which was the cauſe that he was ſuddenly entertained for a faithfull man. He preſently likewiſe brought him into friendſhip with *Ariſtobulus*; and hauing ſounded euery mans diſpoſition, he accommodated himſelfe to all humours: and to begin withall, he became *Antipaters* penſioner, and a traytor to *Alexander*. And he often vſed hote
B words to *Antipater*, as it were chiding him, that he being eldeſt of the brethren, ſo ſlenderly looked after them, who pretended to put him beſides the crowne, which was his right. Hee many times likewiſed vſed the like words to *Alexander*, admiring him who was borne of a Queen, and husband to a queen, and yet would permit ſuch a one who was deſcended of a priuate woman to ſucceed in the kingdom, eſpecially ſeeing he had ſuch occaſion & opportunity to effect the contrary: for he might aſſure himſelfe of *Archelaus* his help in any thing. *Alexander* ſuppoſed he had ſpoke as he thought, becauſe he counterfeited friendſhip with *Archelaus*: ſo that he miſdoubting nothing, diſcloſed vnto him all his minde concerning *Antipater*, ſaying, that it was no wonder though *Herod* diſinherited them of the kingdom, ſith before time he had ſlaine their mother.

Eurycles, counterfeiting himſelfe both to pity them, and to be ſorrowfull for their miſchance,
C enticed *Ariſtobulus* to ſpeak the like: and hauing animated them both to complaine in this ſort againſt their father, he preſently went to *Antipater*, and diſcloſed to him all their ſecrets, forging alſo the treachery which thoſe two brethren intended againſt him, which was to diſpatch him with their ſwords. For this cauſe *Antipater* gaue him a great ſumme of money, and commended him to his father, and being hired to effect the death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, he himſelfe became their accuſer: Whereupon he came to *Herod*, and told him how in regard of thoſe benefits hee had receiued at his hand, he would now beſtowe his life vpon him, and the light of this world for recompence of his hoſpitality; affirming that *Alexander* had lately ſtretched out his hand with his ſword drawne to kill him, and hee onely was the cauſe that hee performed it not, by ſtaying his hand, and promiſing him to aſſiſt him in the matter: adding that *Alexander* v-
D ſed theſe ſpeeches; That *Herod* was not contented to enioy a kingdom which was another mans right, nor yet as it were to diſmember his kingdome after *Mariammes* death, but hee would alſo leaue the kingdome, belonging vnto their anceſtors, vnto a pernicious baſtard, *Antipater*: and for that cauſe he would reuenge *Hircanus* and *Mariammes* death: And that it was not conuenient to receiue the kingdom from ſuch a father without bloud, and euery day he had occaſion giuen him ſo to do: for he could ſpeake nothing without calumniation. For if any mention were made at any time of any ones nobility, preſently he was vpbraided without cauſe, for his father would preſently ſay, There is none noble but *Alexander*, whoſe fathers baſe birth is a ſhame and diſcredit vnto him. And that going a hunting, if he held his peace, his father was offended; if he praiſed, then it was ſaid he mocked: ſo that in euery thing hee found his fathers affection tur-
E ned from him, and that he was onely fauourable to *Antipater*: ſo that hee would die with all his heart if he failed of his purpoſe; if he kild him, his father in law *Archelaus* would worke his ſafety, to whom he might eaſily flee. And after, he would goe to *Cæſar* (who as yet knew not *Herods* manners) for he would not ſtand before him then, as he did before, being terrified becauſe his father was preſent: neither would he onely ſpeak of his owne wrongs, but of the wrongs of the whole nation, who were oppreſſed by exactions euen vnto death. And then he would lay open in what pleaſure, and after what ſort the money gotten with bloud was conſumed: and who and what kind of men they were that were thereby enriched; and what was the cauſe of the affliction of the city: and that there he would bewaile the death of his vncle, and his mother, and vnfold all *Herods* wickednes: which being once made manifeſt vnto the world, no man would ac-
F count him a murtherer of his father. *Eurycles* hauing falſely reported this of *Alexander*, fell preſently to praiſe and extoll *Antipater*, affirming that he onely loued his father, and hindered ſuch practices.

The yeare of the world. 3956. before Chriſts birth. 8.

Eurycles by fained friendſh p deceiueth Alexander.

The king, yet not throughly appeaſed for that which had paſt, grew into an exceeding agony, and *Antipater* once againe ſuborned other falſe witneſſes againſt them, who affirmed that they were wont to haue ſecret talke with *Iucundus* and *Tyrannius*, who ſometime were generals of the kings horſemen, who were then diſplaced for ſome offence they had committed. Whereupon *Herod*

Another falſe accuſation of Alexander and his brother moues Herod to indignatiõ.

The yeare of the world, 3956. before Christs birth 8.

Herod being very angry, presently tortured them: and they affirmed, that they were ignorant of G
all that which was laid to their charge. But there was found and brought to the king a letter, as
though it had beene written by *Alexander*, vnto the Gouernour of the Castle of Alexandrium;
requesting him, that he would receiue him and his brother *Aristobulus* into the Castle, when he
had killed his father, and to assist them both with weapons and other necessaries. *Alexander* af-
firm'd, that this letter was counterfeited by *Diophantus*, the kings Secretary, who was both bold,
and could counterfeit any ones hand; and hauing counterfeited many, was at last for the same
put to death.

Diophantus, the kings notary, writeth fained letters in Alexanders name.

Herod caused the Gouernour of the Castle to be tortured, but hee confessed nothing that was
laid against him: and although he had no good proofe of any thing, yet he commanded his two
sons to be kept in hold. He likewise called *Eurycles* (who was the bane of his house, and the bree- H
der of all the mischiefe) authour of his safety, and one who had well deserued at his hands, and
gaue him fifty talents: who, departing from Iudæa before matters were well knowne, went to
Archelaus, and faining that he had reconciled *Alexander* and *Herod*, he receiued there a peece of
money. From thence he went into Achaia, and spent that he had euilly gotten, in as bad manner
as he got it. Lastly, he was accused vnto *Cæsar*, that hee had caused dissension in all Achaia, and
spoiled the cities: for which cause he was banished. And this was the punishment which was in-
flicted vpon him for *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* troubles.

Cous Euaratus.

It is not amisse heere in this place to compare *Euaratus* of Cous vnto this *Eurycles*: who bee-
ing a deare friend vnto *Alexander*, and arriuing about the same time that *Eurycles* did, being put
to his oath, sware that hee heard the yong men say nothing: yet his oath nothing preuailed nor I
profited them poore soules. For *Herod* would onely heare and giue eare vnto accusations; and he
highly esteemed them that would beleeue them with him, and shewe themselues moued there-
at.

Ant. lib. 16. cap. 12.

Moreouer, *Salome* increased his cruelty towards his sonnes: for *Aristobulus* minding to bring
her into the same trouble with himselfe, who was his mother in law and his Aunt, sent vnto her,
willing her to looke to herselfe, as though the king was minded to put her to death. Who being
now cald in question for the matters whereof she was before accused, to wit, that she purposed
to marry with the kings enemy, *Syllæus* the Arabian, to whom she priuily reuealed the kings se-
crets: this was the vtter ruine of the young men, wherewithall they were ouerthrowne, as it
were with a violent tempest. For presently *Salome* went vnto the king, and told him what *Aristo-* K
bulus had admonished her of: and he being now outrageous, caused both his sons to bee bound
and imprisoned in seuerall places. Then sent he *Volumnius*, who was the Generall of his Armie,
and *Olympus*, one of his familiar friends, vnto *Cæsar*, to carry the informations against his sons in
writing: who saying to Rome, after their arriuall deliuered the kings letters. And *Cæsar* was ve-
ry sorie for the young men, yet he permitted the father to do what he would with his children:
and so wrote vnto him, that he should haue licence to do what he thought good: yet he signifi-
ed vnto him, that he should do better to call his Nobles together, and let them make enquirie
concerning the treasons: and then if he found them guilty of these things wherof they were ac-
cused, to put them to death.

Herod by Salomes counsel imprisoneth his sons.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs birth, 3.

Ant. l. 16. c. 13. Herod gathereth a councel against Alexander and Aristobulus.

Hereupon *Herod*, according to *Cæsars* letters and appointment, came vnto Berytum, and there L
gathered an assembly to sit in iudgement; the chiefe in that iudgement were the Gouernours
that *Cæsar* in his letters appointed, *Saturninus* and *Pedanius* Embassadours, and with them *Volum-*
nius, Procurator: next, the kings kinred, and *Salome* and *Pheroras*: and then the nobility of Syria,
Archelaus onely excepted, who because hee was father in law to his son, *Herod* suspected him to
be partiall. But he suffred not his sons to come into iudgement: for he knew that the very sight
of them would haue moued all men to compassion. And moreouer, if they were permitted to
speake for themselues, that then *Alexander* would easily haue acquited them both: for which
cause they were kept in Platan, in a castle of Sidonia. The king beginning his oration, was as ve-
hement, as though they had been present against whom he spake; and he was halfe afraid to ob-
iect any treason against them, for that he had no proofe therof: and therfore he prosecuted their M
opprobrious words, iniuries and offences which they had committed against him, the which he
affirmed to be more grieuous then death.

Herod accuseth his sons in open iudgement.

At last (when no man contradicted him) hee began to lament, as though by ouercomming in
such sort, himselfe was also ouercome, and thereupon requested euery one to giue their verdict.
And first of all *Saturninus* condemned his sons, but not to die: saying, that he had three sons pre-
sent, and he thought it not lawfull to adiudge other mens sons to death. The two Legats also af-
firmed,

Herods sentence against his sons.

A firmed the ſame, and many followed their aduice: But *Voluminius* was the firſt that pronounced the ſorrowfull ſentence: after whom all the reſt followed, ſome to flatter *Herod*, ſome for hatred they bare him, but none for any indignation againſt the yong men. Then all Iudæa and Syria expected an end of this tragedy; yet no man thought *Herod* to be ſuch a tyrant, as that he wold haue put his two ſons to death. *Herod* cauſed his ſons to be brought to Tyre, and from thence by ſhip he conuaied them to Cæſarea, bethinking himſelfe what death hee ſhould put them to. In the mean time, there was an old ſouldier of the kings, named *Tiro*, who had a ſon belonging to *Alexander*, and highly in his fauour, and he himſelfe greatly loued the two yong men: who being very much grieu'd in minde at that which had paſt, went about, crying, that iuſtice was troden vnder foot, truth oppreſt, that nature was confounded, and the life of man full of iniquity; and B whatſoeuer elſe griefe put into his minde, who nothing eſteemed his owne life. At laſt, this *Tiro* came boldly to the king, and ſaid vnto him: O king, thou ſeemeſt to me moſt vnhappy, who doſt giue credit to wicked and vile perſons againſt thy deareſt ſons. For *Pheroras* and *Salome* thou beliueſt before thine owne children, whom notwithſtanding thou haſt often found to haue deſerued death; and thou perceiueſt not that they do this, to the intent to make thee want lawfull ſucceſſors, and leaue thee none but *Antipater*, whom they with their harts would haue king, becauſe they can rule him as they liſt. But bethink thy ſelfe (O king) how all thy ſouldiers will hate him for the death of his two brethren; for there is no man that doth not pity the two yong men, and many of the Nobility are diſpleaſed hereat. After he had ſpoken this, he named them who were diſpleaſed: whereupon the king commanded them, and him, and his ſon to be laid hold on: and C preſently one of the kings Barbers, named *Tryphon*, ſhewing himſelfe to bee in I knowe not what fury, came forth, and ſaid vnto *Herod*; *Tiro* perſwaded me to kill thee with my razour, promiſing me, that if I would ſo do, *Alexander* would giue me great rewards. *Herod* hearing this, cauſed *Tiro* and his ſon, and the Barber to be tortured; and they denied all, and the Barber affirmed nothing more then he had already ſaid. Then he commanded *Tiro* to be more tormented. Whereupon his ſon, moued with compaſſion towards his father, promiſed to diſcloſe all the matter to the king, ſo that he would pardon his father: who being releaſed of his torments, preſently declared how his father through *Alexanders* meanes and procurement was purpoſed to haue kild him. Many that were preſent thought this was a deuice of the yong man, to free his father from torments: and yet others were perſwaded that it was true. Vpon this, *Herod* made a ſpeech vnto D the people, wherin he inueighed againſt the Gouernors of his army, and *Tiro*, and made the people arme themſelues, and kill both them and the Barber with ſtaues and ſtones. Now he ſent his ſons vnto Sebaſte, which was not far from Cæſarea, and there he cauſed them to bee ſtrangled: and hauing quickly diſpatcht the matter, he cauſed them to be brought into the Caſtle Alexandrium, there to be buried with their mothers vncle. And this was the end of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Tiro, an ould ſouldier, exclaimeth againſt Herods cruelty.

Tiro with his ſon are by the kings cõmand laid hands on. Ant. l. 16. c. 13. Another falſe accuſation againſt Tiro.

Herod commandeth his ſons to bee ſtrangled, and to be buried with Alexander their mothers vncle.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Antipaters *conſpiracy againſt* Herod *his father.*

E BVt *Antipater* now hoping without all controuerſie to ſucceed in the kingdome, was generally hated of the whole nation: for it was openly knowne that he by falſe calumniations had cauſed his brethrens deaths. And on the other ſide, hee ſtood in no little feare of his brothers children, whom he perceiued now to beginne to growe to yeeres; for *Alexander* had by *Glaphyra* two ſonnes, *Tigranes* and *Alexander*: and *Ariſtobulus* had by *Berenice*, daughter to *Salome*, fiue children, to wit, three ſonnes, *Herod*, *Agrippa* and *Ariſtobulus*, and two daughters, *Herodias* and *Mariamme*. *Herod*, after hee had put *Alexander* to death, ſent away *Glaphyra* with her dowry into Cappadocia, and married *Berenice Ariſtobulus* his wife vnto *Antipaters* vncle: for *Antipater* deuiſed this match to become friends with *Salome*, whom he before time hated and enuied. Hee alſo by his great gifts ſought to get *Pheroras* fauour, and the friendſhip of F ſuch as were friends vnto *Cæſar*, ſending to that end great ſummes of money vnto Rome. Hee gaue *Saturninus* and all the reſt great riches in Syria. But the more he gaue, the more hee was hated of all men: for euery one iudged that he did not conſume ſuch wealth, for that he was liberall, but that he lauiſhed it out for feare, ſo that he got not the loue of them, vpon whom he beſtowed it; and they to whom he gaue nothing, were ſo much the more his enimies. Yet he becam euery day more bountifull, ſeeing, againſt his expectation, *Herod* made much of their children, whoſe parents he had ſlaine; intending to ſhew how much he repented their deaths, by the pitie and

Ant. l. 17. c. 11.

Antipater ſtriueth by gifts and bribes to creep into mens fauours.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs Nativity, 3.

and compassion he took vpon their children. For assembling togeather his friends, he caused the children to be placed by him, and the tears standing in his eyes, he said: Hard, cruell, and sinister fortune took away from me the fathers of these children: but I pitie to see them orphans, and naturall affection commendeth them vnto me. Wherfore I will endeuour, that seeing I haue bin an infortunate father, I may be a wiser & happier grandfather, and leaue them who are most dear vnto me, to raigne after me. Wherfore brother *Pheroras*, I betroth thy daughter vnto *Alexanders* eldest son, that for that cause thou maist be carefull to prouide for him, and assist him: and vnto thy sonne *Antipater* I assure the daughter of *Aristobulus*, that so thou maist be a father to her who wants a father; and my son *Herod*, whose mothers vncle was high priest, shall marry with her sister. And this is my will and pleasure touching this matter, and let no man who loueth me seek to alter this. And I beseech Almighty God, for the good of my country, and of these my nephews, to prosper these mariages, and to look vpon these children with a more fauourable eie then hee did their fathers. Hauing thus spoken, hee wept, and ioyned the childrens hands, and curteously saluting euery one, he dismissed the Councell. C H

Herod grieuously bemoned his sons, expressing the same by his commiseratiō toward the children.

Herod betrotheth his nephewes.

Vpon this, *Antipater* was amazed, and all the Orphans well perceiued how sorrowfull he was: For now he thought himselfe dishonored by his father, and that his good fortune was endangered, seeing that *Alexanders* son was like to haue both *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the Tetrarch to assist him. Moreouer, he considered how he was hated, and how the people did compassionate the children, for that they were fatherlesse; and affected them, remembring their fathers who were dead, and were terrified at his wickednes. Wherefore he attempted all meanes possible to break off the mariages, yet he feared to insinuate any thing to his father cunningly, who was now very I seuere, and wary, and mistrustful. And therefore went openly vnto him to make his humble sute, and request him, that he would not leaue him without honour, nor depriue him of that dignity, which before time he had iudged him worthy of, giuing him onely the bare title of a king, and leauing the substance of the kingdome in other mens powers. For it would bee impossible for him to obtaine the kingdome, if *Alexanders* sonne (beside *Archelaus* his fauour) were by marriage made sonne in law vnto *Pheroras*. Wherefore he earnestly besought him, that seeing he had a great many daughters, to change the marriages: for the king had nine wiues, and by seauen of them he had children: *Antipater* by *Doris*, *Herod* by *Mariamme*, daughter of the high priest, and *Antipas* and *Archelaus* by *Malthace*, the Samaritane, and his daughter *Olympias*, whom his brother *Ioseph* maried: and by *Cleopatra* of Ierusalem, *Herod* and *Philip*; and by *Pallas*, *Phasaelus*: K he had two other daughters also, *Roxane* and *Salome*; one of them by *Phædra*, and the other by *Elpis*. He had likewise two wiues, by whom he had no issue, his cousin, and his neece: and beside these, he had two daughters by *Mariamme*, sisters to *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*. Wherefore *Antipater* seeing his father had such choice of daughters, he requested the mariages to be altered.

Herods children by his seuen wiues.

The king, well perceiuing his minde and purpose towards the Orphans, was very angry: and calling to remembrance the misfortune of his sons, whom he had put to death, he greatly feared, lest *Antipater* by some false accusations should ouerthrowe them, and so with sharpe words did driue him off for that time; yet afterward he so flattered *Herod*, that he got the mariages to be altered. And first of all he ioined *Aristobulus* daughter with *Antipater* himselfe, and his son to *Pheroras* daughter. Heere one may see what *Antipater* could do by flattering speeches: for *Salome* in the like matter could not speed, although shee was his sister, and procured manie times *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife, to speake for her, that she might marry with *Syllæus* the Arabian: yet was uot she permitted so to do. But *Herod* sware that he would account her as an vtter enemy, except she would desist from that purpose, and afterward against her will he married her vnto one *Alexas*, a friend of his: and one of her daughters to *Alexanders* sonne, and the other to *Antipaters* vncle. L

Herod is perswaded by Antipaters flatteries to break off the mariages.

As for *Mariammes* daughters, one of them was married to *Antipater*, his sisters sonne, the other vnto *Phasaelus*, his brothers sonne. When *Antipater* had quite ouerthrowne the hope of the Orphans, and ioined affinity as he thought good, he now held himselfe on a sure ground: and adding confidence to his malice, hee became intolerable to all men. And seeing hee could not M auoid their hatred, he now sought by feare to work his owne safety; and so much the more, because *Pheroras* now assisted him, as one that was confirmed and established for king. Also the women in the court fel at variance, and raised a new broil: for *Pheroras* wife, with her mother & her sister, and the mother of *Antipater* did vse themselues very insolently in many things, abusing also two of the kings daughters very contumeliously: to which matter she was chiefly set on by *Antipater*, who hated them, hauing the others at his command, onely *Salome* hindered their agree-

Ant. l. 17. c. 3. Antipater buildeth vpon the kingdom.

A debate betwixt the Ladies in the court.

A agreement: who went vnto the king, and told him that their meetings were not for his profit. *The yeare of the world. 3961. before Christs birth. 3.*

The women vnderstanding how she had informed the king, & that *Herod* was offended thereat, they came no more together openly, and abstained from their wonted familiarity, and in the kings hearing fained themselues to fal out one with another. *Antipater* also made the same shew, so that he stuck not openly to offend *Pheroras*: notwithstanding, they had meetings & banquets in the night, and the vnity was the more confirmed because they perceiued themselues to be noted: for *Salome* knew all this, and tould it to the king. The king was very angry, and especially against *Pheroras* wife, whom chiefly *Salome* blamed: and hauing called together his kinred and friends, he laid many accusations against her before them; and told them how contumeliously she had behaued herselfe toward his daughter, and that she hired the Pharisees against him, and Ant. lib. 17. cap. 4.

B that by her poison she had made his brother his enemy. And turning himselfe vnto *Pheroras*, he asked him whether he had rather haue him for his brother, or haue his wife. And he answering, that he had rather dy then lose his wife: *Herod* doubtfull what to do, turned him to *Antipater*, and commanded him neuer to talke with *Pheroras*, nor his wife, nor any one belonging to them after that time. But he obeied his fathers cõmand openly in shew, but secretly lay in their house: and fearing that *Salome* should perceiue it, hee by his friends in Italy caused himselfe to make a voiage to Rome, by letters brought to *Herod*, wherein it was commanded, that shortly after the receit thereof, *Antipater* should be sent to Rome vnto *Cæsar*. Wherfore *Herod* vsing no delay, sent him presently, furnishing him with all things necessary, and a great sum of money: giuing him likewise his last Will and Testament to cary with him to *Cæsar*; wherein was written, that *Anti-*

C *pater* should be king, and after him, *Herod*, the son of *Mariamme*, daughter of the high Priest. But *Syllæus* the Arabian, neglecting *Cæsars* commandement, at the same time sailed to Rome, there to contend with *Antipater* about matters which were before in controuersie between him and *Nicholaus*. He had also a great contention with *Aretas* his king, whose friends he had slaine, and also *Soemus*, the most potent in all the towne of Petra: and seeing *Fabatus*, *Cæsars* Procurator, he vsed his fauour also against *Herod*. But *Herod* giuing *Fabatus* a greater summe of money, alienated him from *Syllæus*, and by this meanes dispatched that which *Cæsar* commanded: and because *Fabatus* restored nothing to him, he accused him that hee was Procurator, not for *Cæsar*, but for *Herod*: wherewith *Fabatus* was moued; and being as yet in great estimation with *Herod*, hee did Fabatus, Cæsars gouernor, discouereth Syllæus secrets.

D disclose *Syllæus* his secrets, and signified to the king, how that *Syllæus* corrupted *Corinthus*, one of his guard, whom he willed to be taken and kept in hold. And the king followed his counsell: for this *Corinthus*, though he was alwaies brought vp in the kings court, yet was he borne in Arabia. Wherefore he presently tooke him, and two other Arabians that were found with him; one of them was *Syllæus* friend; and the other, *Phylarchus*: who vpon their examination, confessed that *Corinthus* for a great summe of money was hired to kill the king. After this, they were sent to *Saturninus*, gouernour of Syria, and from him to Rome.

CHAP. XIX.

How Herod *should haue been poysoned, and how it was knowne.*

E

HErod still vrged *Pheroras* to forsake his wife: for hee knew not how to punish her, hauing many matters against her: at last he was so moued that he banisht his brother & her. *Pheroras* taking this iniury patiently, departed into his Tetrarchy, taking an oath that his banishment should endure so long as *Herod* liued, and that whilst he liued, he would neuer come any more to him; Insomuch as he would not come at his brother to visit him when he was sick, notwithstanding he was often sent for, when (as he thought) he lay now on his death-bed, & would gladly impart somthing vnto him: but contrary to all hope he recouerd, & afterward *Pheroras* fell sick. At which time *Herod* shewed his patient and humble minde: for he went vnto him, and very kindly sought help for him; but he was too far spent, for a few daies af-

F ter he died: and although *Herod* loued him vntill his dying day, yet was it bruted abroad that he poisoned him. *Herod* caused his body to be brought vnto Ierusalem, and commanded all his nation to mourne, and buried him with a sumptuous funerall. And thus one of the murtherers of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* came to his end: but shortly after, the reuenge of that wicked fact did fall vpon *Antipater*, who was the chiefe author thereof: it did but begin with *Pheroras*. For certaine that belonged to *Pheroras* came in mournefull wise vnto *Herod*, and complained vnto him, how that his brother *Pheroras* was poisoned, and that one of his wiues gaue him meat that

Herod banisheth his brother Pheroras and his wife.

Pheroras died & was buried in Ierusalem. Ant. l. 17. c. 5.

was

was not seasoned after the accustomed manner: which when he had eaten, he presently fell sick. G
The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs birth 3. And that two daies before his death, there came a Witch out of Arabia, who was sent for by his mother and his sister, to giue *Pheroras* a loue potion, and she in steed thereof, through *Syllæus* inducements, gaue him poison, for she was of *Syllæus* acquaintance.

A Witch of Arabia.

The king, daunted with so many suspicions, caused diuers of *Pheroras* maids and libertines to be put to torments, and one of them impatient herein, exclaimed in this wise: O thou God, ruler of heauen and earth, reuenge vs vpon *Antipaters* mother, who is the cause of these our euils! When the king vnderstood thus much, hee ceased not to search out the truth: and then the women disclosed *Antipaters* mothers familiaritie with *Pheroras* and his women, & their secret meetings: and that *Pheroras* and *Antipater*, after they came from the king, vsed to drink with them all night long, not suffering any seruant or maid to bee in the roome with them; and one of the H
Libertines wiues reuealed this. And when euery one of the maids were tortured apart, all their examinations agreed; so that now it was euident wherefore *Antipater* had compacted to goe to Rome, and *Pheroras* beyond the riuer Iordan. For they were often wont to say, that *Herod* hauing killed *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, now hee would come to them and their wiues: and that it was vnlike that he would spare any one, who spared not *Mariamme* and her sonnes: and therefore it was best to flee as far as it was possible from such a beast. And that *Antipater* was wont often to complaine vnto his mother, that now he grew gray-haired, and his father wexed young and lusty; and that it might so chance, that he should neuer liue to be king; or if euer his father died, he should enioy the pleasure of the kingdome but a short time. And moreouer, the heads of *Hydra*, that is to say, *Alexanders* and *Aristobulus* sons, began to spring vp againe: and that his father I
had iniuriously cut off all hope from his sons, appointing none of them to succeed him, but the son of *Mariamme*: wherein he was perswaded that he doted, if so be hee thought his will should be of force; for he would take such an order, that he would leaue none of all his progeny aliue, and that *Herod* was the greatest hater of his sons of any father in the world: and was not therewithall contented, but he also hated his owne brethren. Furthermore, that he not long ago gaue him an hundreth talents that hee should haue no conference with *Pheroras*: and when *Pheroras* asked wherein they hurt him, *Antipater* answered, I would to God that hee would take away all men else, and leaue onely vs two naked, so that he would grant vs life: but, quoth he, it is impossible to escape this dangerous beast, who will not suffer men openly to shew friendship to one another. Lastly, though we now secretly meet, yet if wee beare the hearts and hands of men, the K
time will be when we may talk & meet openly. The maids in torments disclosed these speeches, and that *Pheroras* was determined to flee with them into Petra. *Herod* beleeued all their sayings, and the rather for that which was said concerning the hundreth talents. For he said nothing of them to any one but to *Antipater*.

Doris, Antipaters mother, is spoiled of her iewels, and thrust out of the palace.

And first of all hee bent his furie against *Doris*, *Antipaters* mother: and taking from her all the ornaments which he had bestowed vpon her, and bought with many talents, he banisht her. When his wrath was somewhat appeased, he released *Pheroras* maids from torments: and now he became timorous & feareful, and prone to any suspicion, torturing many that were innocent, for feare he should let any escape that were guilty. Hereupon hee set vpon *Antipater* the Samaritane, who was Procurator for his sonne *Antipater*; who through torments confessed that his L
sonne *Antipater* had procured poison out of Egypt to kill him, by the meanes of a friend of *Antiphilus*; which poison *Theudion*, *Antipaters* vncle, took of him, and deliuered to *Pheroras*: whom *Antipater* charged to dispatch *Herod* whil'st he was at Rome, far from suspicion, and that *Pheroras* gaue his wife the poison to keep. Wherefore the king calling for her, commanded her to bring forth that which was deliuered vnto her. And she, making as though she would haue gone forth to fetch it, cast her selfe downe from a house toppe, thereby to preuent the torments, which, if she were conuicted, they would inflict vpon her. But by the prouidence of GOD (as it should seeme) it came so to passe that she fell not on her head, but on her side, and so escaped death, to the end that God might inflict punishment vpon *Antipater*. And beeing brought vnto the king, so soone as she began to come to herselfe (for she was amazed with the fall) the king demanded M
of her, wherefore shee had done so, and sware vnto her, that if she would truely disclose all, he would pardon her for all; but if she tould an vntruth, her bodie should bee torne in peeces with torments, and not be buried. Shee awhile held her peace, and at last said: Wherefore should I keepe any thing secret, seeing *Pheroras* is dead, to saue *Antipater*, who hath caused all our ouerthrowes? Heare O king, & God be witnes of the truth hereof, who cannot be deceiued. When I sate weeping by *Pheroras*, as he lay a dying, he cald me vnto him and said; See wife, how much

Pheroras wife freely confesseth what was become of the poyson.

A I am deceiued concerning my brothers loue towards me, for I hated & ſought to kill him, who thus loueth me, and ſorroweth ſo much for me, though I am not yet dead: but truely I am iuſtly rewarded for my iniquity. And now (wife) bring me hither the poyſon which was left by *Antipater* in thy keeping for my brother, & make it away before my face, that I carry not with mee to hell a guilty conſcience for that crime. So I brought it as he willed mee, and the moſt part of the poiſon I caſt into the fire, where it was conſumed, & kept a little therof to my ſelfe, for feare of miſchances, and of thee. And hauing thus ſaid, ſhe brought forth a box which had in it a very little of the poiſon. And then the king tortured the brother and mother of *Antiphilus*, & they alſo confeſſed that *Antiphilus* brought a box out of Aegypt, & that he receiued poiſon from his brother, who practiced phyſicke at Alexandria. The ghoſts alſo of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* B went all about the whole kingdome, and became as it were ſpies, to giue notice of ſuch things as were vncertaine; who alſo cauſed thoſe that dwelt in the vttermoſt parts of the kingdome, to come & giue euidence of ſuch things as were ſuſpected. At laſt is was proued that *Mariamme* the daughter of the high Prieſt was acquainted with theſe conſpiracies, for her brethren being tortured did confeſſe it. Wherfore the king reuenged the mothers fault vpon her childe: for hauing writ in his will, that *Herod* her ſon ſhould ſucceed *Antipater* in the kingdom, now for her fault hee blotted that out.

The yeare of the world, 3962. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Gods iuſtice leaueth nothing vnpuniſhed.

CHAP. XX.

How Antipaters *malicious practices againſt* Herod *were knowen and reuenged.*

C

AFter all this, *Bathyllus* ioyned himſelfe with *Antipater*, as it were to adde the laſt hand vnto all his practices. This *Bathyllus* was one of his libertines, who brought another ſort of poyſon, to wit, of Aſpes, and the poyſon alſo of other ſerpents; that if the firſt prooued too weake and took not effect, that then *Pheroras* and his wife ſhould make an end of the King with theſe. And beſide theſe ſhamefull practices of his againſt his father; hee alſo had letters which hee had counterfaited againſt his brethren. For *Archelaus* and *Philip*, two of the kings ſonnes were at that time at Rome to ſtudie, who were very toward young men: and for that *Antipater* feared they might be ſome hinderance to him, in that which he expected, hee haſted by all means poſſible to make them away. And the better to effect his purpoſe, he counterfaited D letters in his friends names that were at Rome, and he for money got others to write, that theſe two young men vſed in taunting wiſe to raile againſt their father, and openly to complaine of the death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*: and that they took it in bad part that they were ſent for home (for their father ſent word that they ſhold come away) & thereat *Antipater* was moſt troubled. For he before his departure from Iudæa to Rome procured ſuch like letters to be forged againſt them at Rome; and ſo deliuering them to his father, that hee might auoid all ſuſpicion, ſeemed to excuſe his brethren, affirming ſome things that were written to be lies; other things to be offences, whereunto young men were prone. At which time he gaue great ſummes of money to them in whoſe names he had counterfeited the letters againſt his brethren: hereby as it E were hyring them to be ſecret. He gaue them alſo rich apparell, and Tapiſtrie of curious work: alſo ſiluer and golden cups, with many things more, to the end that by the precious gifts and rewards which he beſtowed, he might haue all things kept cloſe; ſo that at his returne hee made his father account that he had ſpent two hundred talents, the greateſt portion whereof was conſumed in following the law againſt *Syllæus*. *Antipaters* ſmall faults were all hid by a greater: for al they that had bin tortured gaue euidence againſt him, how that he practiſed his fathers death, and the letters witneſſed how againe hee went about to make away other two of his brethren: and yet for all this, none of thoſe who came out of Iudæa to Rome, bare him ſo much good will as to giue him intelligence what troubles were in the court at home, although it was ſeuen moneths after hee was conuicted, before hee came to Iudæa from Rome. Peraduenture they F who were minded to tell him all, were forced to hold their peace by the ghoſts of them who were put to death. At laſt he ſent letters from Rome to his father, that now hee would ſhortly returne home, and that *Cæſar* had diſmiſſed him very honorably. The King deſired greatly that the Traitor were in his power; and fearing that if he had an inkling of any matter, that he would looke to himſelfe, fained great kindneſſe towards him, and ſent backe againe vnto him very louing and familiar letters, willing him to haſten his returne: for if he made haſte, it might be hee ſhould obtaine pardon for his mothers offence: for *Antipater* vnderſtood that ſhe was baniſhed.

Antipaters treaſons againſt Archelaus & Philip his brothers.

Antipater giueth a great ſumme of money to thoſe that counterfait letters againſt his brothers.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 8. Antipater is ſolicited by Herod with many kind wordes to haſten his returne.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before the Nativitie of Christ, 3.

About this time he receiued a letter at Tarentum, wherby he vnderstood the death of *Pherorás*; and greatly lamented it, which diuers thought well of. Yet as farre as one may coniecture, the cause of his griefe was, that his treason went not forward as hee wished; and hee did lament *Pherorás* so much, as though hee had lost one to effect his treacherie. Moreouer, hee feared least that which had passed should come to light, and least the poyson should be found: yet when he came to Cilicia, & there receiued his fathers letters, which before we mentioned, he then made great haste homeward: yet when he came to Celenderis, he began earnestly to thinke vpon his mothers mishap, his minde as it were presaging some sinister fortune. And the wiser sort of his friends about him counselled him not to goe to his father, till such time as he were certaine for what cause his mother was banished and diuorced. For it was to be feared, that he should be accused also of the same that was laide to his mothers charge: But the vnwiser sort beeing more desirous to see their countrey, then to bethink them selues what was expedient for *Antipater*, admonished him to make haste, least that his long delay should breed any suspicion in his father, and least thereby he should giue occasion vnto malignant people ro raise vp slanders. For (sayde they) if any thing hath passed against you, it was in your absence, & were you in presence no man durst do nor speake against you; and it were a very vnwise part, for vecertaine suspicions to depriue him selfe of certaine felicity, and not to returne speedily vnto his father, and receiue the kingdome at his hands, who had him in whom onely his hope was. This counsell (for fortune wold haue it so) *Antipater* followed, & so arriued in the hauen of Cæsarea passing Sebaste, where contrarie to his expectation, he fell into great sorrow and admiration: for all men eschewed his companie, and no man durst come neer him. For although that hee was alwaies hated of them, yet then they had libertie to shew their hatred. Many abstained from comming to him for feare of the king: and now the rumour of those things which *Antipater* had done was knowne in euery Citie, and to euery man, only *Antipater* himselfe was ignorant thereof. For there was neuer any man brought thither with more maiestie then he, when he was to saile to Rome, nor neuer any man more basely entertained at his returne. And now vnderstanding of the massacre at home, he craftily made himselfe ignorant thereof; and notwithstanding that he was almost dead for feare, yet in his countenance hee counterfaited confidence. For hee could not now possibly make any escape, nor rid himselfe out of those present dangers: and yet hee heard no certaine newes of matters at home, nor there: for the king by an edict had forbidden all men to giue him notice thereof: So that many times he comforted himselfe thus, that either all matters concerning him were yet secret, or if any thing was come to light, that he by policie and impudencie could aquit himselfe thereof; for these two were his refuge and hope. Being thus determined, hee went into the the kings palace alone without any of his friends and followers; which at the verie first gate were most contumeliously repulsed. And by chaunce *Varus* the ruler of Syria was there within: then he boldely going in to his father, came neere vnto him, as though hee would haue saluted him. But *Herod* stretching forth his hand and shaking his head, cried out, O thou that hast attempted to murther thy father, darest thou yet presume to offer to embrace me, who art guilty of so many treacheries! God confound thee, wicked wretch, and come not neer me till thou hast cleared thy selfe of all that which is laid against thee: for thou shalt haue iustice, and *Varus* shall be thy iudge, who is by good fortune now here. Go and premeditate how to acquite thee against to morrow, for I will giue thy subtill and crafty braine some time to do it.

Antipater hated in Cæsarea.

Antipaters entertainment at his fathrs hands.

Hereat *Antipater* was astonished with feare, that hee was not able to reply any thing, but so went his way. Presently his mother and his wife came vnto him, and told him all the proofes of treasons against him. Then he calling his wits together, bethought himselfe how to answer euery point. The next day the king caused an assembly of his friends and kinsfolks, and to them admitted *Antipaters* friends: and he and *Varus* sitting in iudgement, commanded all proofes to be brought, and witnesses to appeare: amongst whome were certaine of *Antipaters* mothers seruants, lately apprehended, who had letters from her to carry vnto him, to this effect. Forasmuch as all those things are now knowen vnto thy father, beware that thou return not vnto him before thou hast obtained some warrant of thy safety from *Cæsar*. These and others being brought in, *Antipater* also came in with them, and prostrating himselfe before his fathers feet, hee said: I beeseech thee, O father, beare no preiudicate opinion against me, & lend me an open eare whilst I purge my selfe: for if you please to giue me leaue, I will proue my self guiltlesse. But *Herod* with a vehement voice commanding him to hold his tongue, spake thus vnto *Varus*. I know *Varus*, that both thou, or anie other iust and indifferent Iudge, will adiudge *Antipater* to haue deserued death: and I feare me least you also should disdaine me for my bad fortune, and think me worthy

Antipater is iudged before Varus.

Herods accusation against Antipater.

of

A of all calamities, who haue begotten ſuch ſonnes as you ſee. And yet this ſhould mooue thee ſo much the more to pitie mee, who haue been ſo mercifull and carefull for ſuch wicked caitifes. For I had alreadie appointed thoſe young men that are dead to be kings, and brought them vp at Rome, & gotten them *Cæſars* fauour: but they whom I had ſo much honored, & exalted vnto the crowne, became traitours againſt mine owne life, whoſe death was much available to *Antipater*. For his ſecuritie I ſought their in, becauſe he was a young man, and the next that ſhould ſucceede me: but this cruell beaſt being more then full gorged with my ſufferance & patience, hath emptied his ſtomach euen vpon my ſelfe, and thinketh my life too long, & is grieued that I liue to be old, & hath attẽpted to make himſelf king, not any other way but by murthering his father. And for what cauſe did this come to paſſe? for that I recalled him out of the field, where he was con-
B temptible; and caſting them off whom I had begotten of a Queene, appointed this to bee heire of my kingdom. I confeſſe vnto thee, *Varus*, my errour: for I incited them againſt mee, becauſe that for *Antipaters* ſake I depriued them of their right. For wherein had I ſo well deſerued of them, as at this mans hands? vnto whom, being yet aliue, I committed the ſway and rule of my kingdom, and openly in my will and teſtament declared him to be my heir and ſucceſſor: whoſe charges I with mine owne money haue ſtill ſupported, notwithſtanding that I had beſtowed vpon him the yearely reuenues of fifty talents. And lately when he was to ſail to Rome, I gaue him three hundred talents, and commended him vnto *Cæſar*, as the onely man of all my houſe, who had preſerued his fathers life. And what was their offence, if it bee compared with *Antipaters*? and what proofe was there of that, for which they ſuffered? none but that which this fellow trecherouſly inuented. Nay, I may boldly ſay ſo of him, who hath attempted to murther his father,
C and now doth hope to colour all againe with craft & deceit. Beware *Varus*, that hee deceiue not thee: for I know this beaſt, and I euen now ſee by his fained teares, how probable a tale hee will tell. This fellow once warned me, that whileſt *Alexander* liued I ſhould beware of him, and not put euerie one in truſt with my perſon. This is he who was wont to go before mee into my bedchamber, and looke about in euerie corner, leaſt ſome ſhould haue lien in waite to haue effected any treaſon againſt me. This is he who watched me in my ſleepe, and through whom I thought my ſelfe ſecure: who cõforted me when I mourned for them that were put to death. This is hee who cenſured the good wil of his brethren when they were aliue. This was my defender & chãpion. O *Varus*, when I remember his crafts and ſubtilties, and all his counterfeitings; I ſcarcely thinke my ſelfe aliue, admiring how I eſcaped the hand of ſuch a traitor: and ſeeing that For-
D tune ſtirreth vp thoſe of mine owne houſe againſt me, and that thoſe whom I moſt eſteeme of, are my greateſt enemies, I will bewaile mine owne fortune, and alone lament mine owne deſolation; and not one that hath thirſted after my blood ſhall eſcape, although proofe bee brought againſt euerie one of my children. And thus his heart being ſurcharged with ſorrow, hee was forced to kreake off his ſpeech: and preſently he commaunded *Nicholaus*, one of his friends, to ſhew all the proofes and euidences.

All this while *Antipater* lay proſtrate at his fathers feete, and lifting vp his head, hee cried aloud: Thou thy ſelfe, O father, ſufficiently purgeſt me. For how ſhould I be one who ſought to murther thee, when thy ſelf doſt confeſſe, that I alwayes haue preſerued thee from all dangers?
E Or if, as thou ſaiſt, I did it fainedly, was it probable that I wold be ſo circumſpect in other affairs, and at other times, and now in ſo weightie a matter, play the part of a fooliſh and ſenſeleſſe man? Nay, I might well think, that although ſuch a thought might haue beene kept ſecret from men, yet it could not be hidden from God, who ſeeth all things. Was I ignorant what befell my brethren, whom God ſo puniſht for their wicked intents towards thee? Or what ſhould cauſe mee to enuie at thy life? The hope of the kingdome? Why? I had the kingdome. Or a ſuſpicion of thy hatred towards mee? I knew thou louedſt me. Or any feare which I had of thee? Nay: in obeying thee I was feared of others. Perhaps want might cauſe mee thereto. Much leſſe. For who might ſpend more then I? Truly, if I had been the wickedſt perſon in the world, or the cruelleſt beaſt vpon the earth, yet ſhould I haue relented, being ouercome by the benefites of ſo lo-
F uing a father; ſeeing, as thy ſelfe haſt ſaid, thou didſt recall and prefer me before ſo many ſonnes. And thou yet aliue, didſt proclaime me king, and made me a ſpectacle to all men for to emulate, through the benefits thou beſtowedſt vpon me. O wretch that I am! O vnhappie time of my abſence out of my coũtry! what a head did I giue to enuy, & what opportunitie to malicious & deceitfull people? Yet, O father, it was for thy ſake, & about thy affaires that I went to Rome, that *Syllæus* might not triumph ouer thy old age. Rome can witneſſe my pietie, and *Cæſar* the Prince of the whole world, who often called me a louer of my father. Receiue here, O father, his letter,

The yeare of the world, 3691. before Chriſts natiuitie, 3.

Herods kindneſſe towards his children.

Herod loued Antipater aboue the reſt, and beſtowed many benefits on him.

Antipaters anſwer and excuſe.

Antipater calleth Rome & Cæſar to witneſſe.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs birth, 3.

farre truer then theſe fained calumniatiõs againſt me: let theſe plead my cauſe, let theſe ſhew my affectiõ towards thee: remẽber how vnwilling I was to ſaile to Rome, knowing I had here in thy countrey many ſecret enemies. Thou like an vnwiſe father haſt caſt me away: thou forcedſt me to giue enuie time to frame accuſations againſt mee: but now I will come to the proofs of theſe matters. Behould here I am, who notwithſtanding a murtherer of my father, yet did I neuer ſuffer any misfortune by ſea nor land: Is not this, O father, a ſufficient argument of my innocencie? For I know father, that before God and thee I am condemned: & being condemned, I beſeech thee, giue not credit to reports extracted by torments: let me be burned, inflict all tormẽts vpon me, ſpare not my wicked bodie. For if I be a murtherer of my father, I muſt not die without torments: crying out aloud after this manner, and weeping, he moued all that were preſent, and *Varus* alſo to compaſſion; but *Herod* onely abſtained from teares, for his anger gaue attention to the truth. And preſently *Nicholaus* at the kings commaundement making a long ſpeech of *Antipaters* craft and ſubtiltie, tooke away all hope of mercie, and began a verie bitter accuſation, aſcribing all miſchiefe which had befallen that kingdome vnto him, and eſpecially the death of the two brethren, who through his calumniations were made away: affirming alſo that hee vſed treacherous practices againſt thoſe who were yet aliue, fearing leaſt they ſhould ſeek to ſucceed in the kingdome: for he who had prepared poyſon for his father, would much leſſe ſpare his brethren. And then comming to the proofe of his pretence to poyſon his father, hee declared in order all euidence thereof, aggrauating his offence by *Pheroras*; as though *Antipater* alſo were the cauſe why hee purpoſed to murther his brother; and how he had corrupted the kings deereſt friends; and ſo filled the whole court with wickednes. And when he had accuſed him of many other things, and brought proofe thereof, he ended his ſpeech.

Nicholaus by the kings commaund beginneth a moſt hainous and bitter accuſation againſt Antipater.

Nicholaus peroration.

Then *Varus* when hee had commaunded *Antipater* to make anſwer vnto thoſe things, and that he ſaid nothing more, then God is a witnes of my innocencie, hee called for the poyſon and gaue it to one that was condemned to die, who hauing drunke thereof preſently died. Then *Varus* talked ſecretly with *Herod*, and what was done there in that councel he wrote vnto *Cæſar*. Yet notwithſtanding when *Herod* had ſent *Antipater* to priſon, he ſent meſſengers vnto *Cæſar*, to ſhew him his hard fortune and calamitie. After this it was prooued that *Antipater* wrought treaſon againſt *Salome*. For one of *Antiphilus* ſeruants came from Rome, and brought letters in the name of *Acmes*, who was one of *Iulia* her maides, which ſhe writ vnto the king, telling him that ſhe found a letter of *Salomes* amongſt *Iulias* letters; and ſo for good will ſhee had ſent it him: the letter which ſhe affirmed to be *Salomes*, contained many bitter inuectiues againſt *Herod*, and many accuſations. But theſe letters were written and fained by *Antipater*, who for money had perſwaded *Acmes* ſo to doe, as wee haue ſaid: for the letter which ſhee writ to *Antipater* euidently ſhewed it to bee ſo: for ſhee wrote as followeth. I haue written vnto thy father as you requeſted me, and ſent alſo other letters: and I aſſure my ſelfe he will not ſpare his ſiſter, if he doe but reade the letters: and you may do well, ſeeing I haue performed all your requeſts, that now you would be mindfull of your promiſe. This letter againſt *Salome* & others being found to be counterfaited, the king began to doubt that *Alexander* was made away by ſuch counterfaited letters: and he was verie angrie that he had almoſt put his ſiſter to death, through *Antipaters* deuice. Wherefore he no longer delaied to puniſh him for all, yet hee was hindred by a great ſickneſſe from accompliſhing his purpoſe. Hee alſo ſent letters vnto *Cæſar* concerning *Acme* the maid, and *Salomes* falſe accuſation, and changed his teſtament, and blotted out the name of *Antipater*, and in his roome wrote *Antipas*, leauing out *Archelaus* and *Philippus*, who were the elder brethren, becauſe *Antipater* had accuſed them. And hee bequeathed vnto *Cæſar* a thouſand talents, beſide many other rich gifts: and to his wife and children, and kindred, and libertines, about fiue hundreth, and gaue euerie one a great gift, either in ground or money, and honoured his ſiſter *Salome* with moſt rich gifts. And thus he corrected his will.

The venome tried vpon a condemned man.

An other proofe againſt Antipater.

Herod intendeth Antipaters puniſhment, & therfore blotteth his name out of his Teſtament.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the goulden Eagle, and of Antipaters *and* Herods *death.*

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 8.

HErods diſeaſe encreaſed, partly through age, & eſpecially for his griefe and ſorrow: for he was now threeſcore and ten yeares olde; and his mind was ſo troubled by the death of his children, that though he were in health, yet he tooke no pleaſure in any thing: and his ſicknes was ſo much the more grieuous vnto him, becauſe that *Antipater* was yet aliue; for he purpoſed to put him to death when he was recouered of his ſicknes. To encreaſe his calamitie

A ty, there aroſe a tumult amongſt the people. For there were in the City two ſophiſters, who made a ſhewe as though they were very skilfull in their country lawes, & for that were renowmed all ouer the countrey. One of them was named *Iudas* who was ſonne vnto *Sepphoræus* : the other was called *Matthias* ſonne vnto *Margalus*. Theſe two were followed by a great many yong men, ſo that when they expounded the law they had an aſſembly like a great army, all yong men. Theſe two hearing that the king partly by griefe, and partly by his diſeaſe was very like to die, ſpake vnto their acquaintance, ſaying, that it was now a fit time wherein God might be reuenged, & thoſe things which were made againſt their countrey lawes taken away: for it was a great offence to God to permit the Images or ſhapes, or likeneſs of any liuing thing to be in the temple. This they ſaid, becauſe the king had ſet a golden eagle vpon the chiefeſt porch of the temple, B which the Sophiſters now willed the yong men to take away, ſaying that it was meritorious, although danger might enſue thereon, yea euen to die for their countrey lawes. For they that died for ſuch a cauſe ſhold haue their ſoules immortall & enioy euerlaſting bliſſe: & that many vnwiſe men ignorant of that doctrine, ſo loued their liues, that they choſe rather to dy by ſickneſſe then to ſpend their liues in a vertuous quarrell. Whilſt they ſaid thus, there was a rumor ſpred that the king was now at the laſt caſt : whereat the young men beeing incouraged, about noon when many were walking in the temple, they let themſelues downe from the top of the temple with great ropes, and ſo with hatchets cut downe the Eagle : Whereof the Captaine of the ſouldiers being aduertiſed, accompanied with a great many ſoldiers, went ſpeedily to the temple, & took almoſt fortie of the young men, and caried them to the King. Who firſt of all asked them, if they C were ſo bold as to cut downe the golden Eagle: and they confeſſed they had don it: then he demanded by whoſe commaundment? they anſwered by the commandement of their countrey lawes. After this it was asked them why they who were preſently to die were ſo ioifull? they anſwered, for that after death they hoped to enioy many good things and eternall bliſſe. The king hereat greatly moued with anger, ouercame his diſeaſe and went forth and made a ſpeech to the people, wherein he inueighed againſt them as Church-robbers, and that vnder pretence and colour of their countrey lawes and religion they attempted great matters, and adiudged them as impious people worthy of death. The people fearing that he would torture many to learne who fauoured that act, requeſted him that firſt the authors of that crime, & then thoſe that were found guiltie therin ſhould receiue puniſhment: and that he wold remit the offence to al the people beſides. The king with much ado entreated, cauſed the yong men that let themſelues down in cords, D and the Sophiſters to be burned, and the reſt which were taken in that act to be beheaded. After this the kings ſickneſſe ſpred ouer his whole body, and he was afflicted with moſt grieuous pain; for he had a vehement ague, and an itch ouer all his body, which was intolerable, and a daily colicke, and his feete were ſwollen, as though he had the dropſie: his belly was ſwollen, and priuie members putrefied, ſo that wormes bred in the putrefied places. He was alſo ſhort-winded and he was grieuouſly tormented with difficultie of breath, & a conuulſion of the whole body: ſo that ſome ſaid that this was a puniſhment laid vpon him for the death of the two Sophiſters. *Herod* notwithſtanding he was afflicted with ſo many & grieuous ſickneſſes, yet was hee deſirous to liue, and ſought remedy wherby he hoped for health. At laſt he paſſed ouer Iordan, where he E vſed the warme waters of Calliroe which runne into the lake of Aſphaltites, & are ſo ſweet that men vſe to drinke of them. There the Phyſicians cauſed his body to bee bathed in hot oyle, and it was therewith ſo diſſolued that his ſight failed, and he was as though he were dead: whereat thoſe that were about him being troubled with their cries cauſed him to look vp, & now deſpairing of life he willed fiftie Drachmes to be diſtributed vnto euery ſouldier, and great ſummes of money to the captaines and his friends.

The yeare of the world, 3964. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Iudas and Matthias perſwade the people to pull downe the golden Eagle.

The yong men that puld downe the Eagle are broght before Herod, and are examined.

The yong mē with the ring-leaders condemned to dy.

The king troubled with many diſeaſes. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 9.

Herod ſeeketh remedy in his ſickneſs at the hot bathes.

As he returned, when he came to Iericho, hee was in very great likelihood to die of melancholy, and there he deuiſed a wicked fact: for he cauſed the chiefe men of euery towne and village in all Iudæa to be aſſembled together, and then he ſhut them vp in a place called the Hippodrome: and calling vnto him *Salome* his ſiſter, and *Alexas* her husband; I know quoth he, that the F Iewes will make feaſts for ioy of my death, yet if thou wilt do my command, I ſhall be mourned for, and I ſhall haue a princely funeral. Therfore ſo ſoon as I haue giuen vp the ghoſt, cauſe ſouldiours to compaſſe theſe men, whom I haue here in hold, and kill them all: for ſo all Iudæa and euery houſhold thereof ſhall againſt their will bewaile my death. As thus hee commanded this to be done, the Legates came which he had ſent to Rome, bringing him letters, wherin was ſhewed how *Acmes Iulia* her maid, was by *Cæſars* command put to death, and *Antipater* condemned to die: yet *Cæſar* writ that if his father had rather baniſh him, he would condeſcend therun-

Herod full of melancholy. The Embaſſadors ſignifie Acmes death, and bring letters that authorize Herod to puniſh Antipater.

The yeare of the world, 3962. after Christs birth, 1.

to also. *Herod* with this newes was something refreshed, yet presently with paine he was ouer- G
come: for he both was troubled with a vehement cough, & almost pined with fasting, so that he thought to hasten his owne death; and taking an apple in his hand, he called for a knife: for hee was accustomed to cut the meate which he did eate; and then looking about him, least any standing by might hinder him, he lifted vp his arme to strike himself. But *Achiabus* his cousin ran hastily vnto him, and stayed his hand: and presently there was made great lamentation throughout the kings palace, as though the king had been dead. *Antipater* hauing speedy newes hereof, was glad, and took courage, and promised the keepers a peece of money to let him go. But the chiefest of them did not onely deny to doe it, but also went presently to the king, and told him all what *Antipater* requested. *Herod* hearing this, lifted vp his voice with more strength then was meete for a sicke man, and commanded his guard to goe and kill *Antipater*, and bury him in the H
Castle called Hyrcanium. And then againe he altered his testament, and writ *Archelaus* his eldest sonne, who was brother to *Antipas*, for king, and appointed *Antipas* for Tetrarch. Fiue daies after the death of his sonne *Antipater*, *Herod* died: hauing reigned thirty and foure yeares after he slew *Antigonus*, and thirty seauen yeare after that the Romans had declared him king. And in all other things he was as fortunate as any man; for he being but a priuate person, got the crowne and kept it, and left it vnto his posteritie: but in his household affaires hee was most infortunate. *Salome*, before it was knowne that the king was dead, went forth with her husband, and released all those that were in hold, whom the king commanded to be slaine; saying, that the kings minde was now altered, and therefore he gaue them all licence to depart: and after their departure the I
kings death was published to the souldiers, who together with the other multitude were assembled in the Amphitheater at Iericho. Where *Ptolemaus* keeper of the Kings seale made a speech vnto them, and began to to say that *Herod* was now happy; and comforted the multitude, and so he read vnto them a letter which the King left, wherein he earnestly requested the souldiers to fauour and loue his successor. After the Epistle read, hee recited the Kings testament, wherein *Philip* was appointed heire of Trachon, and the places thereunto adioyning; *Antipas* designed Tetrarch, and *Archelaus* King. Him also he commanded to beare his ring vnto *Cæsar*, and withal notice and intelligence of the estate of the kingdom, whereof he had been gouernour, fast sealed in writing: for he appointed *Cæsar* to be ouerseer of all his ordinances, vnto whose pleasure hee left the performance of his testament. K

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 12.

Herods death signified to the souldiers.

Archelaus proclaimed king after his fathers decease.

Herods pompous funerall.

This was no sooner read, but presently the skies were filled with the voyces and cries of the people, who did congratulate *Archelaus*; and the souldiers and the people came in companies vnto him, promising their fauour and furtherance, and desired God alwaies to assist him. This done, euery one was busied about the Kings funerals: where *Archelaus* spared no cost, but buried the King with all royall pompe possible. The Beere whereon he was carried was adorned with gold & precious stones: vpō it lay a bed wrought with purple, whereupon was laid the dead corps of the King couerd also with purple, with a crowne on his head, and a diadem of pure gold, and a sceptel in his right hand. About the Beere were his sonnes and kinsfolke: and the guard, and bands of Thracians, Germans, and Gauls all went before in order, as though they had gone to L
warres. The rest of the souldiers in warlike order did follow their Captaines and leaders, and 500. seruants and libertines carried perfumes. And thus the corps was carried the space of two hundreth furlongs into the Castle named Herodion: where, as himselfe had appointed, it was interred. And this was the end of king *Herod*.

M

THE

A

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

B

The Contents of the Chapters of the 2. Booke.

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28 *How the citizens of Ieruſalem prepared themſelues to warre, and of* Simon Gioras *tyrannie.*

CHAP. I.

Of Herods *ſucceſſour* Archelaus, *and how he entred into the Temple, and the mutinie that aroſe for the reuenge of thoſe that vvere executed for taking downe the golden Eagle.*

F ARchelaus being appointed ſucceſſor in the kingdome of *Herod* late dead, neceſſitie conſtrained him to go to Rome, which iourney gaue occaſion of new broyles. For after that for ſeuen dayes ſpace hee had celebrated his fathers funerals, and largely feaſted the people (for this is a cuſtome amongſt the Iewes, which bringeth manie of them to pouertie; yet he that doth not ſo is reputed impious) hee went vnto the Temple attired in a white garment, where he was with great ioy receiued of the people; and he himſelfe ſitting in a tribunal ſeat & a throne of gold, did verie curteouſly admit the people to his preſence: and than-

The yeere of the world, 3964. after the birth of Chriſt, 2. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 11.

The lamentations & banquets Archelaus made.

The yeare of the world, 3964. before Christs birth, 2.

thanked them for their diligent care vſed in his fathers funerals, and for that they exhibited honour vnto him, as though he were alreadie King. Yet he ſaid that hee would not take vpon him the authoritie nor name of a king, till ſuch time as his ſucceſſion was approued by *Cæſar*, vvho by his fathers teſtament was Lord & maiſter of all: and for that cauſe he withſtood the ſouldiers at Iericho, when they would haue crowned him. But he promiſed, that if he were confirmed king by thoſe who were in authoritie, he would largely recompence both the ſouldiers and the people for their good will; & that he fully purpoſed to be better vnto them then his father was. The multitude hereat greatly reioyced, and made preſent triall of his minde and purpoſe; for ſome cried out, requeſting that the tribute might be no more exacted. Others deſired that the yearly paiments might ceaſe. Others requeſted to giue all priſoners libertie. *Archelaus* in fauour of the people granted all their requeſts: & then offering ſacrifices, he banquetted with his friends: when ſodainly after the noone time of the day a great multitude deſirous of alteration (the common lamentation for the kings death being ceaſed) began a priuate mourning, bewaling their miſchance whom *Herod* had put to death for pulling down the goulden Eagle frō off the porch of the Temple. This ſorrow was not ſecret, but the whole citie did reſound with laments for them, that were thought to haue loſt their liues for the temple and their countrie lawes. They alſo cried that reuenge was to be taken vpon them, whō *Herod* for that fact rewarded with money. And that firſt of all, he who by *Herod* was conſtituted high Prieſt, vvas to bee reiected, and another more holy & deuout to be put in his place. *Archelaus*, although hee was hereby moued to reuenge, yet becauſe he was preſently to take ſuch a iourney, abſtained frō it, fearing leſt that if he brought the multitude into hatred of him, they might hinder him. Wherfore he ſought rather by admoniſhing them, then by force to reclaime thoſe that were ſeditious, and ſent the Gouernour of the ſouldiers to requeſt them to bee pacified. But the authours of that ſedition ſo ſoone as he came to the temple, before he ſpake one word, threw ſtones at him: and in like manner they vſed others ſent after him to appeaſe them (for *Archelaus* diſpatcht many meſſengers vnto them) whom they ſpitefully intreated, making a ſhew that if they had beene more in number, they wold not haue beene appeaſed. Therfore when the feaſt of vnleauened bread drew nigh, which the Iewes call Eaſter, vvherein an infinite number of ſacrifices were appointed; an innumerable multitude of people came out of all villages thereabout for deuotion ſake to that ſolemnitie: and they who ſo lamented the death of the Sophiſters, remained in the Temple, ſeeking by all meanes to nouriſh their ſedition. Which *Archelaus* fearing, ſent a band of ſouldiers and a Tribune with them, to take the chiefe of the ſeditious, before ſuch time as they had drawne vnto them the multitude of the people: againſt whom the whole number being ſtirred vp, ſlew a great many of them with ſtones; and the Tribune himſelfe being ſore hurt, had much ado to eſcape. And when they had ſo done, they preſently went and offered ſacrifice, as though that no hurt had beene done. But *Archelaus* perſwaded himſelfe that the multitude would not bee appeaſed without ſlaughter: wherefore he ſent vnto them the whole armie, the footmen into the citie, and the horſemen into the field, who inuading the ſeditious people as they were ſacrificing ſlew of them almoſt three thouſand, and ſcattered the reſidue into the mountaines neere adioyning. There were alſo Criers who followed *Archelaus*, and proclaimed by vertue of his commaund that euerie one ſhould depart home to his houſe: ſo euerie one notwithſtanding the holineſſe of the day departed. But hee accompanied with his mother *Popla*, *Ptolemæus* and *Nicholaus* his friends, went vnto the ſea coaſt, leauing *Philip* for Gouernour of the kingdome, and ouer his houſhold: with them departed *Salome* and her children, and the kings brethren and kinred, vnder pretence to aſſiſt *Archelaus* to the crowne, but indeed it was to informe *Cæſar* of that which was done in the Temple againſt the law.

G H I K L

Archelaus promiſeth his ſubiects all fauour.

A ſedition about the pulling downe of the Eagle, and the agents thereof. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 12.

Archelaus bountie towards the ſeditious.

The feaſt of Eaſter ſolemnly kept and much ſacrifice offered.

Three thouſand of the Iewes ſlaine at the feaſt of Eaſter.

When they came to *Cæſarea*, they met vvith *Sabinus* Gouernour of Syria, vvho was comming toward Iudæa to take into his cuſtodie *Herods* treaſure: whom *Varus* forbad to go any further, being ſent for by *Archelaus*, and *Ptolemey* requeſting him thereunto. And ſo *Sabinus* for the loue of *Varus*, neither entred the Caſtles, nor ſhut vp *Herods* treaſure from *Archelaus*, but promiſed that he would let all alone till *Cæſar* vnderſtood thereof. But ſo ſoone as one of them that hindered him was gone to Antiochia, and the other, to wit *Archelaus*, to Rome; he ſtill remaining at *Cæſarea*, now haſted vnto Ieruſalem and tooke the kings palace: where calling for the chiefe of the guard, and the Purueyors, he exacted of them an account, and ſought to take into his cuſtodie the Caſtles and ſtrong holds. But the Captaines of the guariſon, mindfull of the charge which *Archelaus* gaue them, kept vnto themſelues the cuſtodie of all, affirming that they kept them more for *Cæſar* then *Archelaus*. At this time *Antipas* made a claime to the crowne

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Sabinus commeth into Iudæa to ſeiſe the fortreſſes, and keepe the treaſure. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 13.

Antipas elected king by Herods former teſtament ſtriueth with Archelaus for the kingdom.

A crowne alleaging that *Herods* firſt teſtament was of more force then the laſt, and that hee in the firſt was declared king; and both *Salome* and many more of his kinred, who ſayled with *Archelaus*, promiſed him their aide. He tooke with him his mother, and *Ptolemæus*, brother vnto *Nicholaus*, perſwading himſelfe that they for their truſtineſſe and loyaltie vnto *Herod*, would ſtand him in great ſteed: for this *Ptolemæus* was *Herods* deareſt friend. Hee had alſo great confidence in *Irenæus* his orator, becauſe he had an excellent grace in pleading, in ſo much as he refuſed the counſell of them who ſought to perſwade to yeeld vnto *Archelaus*, both for his age, and for the laſt teſtament of his father. Now he was well beloued of all his kinred at Rome, becauſe they hated *Archelaus*, and eſpecially thoſe that deſired to liue at libertie, and either to bee gouerned by the Romans, or elſe to haue *Antipas* for their king. And to further him the more, hee vſed *Sabinus* letters vnto *Cæſar*, wherin *Archelaus* was accuſed, and *Antipas* commended. Therefore *Salome*, and the reſt of their complices brought the accuſations vnto *Cæſar*. And after them *Archelaus* deliuered al that which he had done, in writing, & withal his fathers ring by *Ptolemæus*; & the reaſons of that which he had done he ſent incloſed vnto *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* pondering with himſelf what both parties alledged, and the greatneſſe of the kingdome, and large reuenues, & number of *Herods* children, reading alſo the letters of *Varus* and *Sabinus*, hee called the chiefe of the Romanes to counſell. Wherein *Caius* the ſonne of *Agrippa*, and his daughter *Iulia*, by his aſſignment, ſate in the firſt place (this *Caius* was *Cæſars* adopted ſonne) and ſo hee licenced the parties to pleade their rights. Then *Antipater Salomes* ſonne being the moſt eloquent of all *Archelaus* aduerſaries, offered himſelfe to be his accuſer, for that *Archelaus* ſeemed now in wordes to contend for the kingdome, which he had alreadie poſſeſt himſelfe of: and that hee did now trouble *Cæſars* eares with vaine cauillations, whom he would not wiſh to iudge of his lawfull ſucceſſion. For after *Herods* death, hee ſuborned ſome to put a diadem vpon his head: and then ſitting in a throne of gold in kingly manner, he partly changed, partly aduanced the orders of the ſouldiers, and granted vnto the people their requeſts, which could not be effected but by a king. Hee had alſo ſet at libertie many men, who for great crimes were impriſoned by his father: and hauing done all this, he came now vnto *Cæſar*, to craue the ſhadow of the kingdome, the ſubſtance and bodie whereof he alreadie occupied: ſo that herein hee left nothing vnto *Cæſar* but a bare title. Moreouer, hee alledged that *Archelaus* did but counterfait ſorrow for his fathers death, faining himſelfe to mourne in the day time, and in the night he would be drunke, and rioted. Finally, he ſaid, that the ſedition of the people came by hatred thereof. But the force & drift of his ſpeech was altogether bent to declare the multitude ſlaine about the Temple: for he ſaid, that they only came againſt that feſtiuall day to offer ſacrifice, & that they themſelues were ſacrificed, as they were offering their ſacrifices which they brought; and that there were ſuch heapes of deade bodies in the Temple, as neuer by any forraine warres were ſlaine the like. Therefore *Herod* foreſeeing his crueltie, neuer iudged him worthie of the kingdome, till ſuch time as his memory fayled him: and that now being more ſicke in mind then bodie, hee knew not whom he named his ſucceſſour in his laſt will; eſpecially for that he had nothing wherein he could blame him, whom in his former will he appointed his ſucceſſour, when hee was in health both of mind and body. Yet (quoth he) put caſe *Herod* in his extreamitie knew what he did, yet (ſaid he) *Archelaus* hath depriued himſelfe of all kingly dignitie, hauing committed many things againſt the lawes. For (ſaid he) what will he be after he hath receiued authoritie from *Cæſar*, who before he receiued any, hath murdered ſo many? *Antipater* hauing ſpoken much to this effect, and at euerie accuſation taking witneſſe of his kinred that ſtood by, ended his ſpeech.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Chriſts birth, 2.

Antipas accuſeth Archelaus by letters to Cæſar.

Cæſar calleth a councell of Roman nobility.

Antipaters vehement accuſatiō againſt Archelaus.

Antipater ſpareth no vehemencie in accuſing Archelaus.

The wil changed during Herods ſickneſs.

Antipater againſt Archelaus.

Nicholaus defendeth Archelaus.

Then *Nicholaus* ſtoode vp, and firſt of all he ſhewed that the ſlaughter of them in the Temple was neceſſarie. For they, for whoſe death *Archelaus* was now accuſed, were not only enemies of the kingdome, but alſo of *Cæſar*: and for other crimes obiected, hee ſhewed how that they were done euen by the counſell & perſwaſion of the aduerſaries. He alſo requeſted that the ſecond teſtament might be of force, for that therein *Herod* requeſted *Cæſar* to be a confirmer of his ſucceſſour. For he who had ſuch remēbrance, as to leaue the performance of his will to the diſcretion him who was Lord of all, did neither miſtake himſelf in appointing his heire, nor yet was depriued of his ſenſes, ſeeing hee knew by whom he ſhould be eſtabliſhed. When *Nicholaus* had ended his ſpeech, and declared all that he thought might make for *Archelaus*, *Archelaus* comming into the midſt of the Councell, proſtrated himſelfe at *Cæſars* feet: whom *Cæſar* curteouſly taking from the ground, ſhewed that he was worthie to ſucceed his father. Yet did he not pronounce a definitiue ſentēce: but the ſame day the Councell being diſmiſſed, he deliberated with himſelf, according to the euidence he knew, whether any of thoſe nominated in the two wils ſhould ſucceed

Archelaus humbleth himſelf at Cæſars feet.

Cæſars bountie and humanitie towards him.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Christs birth, 2.

ceed their father in the kingdome, or that the kingdom ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the whole familie: for he thought that they for number wanted ſuccour. G

CHAP. II.

Of the fight and maſſacre at Ieruſalem betweene the Ievves and the Sabinians.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 14. Sedition in Ieruſalem.

BEfore ſuch time as *Cæſar* determined any thing concerning this matter, *Malthace* the mother of *Archelaus* fell ſicke and died; and many letters came out of Syria, ſignifying that the Iewes had rebelled. Which *Varus* foreſeeing after the departure of *Archelaus* from thence, went vnto Ieruſalem to repreſſe and reſiſt the authours of that ſedition: and becauſe the multitude would not bee quiet, hee left one legion of the three which he brought out of Syria, in the Citie, and ſo hee returned vnto Antiochia. But *Sabinus* comming afterward to Ieruſalem, was the cauſe that the Iewes beganne a new broyle. For one while he forced the garriſons to render to him the Caſtles, another while hee rigorouſly made ſearch for the kings treaſure: and he was not onely aſſiſted by thoſe that *Varus* left there, but alſo hee had a great multitude of his owne ſeruants all armed to further his auarice. And in the feaſt of Pentecoſt (ſo called becauſe of the number of ſeuen weekes) the people aſſembled themſelues togither, not for religion ſake, but for anger and hatred: ſo that there was an infinite multitude of people which came out of Galilee and Idumæa, and Iericho, and the Countries beyond Iordan. Yet the Iewes which were inhabitants of the Citie ſurpaſſed the reſt both in number and courage: and they therefore parted themſelues into three bands, and made three camps: one vpon the North part of the Temple; the other on the South part, neere vnto the Caſtle called Hippodromus; the third on the Weſt part neere the palace, and ſo they beſieged the Romanes on euerie ſide. *Sabinus* greatly fearing them, both for their multitude, and for their courage, ſent many letters vnto *Varus*, earneſtly requeſting him with all ſpeed to bring ſuccour: for if hee did not, the whole legion would bee extinguiſhed. Hee himſelfe got him into the higheſt tower of the Caſtle Phaſaelus, which is ſo called by the name of *Herods* brother, whom the Parthians killed; and from thence he gaue a ſigne vnto the ſoldiers to iſſue out ſuddainely vpon their enemies: for himſelfe was in ſuch a feare that he durſt not come downe to the ſouldiers of whom he was gouernour. The ſouldiers obeying his commaund, iſſued into the Temple, and there fought a ſore battell with the Iewes: who hauing no bodie to aſſiſt them, being vnexperienced in warlike affaires, were ſoone conquered by them that were skilfull. At laſt, many Iewes got vpon the Porches, and caſt darts at them from the toppe thereof, ſo that they killed many: but the other could not reuenge themſelues of them, who fought againſt them from ſo high a place; neither could they ſuſtaine the force of them, who ioyned battaile with them; till at laſt they fired the porches, which for greatneſſe and curious worke were admirable. And ſo, many were either deſtroyed with the ſodaine fire, or elſe leaping downe amidſt their enemies, were by them ſlaine: others going backeward were caſt headlong from the wall: others deſpiaring of life killed themſelues with their owne ſwords: and they who priuily came came downe the walles, and aſſaulted the Romans, being aſtoniſhed with feare, were eaſily ouercome: till at laſt, all being eyther put to the ſworde, or caſt downe through feare, the treaſure dedicated to God, was left deſtitute of keepers; ſo that the Souldiers tooke away thereof about foure hundred talents, and that which they left *Sabinus* got.

Sabinus ſeizeth the kings treaſure, and laboureth to get poſſeſsion of his fortreſſes.

Three camps of the Iewes.

Sabinus getteth into the higheſt tower of the ſtrongeſt caſtle.

A skirmiſh betweene the Iewes and Romans.

The Romans fire the Porches.

H I K L

But this loſſe of men and money ſtirred vp many moe Iewes, and thoſe more warlike then the firſt, againſt the Romans; who beſieging the kings palace, threatned all their deſtructions, vnleſſe they would preſently depart from thence: promiſing *Sabinus* and the legion leaue to depart if he ſo liked. Part of the kings ſouldiers, who of their owne accord fled vnto them, did aſſiſt them. But the moſt warlike and valiant amongſt them were three thouſand of Sebaſte, whoſe rulers were *Rufus* and *Gratus*; one, leader of the foot-men, and the other of the horſe-men; both which, although they had had no ſouldiers with them, for their valour of bodie, and counſaile, might yet haue beene a great helpe vnto the Romanes in thoſe warres. The Iewes earneſtly continued the ſiege, and aſſaulted the caſtle walls, crying vpon *Sabinus* to depart, and not to hinder them now after ſo long time to haue their countries liberty. *Sabinus* though with all his hart he wiſhed himſelf away, yet durſt he not truſt them; but he ſuſpected that their courteſie was but a plott M

A a plot to entrappe him: and on the other ſide hoping that *Varus* would come and help him, ſtill indured the daunger of the ſiege. At the ſame time there were tumults in many places of Iudæa, and many through opportunitie of the time aſpired to the kingdome. For in Idumæa two thouſand old ſouldiers, who had borne armes vnder *Herod*, gathering togither and hauing armed themſelues, came and fought with the kings forces, vvhome *Achiabus* the kings couſen reſiſted in the ſtrongeſt villages, alwaies eſchewing to fight in the open field. At Sephoris alſo a towne of Galilee, *Iudas* the ſonne of *Ezechias* the captaine of the theeues, vvho before was taken by king *Herod*, and had waſted that countrey, gathered togither a great multitude, and brake into the kings armory, and armed all his company, and fought againſt them who affected the royall dignitie. Alſo beyond the riuer, *Simon* one of the kings ſeruants being faire and of a huge ſta-
B ture, put a crowne vpon his owne head, and gathering together a companie of theeues, vvent about with them vnto Iericho and burned the kings palace and many faire and ſumptuous houſes there, and ſo got great prey by burning the houſes: & he had ſurely fired al buildings of account, had not *Gratus* captain of the kings footmen made haſte to meet him with the bowemen of Trachon, and the moſt warlike men of Sebaſte, where many footmen were ſlaine. But *Simon* though he fled into a ſtreight valley, yet he ouertooke him, and cut him ouerthwart the neck, and ſo hee fell down. In like manner other of the kings palaces neere Iordan by Bethara were burned, by a multitude of others gathered together in bands frō beyond the riuer. At this time a ſhepheard named *Athrongæus* preſumed to vſurpe the crowne: he was thereunto induced by the courage he bare, and the diſdaine of death. With this reſolution he armed his foure brethren, and euerie
C one of them had a companie armed, and they were as his captaines and champions to make incurſions: and he like a King medled onely with great affaires, and then he put a crowne vpon his head; and thus he continued a long time waſting the country, & killing eſpecially the Romans, and alſo the king ſouldiers; ſo that none of the Iewes eſcaped if they were in hope to gain by them. They alſo preſumed to meete a company of the Romans at Ammauns, who caried corne and armour vnto the legion, where they killed with darts one *Arius* a Centurion, and fortie of the moſt valiant amongſt them: and the reſt, being in like daunger, through the helpe of *Gratus* with the ſouldiers of Sebaſte eſcaped. When they had done many things in this manner againſt the inhabitants & ſtrangers, at laſt three of them were taken: the eldeſt by *Archelaus*: & the two others who were eldeſt after him, fell into the hands of *Gratus* and *Ptolemæus*: and the fourth yeelded himſelfe vnto *Archelaus* vpon compoſition: and thus at laſt they came to their end.
D And all Iudæa by their example was filled with theeues.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Chriſts birth, 2.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 15.

Simon one of the kings ſeruants taketh the kingdome vpon him.

Athrongæus a ſhepheard vſurpeth the kingdome.

The end and iſſue of the warre.

CHAP. III.

Of Varus *his deedes concerning the Iewes that vvere crucified.*

WHen *Varus* had receiued the letters of *Sabinus*, and of the nobles with him, fearing the whole legion, hee haſted to ſuccour them: Wherefore hee came to Ptolemais with two other legions and foure cornets of horſemen, where hee willed the kings forces,
E and the nobles to meete him. Moreouer, as he paſſed by Berytum, they accompanied him with 15. hundreth armed men. *Aretas* alſo the King of Arabia, for the hatred hee bare to *Herod*, vvas come with a great number of horſemen and footmen. Aſſoone as the hoſt was aſſembled, *Varus* incontinently directed part of his armie into Galilee adioyning thereto, and appointed a friend of his the ſonne of *Caius* for their gouernor, who preſently put them all to flight againſt whom he was ſent; and hauing taken the caſtle of Sephoris he fired it, and made the inhabitants thereof bond-ſlaues. *Varus* with the reſt of the armie went into Samaria, and tooke it; yet hee did the City no harme, becauſe he found that amiddeſt all thoſe tumults they had been quiet. When he had pitched his tentes at a village called Aun, which was in the poſſeſſion of *Ptolemæus*, the Arabians ſacked it, for they hated them who loued *Herod*. Frō thence they went to Sappho another
F ſtrong borough, which they in like manner ſacked & deſtroyed, with all the fruits & reuenewes they found there. All was filled with the ſlaughter and fiers which the Arabians made, and there was no end nor hinderance of their auarice. Alſo *Varus* commaunded *Ammaus* to bee burned, being angrie for the death of *Arius*, and the reſt that were ſlaine there: and the inhabitants thereof were ſcattered, euery one by flight ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe. From thence hee went to Ieruſalem, and at the ſight of him the Iewes fled and ſcattered themſelues, ſome here ſome there, all about the country: they that remained in the Citie excuſed themſelues, that they were not con-

ſenting

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 16.

Varus aſſiſteth the Romanes againſt the Iewes.

Varus taketh diuers cities and caſtles of Iudæa.

Ammaus burnt.

Varus commeth to Ieruſalem with his army, & with his onely preſēce diſmaieth the Iewes.

The yeare of the world, 3966. after Christs birth 4.

ſenting to that tumult, but that for the celebration of the feaſts ſake, they permitted them to com G
into the citie, affirming that they had rather beene beſieged together with the Romans then to
haue conſpired with thoſe of the ſedition: and ſo they laid the cauſe of that tumult vpon others.
But firſt, *Ioſephus Archelaus* his couſen, with *Gratus* and *Rufus* came to meet him, leading the kings
armie, and the Sebaſtians & the Roman ſouldiers adorned in their accuſtomed apparell. *Sabinus*

Varus crucified two thouſand of the ſeditious.

durſt not be ſeene of *Varus*, and therefore got him out of the towne before, and went vnto the
ſea coaſt. *Varus* diuided his armie, and ſent it into the fields againſt the Authours of that tumult:
and thoſe that were brought vnto him who were in leſſe fault, hee committed to priſon, and
thoſe who were the chiefeſt he crucified, to the number of two thouſand.

And vnderſtanding that in Idumæa there yet remained ten thouſand of armed men, he preſent-
ly ſent the Arabians home, becauſe hee perceiued that they did not warre as thoſe that came to H
helpe him, but as they themſelues pleaſed, waſting the coũtrey againſt his will: & ſo accõpanied
with his owne armie, he haſtened againſt the enemies. But they without any fight, through *Achi-*
abus counſell, yeelded themſelues to *Varus*. And he pardoned the common ſouldiers, and ſent the

Varus mercy and bountie to the Idumeans.

Captaines to *Cæſar* to anſwere the matter. Who pardoning the moſt of them, yet puniſhed ſome
that were the kings kinſmen (for ſome of them were a kin to *Herod*) becauſe they altogether re-
belled againſt their king. *Varus* hauing thus quieted the eſtate of Iudæa and Ieruſalem, leauing the
ſame legion that was there before, departed to Antiochia.

CHAP. IIII. I

How the Iewes had an Ethnarcha conſtituted ouer them.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 17.

NOw *Archelaus* had a new proceſſe at Rome againſt the Iewes, who before the ſedition
with the leaue of *Varus* were gon to Rome to craue the liberty of their country. Theſe
who came as Embaſſadours in their countries behalfe, were fiftie in number, and they
were aſſiſted by more then eight thouſand Iewes that liued at Rome. Wherefore *Ca-*

Ethnarch a ruler or gouernour.

ſar called a Councell of the Nobilitie of Rome in the Temple of *Apollo*, which was ſituate vpon
mount Palatine, and ioyned to *Cæſars* priuate palace, which was moſt ſumptuouſly adorned: and

The Iewes cal Archelaus in queſtion.

the multitude of Iewes, appeared with the Legats againſt *Archelaus* and his friends. *Archelaus* K
kinred neither came with him, nor with the reſt of the Iewes: with him they would not ioyne,
for enuie; and with the Iewes they durſt not, for ſhame. Amongſt them alſo was *Philip* the bro-
ther of *Archelaus*, whom *Varus* ſent in curteous maner to aſſiſt his brother; or if that it pleaſed
Cæſar to diuide *Herods* kingdome amongſt his children, that then he might haue a part. The ad-
uerſaries were commaunded to ſhew what *Herod* had committed contrarie to the lawes: Firſt of
all they anſwered, that they found him not a King, but the moſt cruell tyrant that euer was, and

A bitter accuſation of the Iewes againſt Herod & his ſonnes.

that he murdered many; & thoſe whom he left aliue endured ſuch miſerie, as they thought them
ſelues far vnhappier then thoſe were ſo butchered. For (ſaid they) hee was not onely conten-
ted to teare his ſubiects bodies with torments, but alſo defacing and ruinating the cities of his
owne countrie, he adorned and reedified the cities of ſtrangers: and permitted forrainers to maſ- L
» ſacre the Iewes without reuenge. And in ſtead of their ancient and wonted happineſſe, and their
» lawes inuiolated, their countrie was by him made ſo poore, and ſo filled with iniquity, that with-
» in thoſe few yeares that *Herod* raigned, they had ſuſtained more murders and maſſacres then all
» their anceſtors had, from the time of their departure out of Babylon, vntill the beginning of his

Herods tyrannie & cruelty.

» raigne: being then prouoked to take armes when *Xerxes* was king of Perſia. Yet they by enduring
» ſuch miſerie, being now accuſtomed therevnto, would willingly bee ſubiect to ſuch a ſucceſſour
» of his as they knew would make them liue in moſt bitter ſeruitude: for they when *Herod* his
» father was dead, preſently called *Archelaus* king, notwithſtanding hee was the ſonne of ſuch a ty-
» rant, and with him mourned for the death of *Herod*, & offered ſacrifice for the proſperitie of his M
» ſucceſſor. But he to ſhew himſelfe *Herods* ſon, began his reigne with the ſlaughter of three thou-
» ſand citizens; and becauſe he had ſo well deſerued the kingdome, hee offered ſo many men to
» God for ſacrifice, and on a feſtiuall day filled the Temple with ſo many dead bodies. Wherefore
» they who had eſcaped that maſſacre, had iuſt occaſion to conſider their calamitie, and after the

The Iewes beſeech the Romanes to haue compaſſion on the remainder of the Iewes.

» law of armes, to turne their faces to them who wounded them, and beſeech the Romans, that
they would thinke the remnant of the Iewes worthie of compaſſion, and not to abandon and ex-
poſe the reſidue of their nation as a prey to them, by whõ they ſhould be moſt cruelly butche-
red: but that it might pleaſe them to adioyne their coũtry to the borders of Syria, & to let them
be ruled by the Romans, and ſo they ſhold find that the Iewes, who now were accounted ſeditio-

ous,

tious and rebellious, vnder peaceable and quiet gouernours, to be a peaceable nation: and with this petition the Iewes ended their accuſation. After this, *Nicholaus* ſtood vp againſt them, and firſt of all acquited the Kings of the crimes laid to their charge: and then reproued his countrimen, for that they would not be eaſily gouerned, and by their owne nature would not, except they were forced, obey their King: and he alſo blamed the kinſmen of *Archelaus*, who ioyned with his accuſers. *Cæſar* hauing heard what both parts could ſay, diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. And within few daies after he gaue *Archelaus* halfe of the kingdom vnder the tittle of an Ethnarch, promiſing him moreouer to make him King, if he behaued himſelfe well: the other halfe he diuided into two Tetrarchies and gaue them to the reſt of *Herods* ſons: one vnto *Philip*, the other vnto *Antipas*, who contended with *Archelaus* for the crowne. *Antipas* his part lay from Galilee beyond the riuer Iordan, the reuenues wherof was two hundreth talents a yeare. And *Philip* had Batanæa and Trachon, and Auranitis, and part of Zeno his houſe neere Iamnia, the reuenues wherof amounted to one hundreth talents a yeare. *Archelaus* had in his Ethnarchy Idumæa and all Iudæa and Samaria, which was freed from the fourth part of their tribute, becauſe they rebelled not with the reſt. And theſe Cities were giuen him, ouer which hee was Lord, Stratons tower, Sebaſte, Ioppe and Ieruſalem. The reſt, Gaza and Gadara, and Hippon, *Cæſar* took from the kingdome, and ioyned them to Syria. *Archelaus* yearely reuenues amounted to foure hundreth talents a yeare. *Cæſar* alſo (beſide that which *Herod* left her) made *Salome* Lady of Iamnia, Azotus & Phaſaelis, and the Palace at Aſcalon, all which amounted to threeſcore talents a yeer. But *Cæſar* made her houſe ſubiect vnto *Archelaus* his Ethnarchy. And hauing diſtributed vnto the reſt of *Herods* kinred that which in his teſtament he left them, he gaue his two daughters that were virgins, ouer and aboue, fiue hundreth thouſand drachmes of ſiluer, and married them vnto *Pheroras* ſonnes: and hauing diuided *Herods* patrimony amongſt them, he alſo diſtributed that which *Herod* bequeathed vnto him, amounting vnto a thouſand talents, leauing himſelfe onely ſome iewell of ſmall value, which he reſerued in honour and remembrance of the dead.

The yeare of the world, 3966. after Chriſts birth, 4.

Nicholaus defends Archelaus before Cæſar and the reſt.

Cæſar maketh Archelaus Ethnarch of Iury.

The diſtribution of the kingdome to Herods children.

Thoſe Cities that were vnder Archelaus ſubiection.

Salome Princeſs of Iamnia Azotus and Phaſaelis.

CHAP. V.

Of the falſe ſuppoſed Alexander, *and how he was taken.*

AT the ſame time a certaine young man, a Iew borne, brought vp by a Libertine of Rome in the towne of Sidonia, being very like vnto *Alexander* whom *Herod* put to death, went to Rome, hauing one of his countrimen for his companion, who knew very well all the eſtate of the kingdome: by whom he receiuing inſtructions, affirmed, that they who ſhould haue put him and *Ariſtobulus* to death, being mooued to compaſſion, let them goe, and took two others in their roome like them. With this tale he deceiued many Iewes liuing in Creete, where he was honourably receiued, and from thence he ſailed to Melos, where he was yet entertained with greater pompe: and enriching himſelfe he vſed ſuch meanes, that hee got his hoſtes (which gaue him entertainement) to ſaile with him to Rome: and after arriuing at Dicæarchia, he receiued all manner of rich gifts of the Iewes which dwelled there, and there by his fathers friends was honoured as a King. For he was ſo like vnto *Alexander*, that they that had ſeene *Alexander*, and knew him well, would haue ſworne hee had beene *Alexander*. Wherefore all the Iewes at Rome deſired to ſee him, ſo that an infinit multitude followed him whitherſoeuer hee went in the ſtreets: and they ſo doted vpon him, that they carried him in a horſelitter, and at their owne proper coſt and charges prepared for him a royall traine.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 18.

A certaine yong man faining himſelfe to be that Alexander whom Herod ſlew, deceiueth many.

But *Cæſar* well remembred *Alexanders* viſage (for *Herod* accuſed him before him) and although before hee ſaw him hee iudged that it was ſome that preſumed becauſe of his likeneſſe vnto *Alexander*, to ſay that hee was the ſame, yet hee made as though hee beleiued all, and ſent one *Celadus*, who knew *Alexander* well, to will this young man to come vnto him. Who no ſooner beheld him, but foorthwith he perceiued the difference betwixt them: and eſpecially when he felt his hard fleſh and ſeruile ſhape, hee preſently vnderſtood the whole matter. But he was greatly mooued with his bold ſpeeches: for when they demanded of him what was become of *Ariſtobulus*, hee anſwered, that hee was aliue: yet he vpon purpoſe tarried behinde and liued in Cyprus, fearing ſome treaſon: for they being aſunder could not ſo eaſily bee entrapped. *Celadus* taking him apart from the reſt of the companie, told him that *Cæſar* would ſaue his

Cæſar deſireth to ſee the yong man.

The yeare of the world, 3966. after Christs Nativity, 4.

life, if he did truly confesse, by whose counsell he fained himselfe to be *Alexander*. He accep- G
ting of this offer, followed him to *Cæsar*, and declared himselfe to be a Iew, who for lucre sake (being very like him) counterfeited himselfe to be *Alexander*: affirming that hee had receiued such great gifts of the Cities by which hee passed, that he thought if *Alexander* had been aliue, hee should not haue receiued the like. *Cæsar* laught at this iest, and made false *Alexander* (for the ability of his body) a galley slaue, and put him to death who induced him thereto. And as for the Iewes of Milo, hee thought that they had punishment sufficient, if they lost all that which they had layd out, and bestowed vpon him.

h Cæsar maket the counterfeit Alexander a galley slaue, and executeth his counseller.

CHAP. VI.

H

Of the banishment and death of Archelaus.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 19.

Archelaus being now made Prince, remembred the discord past, and in reuenge thereof he tyrannized not only ouer the Iewes, but also ouer the Samaritanes: and in the ninth yeare of his raigne the Iewes and Samaritanes sent Embassadors against him vnto *Cæsar*: and finally he was banished and sent to Vienna, a Citie of Gallia, and all his patrimony was confiscate vnto *Cæsar*. Before he was summoned to appeare before *Cæsar*, he reported that hee had a maruellous dreame: for he saw nine great eares full of corne deuoured by oxen; and presently sending for Prophets and Chaldæans, he demanded what that dreame betokened. Some interpreted it one way, and some another: but one *Simon* an Essean told him that the eares of corne I
betokened years, and the oxen signified the changes & mutations of this world, for as much as in labouring the land, they turned vp and altred it: and therfore he was to raigne so many years as there were eares of corne in number; and then, after he had bidden many mutations hee should die. Fiue daies after this interpretation, *Archelaus* was sent for to Rome, to answere that before *Augustus*, whereof he was accused. I also thought it worth rehearsing to set downe the dreame of his wife *Glaphyra* daughter to *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, who was first maried vnto *Alexander* brother vnto this man, and sonne to King *Herod*, by whom he was put to death, as we haue said before: after whose death she was maried to *Iuba* King of Lybia; and he being dead, she returned home to her father: and liuing in her widowhood at home with her father, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch beholding her, was so inflamed with her loue, that presently being diuorced from his K
wife *Mariamme*, he maried her. Who shortly after she came into Iudæa, dreamed that she sawe *Alexander* her first husband standing before her, and saying vnto her, It had bin enough for thee to haue married the King of Lybia: but thou not contented therewith, commest againe to my house, greedy of a third husband; and which is worst of all, now married to mine owne brother. I will not conceale nor dissemble this iniury which thou dost me, but I will recouer you against your will. And she scarcely liued two daies after she had recounted this dreame.

Archelaus banished for his tyranny, and his goods confiscated.

Archelaus dreame of the oxen & eares of corne.

Archelaus refusing Mariamme marieth Glaphyra.

Glaphyra saw Alexander in her sleep.

CHAP. VII.

L

Of Simon *the Galilean, and the three sects amongst the Iewes.*

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 12.

After that *Archelaus* his dominions were made a Prouince, a certaine Roman knight called *Coponius* was made gouernor thereof, receiuing authority from *Cæsar* to punish and put to death. In his time a Galilean named *Simon* incited his countrimen to reuolt, reprouing them for paying tribute to the Romans, and for being subiect to any mortall men, but God. This *Simon* was a Sophister, hauing a sect of his owne deuising, nothing like other sects. For there are three sects of Philosophers amongst the Iewes: one is that which the Pharisees do follow; another which the Sadduces do follow; the third is that which the Essens follow, which is the most famous of the three. The Essens are Iewes born, but they are most friendly to one another, who beside all other pleasures do eschew witchcraft: neither do they suffer themselues to be led with M
their own affections, but account it a great vertue to abstaine from all vices and to keep chastity. For they refuse mariage, and account other mens children, put to them to be taught whil'st they be yong, as their kinsmen, whom they do diligently instruct in their manners and opinions; not for that they condemne mariage & propagation of mankind, but for that they think men should auoid womens intemperance, for they thinke that none of them keepe themselues truely to one man. Also they contemne riches, and all things with them are common, and no man amongst them

The yeare of the world, 3973. after Christs birth, 11.

Three sects among the Iews, of which the Essens were the best.

The Essens doctrine of mariage.

Among the Essens, goods are common.

A them is richer then other. And they haue a law amongſt themſelues, that whoſoeuer will follow their ſect, he muſt make his goods common to them all: for ſo neither any amongſt them ſhall ſeeme abiect for pouerty, nor any great for riches ſake, but they haue as it were all equall patrimonies like brethren. They account it a ſhame to vſe oyle: and if any man againſt his will be anointed therwith, they vſe all diligence to wipe it away: for they account homelines beſt, and all their chothes are white. They haue amongſt them procurators, to ouerſee and vſe all things for their common benefit, and euery one ſeeketh the good of all, who are choſen from among them by a common conſent. They haue not one certain citie, but are in many cities: and if any of their ſect come vnto them from another place, they giue him any thing they haue, as if hee himſelfe were owner thereof. And in briefe, they goe boldly into thoſe, whom they neuer in their liues
B did ſee before, as though they were very familiarly acquainted with them: and therefore when they take a iourny, they only arme themſelues againſt theeues, and carry nothing with them els. In euery city there is one of them appointed, whoſe office is to haue a care of the gueſts, and ſee that they neither want clothes nor any thing elſe neceſſary for them. Al children vnder gouernment, brought vp by them, go apparelled alike, & they neuer change their apparell, nor ſhooes, except they haue clean worn their firſt apparel, or that by reaſon of long wearing they wil do no more ſeruice. They among themſelues neither buy nor ſell: but euery man that hath any thing that another wanteth, giueth him it, and taketh that of him which himſelfe needeth: yet euery one of them may take any thing he hath need of from whom hee pleaſeth, without any change. Aboue all, towards God they are very religious: for before the ſunne riſe they haue no profane
C talke, but they make certain vowes & praiers after the cuſtome of their country, as it were, praying that it may riſe vpon them. After this, euery one is diſmiſſed to practice the art he knoweth: and when euery one hath diligently labored till fiue of the clock, they all gather themſelues together again, and being couered with linnen clothes, ſo they waſh their bodies with cold water: and hauing thus purged themſelues, they haue a ſecret aſſembly, vnto the which no man that is not of their ſect is admitted: and ſo they come into the refectory as into a holy temple, all ſitting down with ſilence, & the baker ſetteth euery man in order a loafe, & the cook euery man a meſſe of pottage of one ſort. Then before meat the Prieſt giueth thankes, and no man may taſte any meat before they haue made their praiers vnto God. Likewiſe when dinner is ended, they pray againe: for both before and after they giue thanks vnto God the giuer of all, and then putting off
D that apparell as ſacred, they apply themſelues vnto their worke till euening. This done, they do as before, cauſing their gueſts to ſup with them, if by fortune any come. Their houſe is neuer troubled with cries or tumults, for euery one is appointed to ſpeake in his turne: ſo that they who are without the houſe eſteem their ſilence as ſome ſacred myſtery. The cauſe hereof is their continuall ſobriety, and that euery one is limited how much he ſhould eate or drinke. And although that in all others matters they are ruled by their gouernour, yet in theſe two, to wit compaſſionating and helping, they may doe as they thinke good: for euery one may when hee pleaſeth helpe thoſe whom he thinketh deſerue help: and when they pleaſe, giue meat to them that are in need. Yet may not they giue any thing to their kinred without the leaue of their Gouernour. Theſe men giue not place to anger, but refrain from wrath, keep their promiſe, and main-
E taine peace, and account euery word they ſpeake of more force, then if they had bound it with an oath: and they ſhun oathes worſe then periury: for they eſteem him condemned for a lyer, who is not beleeued without he call God to witneſſe. They ſtudie diligently ancient Writers, chiefly gathering out of their writings, what is moſt conuenient for the ſoule and the bodie. Out of them they learne remedies for diſeaſes, and medicinable hearbs, and what is the proper effect of euery ſtone. Thoſe who are deſirous to be of their order, doe not ſtraightway conuerſe with them, but for a yeare before they liue out of their Colledge, and haue the ſame diet, giuing them alſo a little hatchet, and ſuch a girdle, as is before ſpoken of, and a white garment. But at the years end, if they perceiue him to be continent, then they take him into their refectory, and he is made partaker of purer waters (to the end he may continue chaſte) yet is he not admitted in common
F amongſt them: for two years after this his tryall, they obſerue his life and manners: and at laſt, when he is thought worthy, then is he admitted to their common companie. And before he be receiued to the common table, firſt hee proteſteth with great and ſolemne oathes, that hee will worſhip God, and obſerue iuſtice & fidelity towards all men, & neither willingly hurt any man, nor iniure any one for another mans command, but that he will alwaies hate the wicked, and aſſiſt the good, and euer keep his faith to all, but eſpecially to his ſuperiours. For no man can obtaine the power of principality without the will and good pleaſure of God: and that if he be put

The yeare of the world. 3973. after Chriſts birth. 11.

The Eſſeans hoſpitality.

The Eſſeans apparel.

Thier religion and labour.

The Eſſeans in compaſſion & helping others haue free choice, in other things they are ruled by their gouernour.

The Eſſeans ſweare not.

The Eſſeans vowes and couenants.

The yeare of the world, 3973. after Christs birth 11.

in authority ouer others, he neuer will abuſe it to the preiudice of thoſe that are vnder him, and neither exceed the reſt in apparell, nor in any other ambitious pompe: that he will alwaies loue the truth, and euer endeuour to confute liers: and that he will keep his hands from ſtealing, and his ſoule pure from all vniuſt gaine: and that he will not conceale any myſteries, or ſecrets from his companions, nor reueale them to any ſtrangers, although he ſhould be therto compelled by death. Adding moreouer, that they will neuer deliuer any doctrine, ſaue that which they haue receiued; and that they will auoid theft, and diligently keep the books of their doctrine, and the names of Angels. And with theſe oathes they try, and as it were arme thoſe who enter into their order. Thoſe of their congregation, who ſhall be condemned, they thruſt out of their compa-nie: and whoſoeuer is ſo puniſhed, for the moſt part dieth a miſerable death; for hauing once taken his oath, it is not lawfull for him to take meat of any ſtranger; ſo that feeding on graſſe like beaſts, at laſt he periſheth through famine. For which cauſe oftentimes they moued with compaſſion, receiue many into their order againe, euen ready by famine to yeeld vp the ghoſt; iudging them to haue endured penance enough for their offences, who with famine were almoſt brought vnto deaths doore. They are very ſeuere, and iuſt in their iudgement; and to decide any matter, there is neuer fewer of them then a hundreth, and that which by them is agreed vpon, is an irreuocable ſentence. Next after God they reuerence the lawmaker, inſomuch as if one reuile him, they forthwith condemne him to death. They greatly reuerence old men, and a multitude: ſo that if ten of them ſit together, no man of them muſt ſpeake without hee be licenced thereto by nine of the company. They alſo muſt not ſpet in the midſt of the aſſembly, nor on the right hand. And they are more ſeuere then any other Iewes in obſeruing the Sabbaths: And they do not only abſtaine from dreſſing meat that day, but alſo they may not remoue any veſſell out of his place, nor go to the priuie. Vpon other daies they dig a pit a foot deep into the ground with the hatchet, which (as we before ſaid) euery one at his entrance into their order hath giuen him, and then couering themſelues diligently with their garment, leaſt they ſhould doe iniury to the light of heauen, in that pit they eaſe themſelues; and then couer their ordure with the earth they tooke out of the pit: and this they do in moſt ſecret places.

The Eſſeans liue long time.

The Eſſeans conſtancy in the warre with the Romans. *The yeare of the world, 3976. after Christs Natiuitie, 17.*

The Eſſeans eſteeme the ſoule immortall, but they beleeue not the reſurrection of the dead.

The Grecians opinion of the ſoule of man.

And although this purging of their bodies be naturall, yet do they by waſhing purifie themſelues after it, as after great vncleannes. Furthermore they amongſt themſelues are diuided into foure orders, according to the times which they haue taken to follow this exerciſe of life, & they who are iuniors, are ſo far different from the ſeniors, that if they do but touch one of them, they preſently purifie themſelues, as though they had bin profaned by a ſtranger. They are long liued, ſo that moſt of them liue a hundreth yeares, which I iudge is by reaſon of their wel ordered diet and their temperancy. They contemne aduerſity, and by counſell and diſcretion ouercome torments. They preferre an honorable death before life. And the warres which the Iewes made againſt the Romans, ſhewed what courage & hardineſs they haue in all things. For being then cõpelled by breaking of the members of their bodies, and fiery torments, and all kinde of tortures which were laid vpon them, to reuile their lawmaker, and to eat any meat forbidden: yet could they not be forced to any of theſe; neither would they intreat the torturers, nor ſhew any ſorow amidſt their torments. Nay, in the very midſt of their griefs and paines they ſcoffed at their tormenters; and laughing, ioyfully yeelded vp their ſoules, as though they hoped to receiue them againe. For it is an opinion amongſt them, that the body is corruptible, and that the matter therof is not perpetuall: but yet the ſoules remain for euer immortal; who paſſing out of a moſt pure & ſubtle aire, wrap themſelues in bodies as in priſons, being as it were drawn therunto by a natural inclination. And when they are deliuered out of theſe carnall bonds, then preſently as freed frõ a long bondage they ioyfully mount aloft. And of the good ſoules they ſay, as did the Grecians; that they liue beyond the Ocean ſeas in a place of pleaſure, where they are neuer moleſted with raine, nor ſnow, nor heat, but haue alwaies a ſweet & pleaſant aire coming out of the Ocean. But the wicked ſouls (as they ſay) go into a place very tempeſtuous, where there is alwaies as it were winter weather, alwaies ful of lamentations of thoſe, who for euer are to be puniſhed. But I iudge that the Greekes are of this opinion, when they ſay there is an Iſle for the vertuous, whom they call Heroes & half-gods: and that the ſoules of the wicked go to a place in hell, whereas it is fained, ſome to be tormented, as *Syſiphus, Tantalus, Ixion* & *Titius*. Which they did firſt inuent for this purpoſe, becauſe thoſe who are of good diſpoſition, are made better in this life by hope of ſome reward in the life to come: and the wicked are (as they thought) hereby reſtrained for feare of eternall torments, which if they continue in wickednes they ſhall endure. This is the Eſſeans Philoſophy touching the immortality of the ſoule: wherein they propoſe an ineuitable allure-

The Eſſeans reuerence the Sabbaths.

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A ment to thoſe who haue once taſted of their Philoſophy. There are alſo ſome among them, who promiſe to foretell things to come, who from their tender age haue ſtudied and followed holy books, diuers purifications and ſayings of the Prophets: and their diuination ſeldome faileth. *The yeare of the world, 3979. after Chriſts birth, 17.*

There is another colledge of theſe Eſſeans agreeing with the former, both in apparell, meat, and kind of life, and obſerue the ſame lawes and ordinances; only they differ in the opinion of mariage, affirming that they who abſtain from mariage, do cut off the greateſt part of mans life, to wit, ſucceſſion of mankind. For (ſay they) if all men ſhould follow that opinion, preſently all mankind would periſh: yet notwithſtanding theſe people are ſo continent, that for three yeares ſpace they make triall of the women they are to marry, and when they haue proued them fit to beare children, then they marry them. None of them muſt lie with their wiues when they are B with child, to ſhew that they do not marry to ſatisfie luſt, but for to haue children. When their wiues waſh themſelues, they are couered with a garment as the men are: & this is the maner and cuſtome of this ſect. Of the two former ſects, the Phariſees are ſaid to be moſt skilfull in interpreting the law, and are of opinion that all things are to be attributed to God, and Fate: and that euery man may of his owne power doe good or ill, yet (ſay they) deſtiny helpeth in euery action: and that the ſoules of men are all incorruptible, but onely the ſoules of good men goe into other bodies, and the ſoules of wicked men are ſent into euerlaſting paine. But the Sadduces deny Fate and Deſtiny, and affirme that God is the author of no euill; auowing likewiſe that a man hath free will to doe well or ill, and euery man may chuſe whether he will be good or bad: and they generally deny both paines and rewards for the ſoules after this life. The Phariſees are ſo- C ciable and louing one to another: but the Sadduces are at diſcord among themſelues, liuing like ſauage beaſts, and as vncurteous to their owne ſect as to ſtrangers. This is all which I haue to ſpeake concerning the Philoſophers among the Iewes. Now I will returne to my purpoſe.

The Eſſeans prophecy. There is a colledge of the Eſſeans that differeth from the former in the point of marriage.

The ſecond ſect, of the Phariſees.

The third of the Sadduces.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cities which Philip *and* Herod *builded, and of* Pilates *gouernment.*

D ARchelaus his Ethnarchie being now made a Prouince, the reſt of his brethren, to wit *Philip* and *Herod* who was ſurnamed *Antipas*, gouerned their Tetrarchies. And *Salome* dying left vnto *Iulia* by her teſtament the Toparchie which ſhe ruled, as alſo Iamnia and a ground ſet with palme trees in Phaſaelis. When *Tiberius Cæſar* after the death of *Auguſtus* was made Emperour of Rome, after that hee had raigned ſeuen and fifty yeares, ſix moneths, and two daies, *Herod* and *Philip* remaining in their Tetrarchies; *Philip* bulded a citie neere vnto the head of Iordan in the countrey of Paneade, and called it Cæſarea; and another hee built in the lower part of Gaulanitis, and named it Iulias. *Herod* in Galilee built the Citie called Tiberias, and another in Peræa on this ſide Iordan, which alſo he named Iulias. *Pilate* being ſent by *Tiberius* to be gouernour ouer the Iewes, cauſed in the night time the ſtatua of *Cæſar* to be brought into Ieruſalem couered: which thing within three daies after cauſed a great tumult among the Iewes; for they who beheld it, were aſtoniſhed, and moued, as though now the E law of their countrey were profaned: for they hold it not lawfull for any picture or image to be brought into the citie. At their lamentation who were in the citie, there was gathered together a great multitude out of the fields adioyning, and they went preſently to *Pilate* then at Cæſarea, beſeeching him earneſtly that the Images might bee taken away out of Ieruſalem, and that the lawes of their countrey might remain inuiolated. When *Pilate* denied their ſuit, they proſtrated themſelues before his houſe, and there remained lying vpon their faces, for fiue daies and nights neuer mouing. Afterward *Pilate* ſitting in his tribunall ſeat was very carefull to call all the Iewes together before him, as though there hee would haue giuen them an anſwere: when vpon the ſudden a company of armed ſouldiers (for ſo it was prouided) compaſſed the Iewes about with a triple rank: the Iewes were hereat amazed, ſeeing that which they expected not. Then *Pilate* F told them that except they would receiue the Images of *Cæſar*, he would kill them all, and to that end made a ſigne vnto the ſouldiers to draw their ſwords. The Iewes, as though they had agreed therto, fell all downe at once, and offered their naked necks to the ſtroke of the ſword, crying out that they would rather loſe their liues, then ſuffer their religion to be profaned. Then *Pilate* admiring the conſtancy of the people in their religion, preſently commanded the ſtatuaes to be taken out of the Citie of Ieruſalem.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 5. The yeere of the world, 3997. after the birth of Chriſt, 35.

The people would not condeſcend to Pilate to alter their country lawes.

Pilate admiring the conſtancy of the Iewes in their religion ſent the ſtatuaes frō Ieruſalem. The yeare of the world, 3998. after Chriſts birth, 36.

After this hee cauſed another tumult amongſt them, for they haue a ſacred treaſure called

The yeare of the world, 3993. after Christs Nativity, 33.

Corban, which *Pilate* vsed to bring water in vnto the Citie, foure hundreth furlongs off: for this cause the people murmured; so that when *Pilate* came to Ierusalem, they flocked about his tribunall, crying and exclaiming. *Pilate* foreseeing that tumult, caused soldiers secretly armed to mingle themselues amongst the people in priuate apparrell, and commanded them not to vse their swords, but to beat those with clubs, whom they saw make such clamors. And when he had thus plotted the matter, sitting in his Tribunall, he gaue a signe vnto the souldiers; and presently the Iewes were beaten: and many of them, partly with blowes, and partly troden vpon by the multitude, died miserably. The multitude amazed at the calamitie of those that were slaine, held their tongues. For this cause *Agrippa* sonne to *Herod* the Tetrarch, whose father *Aristobulus Herod* the king put to death, went to Rome, and accused him to *Cæsar*. *Tiberius* not admitting his accusation, hee remained still at Rome, and sought the fauour of other potentates there, and especially he reuerenced *Caius* the sonne of *Germanicus*, he being yet a priuate person: & vpon a certain day being with him at a banquet, he stretcht forth his hands, & openly began to beseech almightie God that *Tiberius Cæsar* might quickly die, that he might see him Lord of all the world. *Tiberius* hauing notice hereof by one of his familiar friends caused *Agrippa* to be imprisoned; where he endured a hard & streight imprisonment, vntill the death of *Tiberius*, which was six moneths after. After he was dead (hauing raigned 22. yeares, sixe moneths, and three daies) *Caius Cæsar* vvho succeeded him in the Empire, freed him from prison, and gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Philip* who was now deceased, and the title of a King. When *Agrippa* came into his kingdome, *Herod* the Tetrarch began to enuy his estate; and *Herodias* his wife still vrged him forward to hope that he should be made a King: for (said she) thou wantest that dignity onely for slouthfulnesse, because thou wouldest not go to *Cæsar*: for if *Agrippa* be made a King, being before but a priuate man, how canst thou doubt to be made a King, who art already a Tetrarch? *Herod* herewith perswaded, went vnto *Caius Cæsar*, who greatly reproued his auarice, in so much as hee fled into Spaine; for *Agrippa* followed him to Rome to accuse him before *Cæsar*: and *Caius* gaue vnto him *Herods* Tetrarchy. And so *Herod* remained in Spaine with his wife.

Pilate beateth the seditious with clubs.

The yeare of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.

Agrippa Aristobulus sonne hateth Tiberius, and insinuateth himselfe into Caius Caligulas friendship.

Tiberius raigned 22. yeares six moneths, and three daies.

Caius Cæsar giueth the Tetrarchy to Agrippa Aristobulus sonne, and maketh him a King.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 14.

Herod and his wife remaine in Spaine.

The yeare of the world, 4002. after Christs Nativitie, 40.

CHAP. IX.

Of the pride of Caius, *and of* Petronius *the President.*

CAius Cæsar so abused himselfe & his authority, that he would be thought to be a god, and be so called. Also he put many noble men of his countrey to death. Hee likewise extended his impiety euen vnto Iudæa: for he sent *Petronius* with an army to Ierusalem, commanding him to set his statuaes in the temple; and if the Iewes refused to receiue them, that those who withstood him hee should put to the sword, and lead the rest away captiue. Almighty God did otherwise dispose this proud commandment. But *Petronius* accompanied with three legions, and many assistants out of Syria, came with all speed from Antiochia to Iudæa: many of the Iewes would not beleeue any warre towards, notwithstanding that they heard a generall report therof: and they that belieued it, could not bethink themselues of any means to resist. Suddenly all were in a great feare: for the army was now come to Ptolomais, which Citie is situate by the sea shore in Galilee in a large field, and on the East side it is compassed about with mountaines, distant from it threescore furlongs, which appertaine vnto Galilee; on the South side it is enclosed with the mount Carmel, which is an hundreth and twenty furlongs off from it: on the North side it is inuironed with an exceeding high mountain, which the inhabitants call the Tyrians ladder: this mountain is an hundreth pases distant from the city. Two miles from this citie there is a riuer running by, called Beleus, a very little one, neer vnto which is the sepulchre of *Memnon*, hauing adioyning vnto it a place of the compasse of an hundreth cubits, worthy of admiration. This place is as it were a round valley couered with sand like glasse, which when many ships comming together take away for ballace, so that they empty the place of it, that place is presently after couered with the like sand again. For there are winds, which as it were vpon purpose carry this sand from the higher places round about it thither, & and whatsoeuer is within the mine of metall there, it is presently changed into crystall or glasse. And that which in my mind is more to be wondred at, is, that the sand being turned into glasse, if afterward any part thereof be cast vpon the brinke of this place, it is againe turned into ordinary sand. And this is the nature of that place.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 15.

Caius Cæsar calleth & reputeth himself a God.

The feare the Iewes had of Petronius army.

The description of Ptolemais.

Sand like glasse neere Memnons Sepulcher.

Now the Iewes with their wiues & children gathered themselues together in the field where the Citie Ptolemais is situate, and humbly besought *Petronius*, first not to violate their countrey

A try lawes; and next, to be good vnto them. *Petronius*, seeing the multitude of them who humbly sued vnto him, and how earnestly they besought his fauour, left his army and *Cæsars* statuaes at Ptolemais, and himselfe went from thence to Galilee, and at Tiberias cald all the Iews and their Nobility together, recounting to them the force of the Roman army, and *Cæsars* threatnings: adding moreouer, that the Iewes supplication was indeed a contumely, seeing all nations vnder the dominion of the Romans (the Iewes onely excepted) had already placed *Cæsars* statuaes in their temples among the rest of their gods: and herein they did as it were reuolt frō the empire, and iniure the President. They answerd, it was against their lawes & custome of their country: for it was not lawful for them to haue the image of God, much less of a man; and that they were not onely forbidden by the law to haue an image in the Temple, but also to haue it in any other
B prophane place. *Petronius* sodainly answered: Well, I must doe my Lords commaund: for if I doe not, but spare you, I shall be iustly punished: and not I, but hee that sent mee, will fight against you. For I my selfe, as wel as you, must do as I am commanded. At these words the whole multitude cried out at once, that before they would see their religion violated, they would willingly suffer themselues to be destroied. When the noise of the people was ceased, *Petronius* said; Are ye then prepared and minded to fight against *Cæsar*? The Iewes answered, We euery day offer sacrifices for *Cæsar* and the Romans. But if *Cæsar* would needes place his image in their Temple, he must first offer their whole nation for sacrifice: for they would willingly with their wiues and children offer themselues to any that would kill them. Hereat *Petronius* greatly maruelled, being moued to compassion when he beheld the constancy of the Iewes in their religion,
C and so great a multitude prepared to dye for it. And for that time they departed, nothing being done. The next day following he assembled only the Nobility of the Iewes, one by one, compelling them to accord to *Cæsars* commaund, and spake publikely to the people, sometime admonishing them, otherwhile threatning them, and putting them in minde of the power of the Romans, and *Cæsars* indignation, and that he must of necessity do as he was commaunded. But they were moued by none of these. And *Petronius* fearing the ground would be left vntilled (for it was now seed time, and all the people had remained idle in the Citie for fiftie dayes space) calling them together, he sayd, that he would go about a thing which might greatly endanger himselfe. For (sayd he) I will either (God working with me) appease *Cæsars* wrath, or else I will lose mine owne life to saue such a multitude as you are. And dismissing the people, who made daily
D prayers to God for him, he led the armie from Ptolemais vnto Antiochia, from whence he presently sent vnto *Cæsar* in all haste, recounting vnto him with how great an armie he went into Iudæa, and that all the whole nation made supplication vnto him: whose request and humble suit if he denied, he must vtterly destroy the men and their country; for they had constantly remained in their country religion, and vehemently resisted any new law. *Caius* writ an answere of these letters vnto *Petronius*, threatning that it should cost him his life, because he made no more haste to execute his commaund. The messengers that brought these letters were tossed in a tempest vpon the Sea three whole months together: and others comming after them to bring news of *Caius* his death, had a prosperous wind; so *Petronius* receiued the letters of *Caius Cæsars* death twenty and seuen dayes before the other threatning letters came.

The yeare of the world, 4002. after Christs birth, 40.

Petronius certifieth the Iewes of the Romans power, and Cæsars threats.

The constancy of the Iewes.

Petronius once more assembleth the Iewes, and threatnes thē.

Petronius sendeth to Cæsar, and signifieth the Iewes supplication.

Petronius receiues letters of Cæsars death.

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CHAP. X.

Of the Empire of Claudius, *and of the raigne and death of* Agrippa.

Caius Cæsar being slaine by treason when he had raigned three yeeres and sixe months, *Claudius* was made Emperour by the armie which was at Rome. The Senate by the instigation of the Consuls *Sentius Saturnius*, and *Pomponius* the second, commanded three legions of Souldiers to keepe the Citie, during the Councell holden in the Capitol: and for *Caius Cæsars* cruelty they determined to fight against *Claudius*, intending to re-
F duce the Empire to the ancient gouernment; that as before time, so for euer after, those should rule that the Senate iudged worthy. It chanced that at this time *Agrippa* came to Rome, and the Senate sent vnto him, requesting him to come and be one of their Councell. *Claudius* also desired him to take part with the armie, intending to vse his helpe where neede required. *Agrippa* perceiuing that *Claudius* was already as it were Emperour for his power, hee tooke part with him: who presently sent him as Embassadour to the Senate, to tell them his purpose; how that first of all, the souldiers whether he would or no, set him in that dignitie, and it had beene in him

The yeare of the world, 4005, after Christs birth, 43. Ant. lib. 19. cap. 3.

Caius raigned 3. yeares and 6. months.

Agrippa is chosen both betwixt the Senate & Claudius for an arbiter.

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The yeare of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativity, 43.

an vndiscreet part to haue forsaken such an offer at the souldiers hands, who did it for good wil: G nay, if he had refused it, his life should be in continuall danger, for it was sufficient cause of enuy that he had been elected Emperor. Moreouer, he purposed to rule, not as a tyrant, but as a most milde prince: for hee would bee contented onely with the title of an Emperour, and doe nothing without the common consent of them all. And although hee was not naturally inclined to modest and curteous behauiour, yet he had a sufficient example to beware that he abused not his authority, by *Caius Cæsars* death. *Agrippa* bare this message to the Senat, who answerd (as though they trusted to their souldiers and learned councell) that they would not thrust themselues into wilfull bondage. *Claudius*, receiuing this answer, sent *Agrippa* againe to tell them, that nothing could cause him to betray them, by whom he was made Emperour: and that hee was forced to make war against them, with whom he was very loth to striue, and therefore wild them to chuse H a place out of the city for the battell to be fought in: for it stood with no reason to deface the city with ciuill wars and massacres for the obstinacy of some few. *Agrippa* did also this message to the Senate: and one of the soldiers that were for the Senate drew his sword, and said; Fellow souldiers, what should moue vs to massacre our friends and kinred, and parents, who follow *Claudius*? especially, seeing we haue an Emperour with whom we can finde no fault, vnto whom we should rather go forth with intreaties then with armes. When he had said this, he passed through the midst of the court, and all the souldiers followed him.

The Senates answer to Agrippa.

The Senate follow the souldiers to Claudius.

The Senate, being thus left desolate, and the lords abãdoned of their force, began to be in great feare: and seeing it was no standing out for them, they followed the souldiers, and went to *Claudius*. Before the city wals there met them some that endeuoured to shew themselues dutifull to I *Claudius* for his fortune sake, hauing their swords drawne, and they almost kild fiue before *Cæsar* vnderstood the outrage of the souldiers: and they had done it, had not *Agrippa* ran and told him of the matter, saying, that if hee did not presently appease the souldiers furie, now raging against the citizens, all his Nobility would presently be extinguished, and he should be left an Emperor of a desolate place. When *Claudius* heard this, he represt the souldiers fury, and very honourably receiued the Senate into his camp, and went forth presently with them, and offred sacrifice to God (as the manner is) for the good estate of the Empire. Also, he presently made *Agrippa* king of all his fathers dominions, giuing him likewise that which *Augustus* gaue *Herod*, to weet, Trachonite and Auranite, and beside them another kingdome, called the kingdome of Lysania, and published this his gift by an edict vnto the people, and commanded the Senate to engraue K that donation in brazen tables, and to place it in the Capitoll. Moreouer, hee rewarded his brother *Herod*, who was his kinsman, with the kingdome of Chalcis, and maried him to the Queene *Berenice*. *Agrippa* receiued greater reuenues of his kingdome then he could desire, which he spent not vainely, but in building such a wall about Ierusalem, as, had he finisht it, the Romans could neuer haue taken it: but before he could end that work he died in Cæsarea, hauing raigned three yeeres with the title of a king, and other three yeeres before in the state of a Tetrarch. Hee left behinde him three daughters which he had by *Cypris*; *Berenice*, *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*, and one son by the same wife, named *Agrippa*: who, because hee was very young, *Claudius* reduced the kingdom into a prouince, and made *Cestius Festus* Gouernor thereof. But after him, *Tiberius Alexander*, who nothing violating the lawes of the nation, ruled them in peace. After this, *Herod* L king of Chalcis departed; leauing behinde him two sons, which he had by his brothers daughter *Berenice*, to wit, *Berenicianus* and *Hircanus*: and by his first wife *Mariamme*, *Aristobulus*. His other brother also, *Aristobulus*, died a priuate person, leauing one daughter, *Iotapata*. And these were the posterity of *Aristobulus*, king *Herods* sonne, and *Herod* had *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* by *Mariamme*, whom he put to death: but *Alexanders* posterity raigned in the greater Armenia.

Claudius honorably entertaines the Senate.

Agrippas kingdome, The yeare of the world, 4008. after Christs birth, 46.

Ant lib. 19. cap. 5. Agrippa, after he had raign'd three yeers in Cæsarea, dies.

Herod, after he had raigned in Chalcis, dieth. Ant. l. 19. c. 7. 8.

Alexanders & Aristobulus Genealogy.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers tumults in Iudæa and Samaria. M

The yeare of the world, 4011, after Christs birth, 49.

AFter the death of *Herod* who raigned in Chalcis, *Claudius* created *Agrippa* the son of the former *Agrippa* king of Chalcis in his vncles kingdome: and *Cumanus* was made ruler of the other prouince after *Alexander*, vnder whom there were many tumults and new calamities, which befel the Iewes. For when they were assembled together at the feast of vnleauened bread in Ierusalem, the Roman souldiers standing in the porch of the temple (for alwayes

A alwaies armed men kept that place vpon feſtiuall daies, leſt the people gathered together ſhould make any tumult) one of the ſouldiers, taking vp his coat, turned his bare buttockes againſt the Iewes faces, ſpeaking words as vnſeemely as was his geſture. Whereat the whole multitude began to murmur; ſo that they flocked about *Cumanus*, requeſting him to puniſh the ſouldier for this miſdemeanour: and ſome of them, raſh young men, and as it were prone to ſedition, began to reuile the ſouldiers, and threw ſtones at them. Then *Cumanus*, fearing that the whole multitude of the Iewes would violently ruſh vpon him, cald vnto him many armed ſouldiers, & ſent them into the porch of the temple. The Iewes being in a great feare fled and left the temple, and there was ſuch a throng, that as they ruſhed out to flee, aboue tenne thouſand people were preſt and troden to death: ſo that this feſtiuall day was turned into woefull lamentations and mourB nings in euery place. This calamity was increaſed afterward by a company of thieues: for neer Bethoron one *Stephanus*, ſeruant vnto *Cæſar*, carried ſome houſhould ſtuffe, which the theeues tooke from him in the high way. But *Cumanus*, ſending for thoſe in the villages next adioyning, to make enquiry of theſe theeues, commanded them to be bound and brought vnto him, becauſe they had not taken the theeues: in one of which villages a certaine ſouldier finding the book of the holy ſcripture, cut it in peeces and burnt it. Hereupon the Iewes gathered themſelues together from all places, as though their religion were now violated: and drawne by the force of their ſuperſtition as with an engine, all of them at one cal went to Cæſarea to *Cumanus*, there beſeeching him, that the ſouldier, who had blaſphemed God and their law, might not eſcape vnpuniſhed. But *Cumanus* perceiued, the Iewes would not bee appeaſed without ſome ſatisfaction: C wherefore hee condemned the ſouldier to death, and ſent him to execution before their faces; which done, they all departed.

The yeare of the world. 4011. after Chriſts birth. 49.

A filthy fact & ſpeech of a ſouldier againſt the Iewes on a feſtiuall day.

Cumanus feareth the people's rage.

Some tenne thouſand men thronged to death.

A ſouldier cuts the book of the holy ſcripture in peeces, and burneth it.

The yeare of the world, 4014. after Chriſts birth 52.

The ſouldier executed that burned the Bible.

At laſt there aroſe a tumult betweene the Galileans and Samaritanes; for at a village called Geman, ſituate in the great field of Samaria, a certaine Galilean, of the number of the Iewes that came to the feaſt, was ſlaine: for which fact many Galileans ran to fight with the Samaritanes: and the nobilitie of the countrey went vnto *Cumanus*, requeſting him, before any more harme were done, to go into Galilee, and puniſh the authours of this euill. But *Cumanus*, beeing buſied in greater affaires, ſent them away without granting their requeſt. When this murther was knowne in Ieruſalem, all the multitude left the ſolemnitie of the day, and went into Samaria without any guide, refuſing to be reſtrained by the Nobilitie. Of this their tumult and ſedition D the ſonne of *Dinæus*, called *Eleazar*, and one *Alexander*, were captaines; who with violence entering the borders of the countrey of Acrebatena, killed man, woman and childe, ſparing no age, and burning the townes. When *Cumanus* heard this, he tooke a cornet of horſemen, called the Sebaſtians, to come and helpe them that were thus oppreſſed, and ſo tooke and killed many of them who tooke part with *Eleazar*. Now the Nobles of Ieruſalem came out to the reſt of that multitude, which ſo waſted Samaria, clothed in ſackcloth and aſhes vpon their heads, beſeeching them not to ſeeke reuenge vpon the Samaritans, as thereby to mooue the Romans to deſtroy Ieruſalem, and to be mercifull to their countrey, the temple, their wiues and children, and not at once hazard all, and ouerthrowe their whole countrey and nation in reuenging the death of one Galilean. The Iewes heereby were pacified, and departed: At the ſame time many conE ſpired together to rob and ſteale (as moſt commonly people by long peace growe inſolent) ſo that they robd in euery part of the country, and they that were moſt ſtrong and able, offred violence to thoſe that were weaker. Then the Princes of Samaria went to Tyre, beſeeching *Numidius Quadratus*, being gouernor of Syria, to reuenge them of thoſe that ſo robbed and ſpoiled their countrey. There was alſo the nobility of the Iewes, and *Ionathas*, the ſon of *Ananus*, who was high prieſt, who defended the Iewes againſt the Samaritanes accuſations, affirming, the Samaritans to haue been cauſe of that tumult in killing the Galilean: and after, that *Cumanus* was cauſe of the reſt of their calamities, who refuſed to puniſh the murtherers. *Quadratus* for that time ſent away both parties, promiſing them that when he came into their countries, hee would diligently enquire of the matter: and coming from thence to Cæſarea, he crucified all thoſe whom F *Cumanus* took aliue. And departing from thence to Lydda, he heard the Samaritans complaints, and ſent for eighteen men whom he vnderſtood for certaine to haue been in that broile, and beheaded them, and ſent the two high prieſts, *Ionathas* and *Ananias*, and his ſonne *Ananus*, with ſome of the nobility of the Iewes to *Cæſar*, and alſo the chiefe of the Samaritans. He likewiſe cómanded *Cumanus* and *Celer* the tribune to goe to Rome, and yeeld account vnto *Claudius* for that which they had done in that countrey.

Conſpiracy in robbery.

Quadratus, gouernour of Syria, heareth the Samaritanes & Iews.

Quadratus giueth ſentence betwixt the Iewes and Samaritanes.

This done, he went from Lydda to Ieruſalem: and finding there the multitude celebrating the feaſt

feast of vnleauened bread, without any tumults or disorders he returned to Antiochia. *Cæsar* at Rome hearing the allegations of *Cumanus*, and the Samaritanes (*Agrippa* was also there earnestly defending the cause of the Iewes, as also *Cumanus* was assisted by many potentates) hee pronounced sentence against the Samaritans, & commanded three of their chiefe nobility to be put to death, and banished *Cumanus*, and sent *Celer* the tribune bound vnto Ieruſalem, that the Iewes might draw him about the Citie, and then cut off his head. This done, hee sent *Felix* brother to *Pallas* to rule Iudæa, Samaria and Galilæa. And hee preferred *Agrippa* from Chalcis to a greater kingdome, making him king of that prouince whereof *Philip* had been ruler, to wit, Trachon, Batanæa and Gaulanitis, adding thereunto *Lyſanias* kingdome, and the Tetrarchy whereof *Varus* was gouernour: And hauing raigned thirteene yeeres, eight months, and thirty daies, *Claudius* departed this life, leauing *Nero* to succeed him, whom by the perswasions of his wife *Agrippina* he adopted to the Empire, hauing a lawfull begotten son of his owne, named *Britannicus*, by his former wife *Meſſalina*, and a daughter called *Octauia*, whom he maried to *Nero*: he had also another daughter by *Agrippina*, named *Antonia*. How *Nero* abused his wealth & felicity, and how he slew his brother, mother and his wife, and afterward raged against all his kinred, and how in a mad vaine he became a player vpon a stage, because it requireth a long narration, I will speak nothing thereof.

The yeare of the world, 4014. after Christs birth 52.

Claudius sentence against some Samaritanes, Cumanus and Celer.

Claudius dies, and Nero succeeded him.

The yeare of the world, 4015. after Christs birth 53.

Nero killeth his brother, his mother and wife.

CHAP. XII.

Of the tumults in Iudæa vnder Felix.

The yeare of the world, 4018. after Christs Natiuitie, 56.

Ant. l. 20. c. 11.

Felix surpriseth Eleazar, the captain of the thieues, & many others, and sends them bound to Rome

Another sort of thieues who at noone daies went about the city to murther men.

Ionathas the high priest with many others slaine.

Ant. l. 20. c. 12.

An Egyptian Prophet gathereth welny 30000. men.

Felix ouerthroweth the Egyptian.

The theeues and magicians work much mischief to many men.

WHerefore I will begin to recount what *Nero* did against the Iewes. Hee made *Ariſtobulus*, *Herods* son, king of the lesser Armenia, and ioyned vnto *Agrippas* kingdome foure cities, and the ground belonging vnto them: two of them, Abila and Iulias, were in the countrey of Peræa; the other, Tarichæa and Tiberias, were in Galilee: and he made *Felix* gouernour ouer the rest of Iudæa. This *Felix* took *Eleazar*, captaine of the theeues, after he had robbed and spoiled the countrey twenty yeeres, and many more with him, and sent them bound to *Cæsar*: and he crucified a great number of them, who either were theeues, and his confederates, or else such as assisted him. The country was no sooner cleansed from these, but presently another sort of thieues arose in Ieruſalem, called Sicarij, with short swords, who at high noon in the midst of the city killed many in euery place: and especially at the celebrating of holy feasts they mixt themselues with the multitude, hauing short swords vnder their coats, and therwithall kild those to whom they bare any grudge; and when men fell downe dead, they among the rest complained of this wickednes. By this deceitfull means they were a long time vnsuspected & vnknown. And first of all, they kild *Ionathas* the high priest, and after him euery day some were slaine; and the city was put in a fear worse then death it selfe: for each man euery moment expected death, as though it had been amidst open warres: likewise euery one cast a diligent eie vpon those that came neere him; also no man trusted his familiar friends: and yet were they murthered, whil'st they were looking about them to escape danger. So cunningly did these theeues couer and conceale their actions. Moreouer, there arose another sort of mischieuous people, who did not so much harme with their hands as the first, but with their impious counsell more, and did no lesse trouble the quiet estate of the city then did the thieues. These people being vagabonds and iugglers, desiring alteration vnder pretence of religion, made the people as it were mad: for they went into the wildernes, affirming, that there God would shew them tokens of their liberty. *Felix*, perceiuing that their action tended to rebellion, sent an army of horse and foot against these people, and kild a great many of them.

But a certaine Ægyptian, a false Prophet, caused a far greater massacre among the Iewes then that was: for being a Magician, he came into the country; and calling himselfe a prophet, he gathered vnto him almost thirty thousand Iewes, who were by his magick arts seduced: and leading them from the wildernes to mount Oliuet, he determin'd from thence to go to Ieruſalem, and to driue back the forces of the Romans, and to vse his authority ouer the people. Hee had for his guard those that came to follow him. *Felix*, foreseeing his intēt, met him with his legions of armed Romans: whom the other Iewes assisting, and fighting against him, the Ægyptian with a few fled, and many that were with him were taken and committed to prison, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselues euery one in his country. These being thus represſed, the other part (as it hapneth in a sicke body) beganne to rise: for some of the Magicians, and the theeues being gatherd together, they brought many vnto misery, and as it were exhorted them to liberty, threatning present death to those that obeied the Romans; so that they forc't them who were

contented

A contented with their ſubiection to the Romans, to diſobey them. Theſe people being diſperſt all ouer the country, robbed and ſacked Noblemens and rich mens houſes: moreouer, kild them, and fired the villages, ſo that all Iudæa was in extreame feare of them, and euery day their cruelty encreaſed. *The yeare of the world, 4020. after Chriſts birth, 50.*

At this time aroſe another tumult at Cæſarea, by a ſedition raiſed betweene the Iewes that dwelt there, and the Syrians. The Iewes chalenged the City to be theirs, becauſe it was founded by *Herod*, who was a Iew. But the Syrians denying not but that the builder of the city was a Iew, yet they affirmed that it belonged to the Gentiles: for (ſaid they) it had not been lawfull for the founder to haue placed in it ſhrines and ſtatues, if he had meant that it ſhould haue belonged to the Iewes. So that hereupon there aroſe a great controuerſie among the Iewes and Syrians, inſo- *Ant lib. 20. cap. 13.*

B much as the one fought againſt the other, and euery day thoſe that were the hardieſt of both parts fought together. For the elder ſort of the Iewes could not reſtraine thoſe of their nation from being ſeditious: and the Greeks ſcorned to giue place to the Iewes. The Iewes ouereame them in riches and ſtrength of body, and the Græcians ouercame the Iews by help of ſouldiers: for a great company of the Roman army came thither out of Syria, and they were ready to aſſiſt the Syrians, becauſe they were as it were of their kinred and conſanguinity. The captaines of the ſouldiers endeuoured to appeaſe the tumult, and tooke thoſe that were moſt ſeditious on both parts, and beat them, and caſt them in priſon. But the puniſhment of thoſe that were apprehended terrified not the reſt: nay, they were hereby made more ſeditious. When *Felix* ſaw this, by a *A fight betweene the Iewes and Syrians about Cæſarea.*

C ſtreight edict he baniſht thoſe who were moſt ſeditious out of the city: and thoſe that obeied not he ſent ſouldiers and ſlue them, ſuffering their goods to be taken by the ſouldiers. The ſedition being ſtill on foot, he ſent the Nobility on either part to *Nero*, to plead their right and title. *Feſtus* ſuccceded *Felix*, who diligently perſecuted them that troubled the countrey, and deſtroied many theeues. *Sedition and ſlaughter among the Iewes. The yeare of the world, 4024. after Chriſts birth 62.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of Albinus *and* Florus, *Preſidents of Iudæa.*

D BVt *Albinus*, who ſuceeded *Feſtus*, followed not his ſteppes: for there was no iniquity ſo great wherein he was not plunged. Furthermore, he did not onely take away by force mens goods from them vnder colour of iuſtice, and at his owne pleaſure exact a greater tribute, but alſo freed and let looſe any one whom either the ſouldiers of the city tooke, or his predeceſſors had left in priſon, ſo that their friends would giue a piece of mony: and they only, who were not able to giue mony, were impriſoned as moſt hainous offenders. At this time, they in Ieruſalem that deſired alteration, began to take courage, and thoſe that were rich amõg them fee'd *Albinus* with mony, to permit them to be ſeditious, and the common people that could not bee in quiet, ioined themſelues with *Albinus* fauorites: and each of them had a troup of thieues after him. But *Albinus* himſelfe was ouer them all as a tyrant, and prince of theeues; and he vſed the help of his guard to rob the meaner ſort: ſo they, whoſe houſes were ſackt and ſpoil'd, were glad to hold their peace; and they, who yet had eſcaped, were glad to be very officious towards *Ant. l. 20. c. 11. Albinus preſident of Iudæa full of all wickednes.* *The ſeditious bribe Albinus to wink at their robberies.*

E thoſe who deſerued death, for feare they ſhould ſuffer the like. In generall, no man could truſt one another: there were then many tyrants, and from that time the ſeeds of captiuity, which after befell, began to take root.

Notwithſtanding that *Albinus* was of ſuch behauiour, yet *Geſſius Florus*, who ſucceeded him, ſo behaued himſelfe, that in compariſon of him, *Albinus* might haue beene thought a good Gouernour. For *Albinus* did all things ſecretly and craftily, but *Geſſius* committed any iniquity how great ſoeuer, ſo openly, as though he gloried in his impiety; and behaued himſelfe, not as a ruler of the countrey, but as a hangman ſent to execute malefactours; omitting no manner of theft, nor any meanes whereby he might afflict the people. Where he ought to haue ſhewed pi- *The yeere of the world, 4028. after the birth of Chriſt, 66. Ant. l. 20. c. 16. Geſsius Florus ſucceeded Albinus, and proued worſe then Albinus.*

F tie, there was he a tyrant; and where hee ought to haue beene aſhamed, there hee ſhewed himſelfe ſhameleſs. No man euer could inuent more meanes to obſcure truth, and deuiſe more waies to do harme then he: for it ſufficed him not, for his owne gaine to abuſe men one by one at his pleaſure, but he waſted & ſpoiled whole cities at once, and deſtroied the people in great multitude. Nay, he was not aſhamed by the publike voice of a crier, to proclaim it through the whole country lawfull for any one that would, to rob and ſteale, ſo that they would bring him a part of their booty. In brief, his cruelty was ſuch, that the country was almoſt left deſolate, people forſaking their own natiue home, and fleeing into ſtrange lands. And all the time that *Ceſtius Gallus* *The couetouſnes of Florus ſpoileth whole cities.*

was

The yeare of the world, 4028. after Christs Nativity, 66.

was Gouernour of Syria, no man durſt goe to him to make any complaint againſt *Florus*. But G when at the feaſt of vnleauened bread *Gallus* came to Ieruſalem, there mette him a multitude of the Iewes aboue 300000, all beſeeching him to helpe and ſuccour their afflicted countrey, and baniſh *Florus*, who was the very plague of their nation. Yet *Florus* was ſo impudent, that beeing with *Gallus*, and hearing theſe cries againſt him, he was no whit moued thereat, but laughed at it. *Ceſtius* for that time appeaſed the people, promiſing that hereafter hee would make *Florus* more gentle vnto them, and ſo returned to Antiochia. *Florus* conducted him to Cæſarea to ſtoppe his mouth with lies, deuiſing with himſelfe how to make the Iewes rebell, and that he thought was the ſafeſt meanes to cloak his villanies: for if they continued in peace and obedience, he feared, that ſome of them would accuſe him before *Cæſar*: mary, if he could make them reuolt, then he hoped that their great fault would ſhadow his impieties. Wherfore to bring about his purpoſe, H he euery day oppreſſed them with new calamities, forcing them hereby to rebel againſt the Romans. At this time the Gentils of Cæſarea got the victory ouer the Iews, and brought letters to teſtifie that decree before *Nero*. This was the beginning of the wars of the Iewes, in the twelfth yeare of *Nero* his Empire, and the ſeuenteenth of *Agrippas* raigne, in the moneth of May.

Ceſtius Gallus appeaſeth the people, and requireth a mitigation of Florus ſeuerity.

The beginning of the war of the Iewes the 12. yeare of Neroes raigne.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of Florus *his cruelty againſt the Iewes of Cæſarea and Ieruſalem.*

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 15.

Florus had no iuſt cauſe for any of theſe calamities which he inflicted vpon the Iews. The I Iewes dwelling at Cæſarea had a ſynagoue neere a peece of ground that belonged to a Gentile dwelling in Cæſarea. The Iewes often ſought to compound with him for that peece of ground, offering him far more then it was worth: but the Landlord of the ſoile did not only contemne their requeſt, but alſo to their great griefe in that place built tauernes; ſo that he left them a very ſtreight and narrow paſſage to go to their ſynagogue. Some young men among the Iewes, being very zealous, reſiſted the workmen, and would not ſuffer them to build. *Florus*, hearing this, commanded the Iewes to let the workmen goe forward in their work. The Iewes not knowing what to doe, eſpecially one *Iohn*, a Publicane, offered *Florus* eight talents to hinder the building: he promiſed for that mony to fulfill their requeſt: and now hauing it, he preſently departed from Cæſarea, and went to Sebaſte without performing any thing, giuing as it were K occaſion of ſedition, & as though he had receiued mony of the Nobility of the Iews to permit them to fight a certain time. The next day, which was the Iewes Sabbath, when they were al aſſembled to go to the ſynagogue, one of Cæſarea, a ſeditious perſons, took a great earthen veſſell, and ſet it euen at the entry into the ſynagogue, and vpon it did offer birds. This fact ſo mou'd the Iewes, that they would not bee pacified, becauſe it was done in contempt of their religion, and thereby the place was profaned. One part of the Iewes that was moſt modeſt & wiſeſt, counſeld the Iewes to complaine to them that were in authority: but thoſe who for heat of youth were prone to ſedition, began contumeliouſly to reuile their aduerſaries. For the moſt ſeditious of the people of Cæſarea were alſo prepared to fight with them, and had cauſed that to bee done before the ſynagogue, only to pick a quarrel, and ſo they fought together. *Iucundus*, Generall of the L horſemen, that was left to keep all in quiet, preſently came with ſouldiers, and commanded that veſſell to be taken away, and ſo endeuoured to appeaſe the tumult: but not beeing able to doe it through the violence of them of Cæſarea; the Iewes tooke the bookes of their lawes, and retired themſelues to a place called Narbata, belonging to them, which was diſtant from Cæſarea threeſcore furlongs. Twelue of the chiefe of them, together with *Iohn* the Publican, went vnto *Florus*, beeing at Sebaſte, to complaine of the iniurie done vnto them, requeſting him to aſſiſt them, and modeſtly put him in minde of the eight talents they gaue him. But he preſently commanded them to bee bound and impriſoned, becauſe they had preſumed to take and carrie their law from Cæſarea. Hereat thoſe of Ieruſalem were greatly moued, yet they ſhewed it not. *Florus*, as vpon ſet purpoſe giuing occaſion of rebellion, ſent for ſeuenteen talents out of the ſa- M cred treaſury, pretending that it was to bee emploied in *Cæſars* affaires. At this the people was much troubled, calling and crying vpon the name of *Cæſar*, praying that he would deliuer them from *Florus* his tyranny. Some of them being ſeditious, began to curſe *Florus* bitterly, and tooke a basket, and carried it about, and begged an almes for *Florus*, which they did in deriſion, as who ſhould ſay, he were as miſerable as beggers that haue nothing. *Florus* for all this left not his auarice, but was more earneſt to rob the inhabitants of their goods. So that when he ſhould haue gone

Florus periury and deceit toward the Iews.

The conflict of the Iewes with the Cæſareans.

Florus impriſoneth 12. of the chiefeſt Iews in Cæſarea.

Another cauſe of war raiſed by Florus.

A gone to Cæsarea to haue quieted the sedition,& remoued the cause of tumults,as also he had receiued money so to doe; taking an army of horse and foot, he came to Ierusalem, that with the help of the Roman souldiers he might effect his pleasure, and terrifie the whole citie. *The yeare of the world. 4036. after Christs birth. 68.*

The people to pacifie his wrath, went out in curteous sort to meet the army, shewing themselues ready to giue them the best entertainment they could, & to receiue *Florus* with all honor and reuerence. *Florus* vnderstanding of them,sent before him one *Capito* a Centurion,with fifty horsemen; commanding them to depart,and not to mock him with a pretence of honor, whom they had so hainously abused. And that if they were as good as their words, they should flout & reproach him to his face; and not onely in words, but in deedes shew, that they desired liberty. Herewithall the multitude being terrified, and also for that the horsemen that came with *Capito* B assaulted them with violence; euery one fled before they saluted *Florus*,or did their accustomed duty vnto the army: and going euery one vnto his house, they past the watch full night in feare and sorrow. *Florus* for that night lodged in the Kings palace. The next day he caused a tribunall openly to be placed, and the high Priest and all the chiefe of the Iewes resorted thither & stood before the tribunall. Then *Florus* sitting in the tribunall seat, cõmanded them to bring forth presently all those, that had vsed any opprobrious words against him, threatning to be reuenged on them except they did it. The Iewes made answere, that the people intended nothing but peace and quietnes, requesting that they that had offended in words might obtaine pardon. For it was no maruell in so great a multitude, if there were some rash and foolish yong men: and that it was vnpossible to discerne all that offended, seeing euery one was now penitent for that which was C done, and at least for feare would deny it. And that if he were carefull to conserue and maintain the quietnes of the nation, and preserue the citie still to obey the Romans, hee then must rather pardon a few seditious for so many good mens sake; then to reuenge himselfe of a few wicked persons, to hurt & molest so many that thought no harme. Hereat *Florus* wrath was encreased,& presently he cõmanded the souldiers to sack the market place (which was the higher part of the citie) where things were sold; and put all they met or found vnto the sword. The souldiers, who were desirous of gaine, hauing now authority from their ruler, did not only sack the place they were sent vnto, but also all houses,and murthered the inhabitants. All streets & gates were filled with them that sought to fly, and the dead bodies of them that did light into the souldiers hands: no sort of spoiling was omitted. They also apprehended many of the nobility,& brought D them to *Florus*: and he causing them to be whipt, afterward hanged them vp. And there were slaine that day, of men,women and children(for they spared not infants)six hundreth & thirty. Which did not afflict the Iewes so much, as to see the sudden cruelty & tyranny of the Romans; *Florus* then doing that none before durst euer presume to doe: for he caused knights before the tribunall seat to be whipped, and after hanged them vp,who though they were Iewes borne,yet receiued they that dignity from the Romans.

Florus scorneth the gratulation of the Iewes.

Another occasion of the warre.

Florus in his tribunall requireth them to be yeelded vnto him who had spoken ill of him.

The outrage of Florus souldiers.

Florus souldiers kill 6,0. Iewes in one day.

CHAP. XV.

Of another oppression of the Citizens of Ierusalem, by Florus *his meanes.*

E AT the same time King *Agrippa* was gone to Alexandria, to entertaine *Alexander*, whom *Nero* sent to be ruler ouer Egypt; his sister *Berenice* in the mean while remained in Ierusalem,who seeing the cruelty of the souldiers was much grieued: & often sent the lieutenants of her horsmen & her own guard vnto *Florus*, requesting him to abstaine from the slaughter of the citizens. But he neither regarding the multitude of them that were slaine,nor the dignity of her that intreated,but only his priuate gain,and what he could gather by oppression & rapine, denied her request: so that the rage of the souldiers extended it self also against the Queen. For they did not only before her face beat and kill all that came in their way,but they had also killed her,had she not fled into the palace,where she watcht F all night,keeping a trusty guard about her,fearing that the souldiers would break in vpon her. She came to Ierusalem to fulfil her vow to God: for it is the custom,that if any be afflicted with grieuous sicknes,or be in any other distresse, they must abide in praier 30. daies before they offer sacrifice,and abstain from wine,& shaue their haire; which custom Queen *Berenice* then obseruing, stood also barefoot before *Florus* his tribunal seat,to entreat him: whom he not only contemned, but also put her in danger of her life. This was done the 16. day of May. The day after, the multitude gathered together in the vpper part of the citie in the market place, and with great cryes murmured

Berenice requireth Florus to pacifie his displeasure against the Iewes.

The fury of the souldiers against Berenice.

The people exclaime against Florus.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs birth 68.

murmured that so many were slain, & especially vsed contumelious words against *Florus*: which the nobility & high Priests (fearing their deaths) apprehended, beseeching them to abstaine frō such words as had already caused that calamity in the city, & not to prouoke *Florus* vnto greater indignation. And so the multitude was pacified for their sakes who entreated, & hoped that hereafter *Florus* would desist from such cruelty. *Florus*, when he saw the multitude quieted, was sory: and that he might againe prouoke them, he assembled together the nobility & high Priests, telling them that it would be an argument that the people did not seek alteration any more, if they would goe in curteous wise and meet the souldiers which were comming from Cæsarea, whereof were two legions. Hauing thus assembled the Iewes together to go meet the soldiers, he also sent and commanded the Centurions not to salute the Iewes, who came to meet them: and if therfore the Iewes were offended, and gaue any hard speeches, they should fall vpon them with their weapons. The high Priests assembling the Iewes together in the temple, besought them to go, and solemnly to meet and entertaine the souldiers, for feare of a greater inconuenience. Notwithstanding their counsell, those that were seditious refused to do as they were requested: and others for griefe of them that were slaine, tooke part with the seditious.

Florus renueth the discontents of the people. *Florus* subtilty and treason.

Then all the Priests & Leuites brought forth the holy vessels & ornaments of the temple, and with Harps, songs & musicall instruments came before the multitude, beseeching them to endeuour, that the honour and pompe of the temple might still remaine, & not to incite the Romans through contumelious words to sack the temple. There might you see the chiefe of the high Priests with ashes vpon their heads, and clothes rent, so that their naked breasts were perceiued; and calling euery noble man by his name, & speaking to al the multitude, requested them not for a final offence, to betray their whole country to them, who stil gaped after the destruction thereof. For what commodity should the Romans reap by the Iewes salutation, & what amendment of their miseries could they expect, if they did not go to meet them? Contrariwise, if they would go to them in solemn sort, then they took from *Florus* all occasion of persecution, & saued their country from ruine, and themselues from further calamities. Adding that it was a great shame that such a multitude should be led away with a few seditious persons, & that it was more fit that so many should force those few seditious people to obey them, and ioine with them in opinion.

The exhortation of the priests and princes to the people.

With these perswasions they did mollifie the malice of the Iewes, and also perswade many of the seditious people, some with threats, and some with reuerence of themselues to be pacified. And so they going before, all the people followed, and went out to meet the Roman souldiers. And comming neer them they saluted them: who answering nothing again, those of the Iewes that were seditious began to raile against *Florus*, by whose consent this was done: and presently the souldiers apprehending them, did beat them with clubs; and the rest flying, the Roman horsmen pursued them, and trode vpon them with their horses. Many were slaine by the Romans, and more were killed in the throng, one of them tumbling vpon another. There was a great throng in the gates of the citie: for euery one hasting & striuing to get in, hindred themselues and others. Many died most miserably in that throng, and some were stifled, and some prest to death being troden vpon; so that their neighbours comming to bury them, could not know them. The souldiers also cruelly assaulted them, killing all that they could come vnto, & forced the people to goe in by the entrance called Bezetha, who desired to recouer the temple and the Castle called Antonia.

The euent sheweth Florus intent and counsell. The slaughter of the Iewes.

Florus taking the soldiers with him, pursued them thither, striuing to get the castle; yet did he not preuaile: for the people made resistance, and threw down stones from the house top; and killed many of the Romans: who being ouercome with darts cast from aloft, & could not resist the people, who on euery side came against them, retyred themselues vnto the rest of the army at the Kings palace. Those that were seditious, fearing that *Florus* would againe assault them, and by the castle Antonia make an entrance into the temple, they got vpon the galleries that reached frō the porch of the temple vnto Antonia, and beat them downe, hereby to represse the couetousnes of *Florus*. Who greedily gaped after the sacred treasure, and striued to enter by Antonia into the temple to take them: but seeing the porches beaten down, he offered no more violence. And calling together the high Priests and nobility, he said that he was content to depart out of the citie, but he would leaue them as great a garrison as they would request. Whereunto they answered, that nothing should be altred if he would leaue one company to keep all quiet: so he left not that, which a while before did fight against the people, because that the people would not easily brook them, for that which they had suffered at their hands. So *Florus* as he requested, changing the garrison with the rest of the army departed to Cæsarea.

The seditious for feare least Florus should seise their spoiles flie to the temple. Florus taketh the spoiles, and entereth the temple. Florus seeing the Iewes inexpugnable in the temple, surceaseth his violedce, and leauing a band behind him go th to Cæsarea.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XVI.

Of Politianus *the tribune, and how* Agrippa *made a ſpeech vnto the Iewes, exhorting them to obey the Romans.*

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

FLorus yet deuiſed another way to ſtir the Iewes to rebellion: for he reported vnto *Ceſtius* that the Iewes were reuolted, impudently belying them to haue commited that which indeed they endured at his hands. The nobles of Ieruſalem & *Berenice* certified *Ceſtius* of all that *Florus* had done: he receiuing letters from both parties deliberated with his nobles what to do. Some counſelled *Ceſtius* to go into Iudea with an army, and puniſh the Iewes if they were revolted; and if they were not, then to confirme them in their obedience. Yet it pleaſed him bet-
B ter to ſend ſome about him thither before, to bring him true newes of their eſtate, and what had hapned. So he ſent *Politianus* the tribune, who in his way met with *Agrippa* about Iamnia as hee returned from Alexandria, and told him all, for what, and from whom hee was ſent. Where alſo were preſent the Prieſts and chief of the Iewes, to welcome *Agrippa*. And hauing ſaluted him as curteouſly as they could, they preſently bewailed the miſery which had befallen their nation, and the cruelty of *Florus*. Which although *Agrippa* diſallowed, yet made as if he were angry with the Iewes whom he greatly pitied, purpoſing hereby to bridle their affections; that they, perſwaded that they had had no iniury, might abſtain from reuenge. So that all the better ſort, who for their lands and liuings deſired quietneſſe, well perceiued that the Kings reprehenſion was not of malice but for their good.

Ceſtius Gallus preſident of Syria conſulteth with the princes what were beſt to be done. Politianus is ſent to Ieruſalem & meets with Agrippa.

C The people of Ieruſalem went out to meet them threeſcore furlongs off, and receiued *Agrippa* and *Politianus* very curteouſly, yet the women lamented the death of their husbands ſlaine, and with their tears moued the whole multitude to ſorrow, who beſought *Agrippa* to haue compaſſion on their nation; entreating alſo *Politianus* to goe into the city, and behold what *Florus* had done: And ſo they ſhewed him the market place deſert, and the houſes deſtroyed, and by the meanes of *Agrippa* perſwaded *Politianus* to go round about the city as far as Siloa, onely with one man, & behold with his eyes what *Florus* had done, and that they were obedient to the Romans in all things, and only were enemies vnto *Florus* who had vſed them ſo cruelly. *Politianus* hauing gone about the whole citie, aſcended into the temple, well perceiuing many arguments of the Iewes fidelity towards the Romans: and calling the people there together, he praiſed their loy-
D alty, and exhorted them ſtill to continue in like obedience, and worſhipped God and his rites, as farre as the law permitted him: and ſo he returned vnto *Ceſtius*. The multitude of the Iewes came to *Agrippa* and the high Prieſts, requeſting them to ſend Embaſſadors againſt *Florus* vnto *Nero*, and not to giue an argument of rebellion by not complaining of ſuch murthers: for *Florus* would make him beleeue that they had rebelled, except they went vnto him to ſhew that *Florus* gaue firſt occaſion; and it was certain that the multitude would not be quieted if any one hindered that Embaſſage. Hereupon *Agrippa* thought that it would be an hateful matter to ſend Embaſſadours to Rome to accuſe *Florus*; and on the other part he perceiued, that it was to no purpoſe to contradict the Iewes, who were ready now to rebell: wherefore calling the people together he made a ſpeech vnto them, and ſeated his ſiſter *Berenice* in an eminent place in the houſe
E of the Aſmonæans. The porch wherin he called them together, was in ſuch a place that it ouerlookt all ahe higher part of the citie, for there was only a bridge between it & the temple, which ioyned the temple and it together, and there ſpake he vnto the Iewes in manner following. If I had perceiued that you were bent to fight againſt the Romans, or that the better part of the people were not inclined to peace, neither would I haue come vnto you, nor haue preſumed to haue counſelled you in any thing. For it is in vaine to giue counſell of ſuch things as are expedient, where all the auditors are already determined to follow that, which is contrary to the counſell giuen them. But for that ſome are ignorant what miſery wars induce, becauſe by reaſon of their yong years they haue not known it, others are moued with a raſh and vnaduiſed deſire of their liberty, others are drawne by auarice and hope of gaine in that hurliburly: I thought it good to
F aſſemble you all together, and declare vnto you what meanes is to be vſed to reſtraine ſuch people, and that the good may the better know how to reſiſt and ouercome the practiſes of the wicked. But let no man frowne if he heare that which diſpleaſeth him, and I will tell you nothing but that which ſeemeth expedient for you. For they that are ſo bent to rebellion, that they will not be recalled, may for all my words continue in the ſame mind ſtill. And I will ſpeake nothing at all except you will all keep ſilence. I know that many doe ſeeke to aggrauate the iniuries that are done by the rulers of the countrey, and do highly commend and extoll liberty: yet before

The multitude of the people go out to meet Agrippa & Politianus.

Politianus aſſembleth the people, and inciteth them to peace, and after returnes to Ceſtius. The Iewes require the king that there might be ſom Embaſſadors ſent to Rome to complaine of Florus to Nero.

Agrippas oration to the Iewes.

Agrippa ſtriueth to make the common ſort flexible and attentiue.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativity, 68.

I begin to declare vnto you who you are, and againſt whom ye purpoſe to beare armes, I wil firſt diuide and ſeparate ſuch cauſes as you think inſeparable. For if you ſeeke only to reuenge your ſelues vpon thoſe that haue iniured you, why do you then ſo extoll liberty? or if you think it not tolerable to obey any other; why then, theſe complaints againſt your rulers are ſuperfluous. For G
" although they were neuer ſo milde, ſtil would ſubiection be intolerable. Call all things to mind,
" and conſider what a ſmall cauſe of warre is giuen you. And firſt of all weigh with your ſelues the
It behoooueth to honor the magiſtrate & not to prouoke him by iniury.
crimes and offences of your rulers: for you ought to ſhew your ſelues humble, and dutifull to them that are in authority, and not exaſperate, and prouoke them to wrath by reprochfull ſpeeches. For in reuiling them for ſmall offences, you doe incite them againſt you whom you ſo reuile: and that whereas before they did only doe you a little iniury, and that ſecretly, now being
" moued through bad ſpeeches, they openly ſet vpon you and deſtroy you. And there is nothing H
" that ſo reſtraineth cruelty as patience; ſo that oft times the patience of them who haue ſuffered
" iniury, makes them that did the iniury aſhamed thereof. Be it ſo, that they, which are ſent into
" the prouinces and appointed by the Romans for your gouernors, are irkſome to you: yet all the
Agrippa excuſeth Cæſar and the Romans.
Romans do not oppreſſe you, nor *Cæſar*, againſt whom you would tak armes. For they command no cruell gouernors to come to you, nor can they who are in the furtheſt part of the Weſt, eaſily know what is done in the Eaſt, nor heare thereof. And truely it is a thing moſt againſt reaſon to
" take armes for ſo ſmall a cauſe, eſpecially when they againſt whom you take arms, know nothing
" of the matter. It is an eaſiy way quickly to haue redreſſe for theſe matters you now complaine
Depulſion of the Iewes liberty which they ſo vehemently ſeek for.
of. For there wil not be alwaies the ſame gouernor; and it is credible, that they who ſucceed this, will be more gentle and curteous. But if you once begin to make warre, it is not eaſie to end it I
or ſuſtain it without great calamities. And let them who ſo thirſt after libertie, diligently aduiſe themſelues, that they doe not bring vpon their backs a greater bondage. For ſlauerie is a cruell
" thing, and it ſeemeth a lawfull cauſe to make warre, leaſt you be brought into it: yet he that is al-
" readie in bondage and reuolteth, is rather a peruerſe ſlaue, then one who deſireth liberty. You
" ſhould therefore haue endeuored to haue reſiſted the Romans, when firſt *Pompeius* entred into
" this land: but then our anceſtors and their Kings farre exceeding you in riches, ſtrength of bo-
" die, and courage, were not able to withſtand a ſmall part of the Roman forces; and do you think
" who are their ſucceſſours, and farre weaker then they, hauing ſucceded them in ſubiection, that
" you are able to reſiſt all the whole power of the Romans?

The example of the Athenians, & others who obey the Roman Empire.
The Lacedemonians.
The Macedonians.
The Athenians, who ſometime to conſerue the liberty of Greece, ſet their owne citie on fire, K
and purſued that proud *Xerxes* whom they forced to flie with one ſhip (which *Xerxes* made the earth nauigable, and the ſea firme land, who had ſuch a nauy that the ſeas had not roome for one ſhip to ſail by another, nor all Europe able to receiue his armie) who alſo had ſuch a victory ouer Aſia, neer the little Iſle of Salamina, yet now are ſubiect vno the Romans, and that kingly Citie is now ruled at the Romans beck. The Lacedemonians alſo hauing gotten ſuch a victorie vpon the Thermopyles, and vnder their generall *Ageſilaus* ſacked Aſia, acknowledge now the Romans for their Lords. The Macedonians alſo who ſtill imagine they ſee *Philip* and *Alexander*
" promiſing them the Empire of the whole world; now patiently beare this change, and obey
" them whom fortune hath made their maſters. Many other nations, who for their power and
" ſtrength haue farre more cauſe then you to ſeek their libertie, yet patiently endure to ſerue the L
" Romans. But you only think it a diſgrace to obey them, who are Lords of the whole world. And
The compariſon of the Romans force with the Iewes weaknes.
The Romans haue brought the whole world vnder their gouernment, & haue ſought another world beyond the Ocean.
where are the armies & armes that you truſt in, or your nauy to ſcoure the Roman ſeas? Where are your treaſures to effect that you intend? thinke you that you are to warre againſt the Egyptians or Arabians? And do you not conſider the bounds of the Roman Empire? Do you not conſider your own inabilitie? Know ye not that your neighbour nations haue often by force taken your citie? and that the forces of the Romans haue paſſed through the whole world vnconquered, and as it were ſearching for ſome thing greater then the world? Whoſe dominion towards the Eaſt is extended beyond Euphrates, and towards the North beyond Iſter, and towards the South beyond the wilderneſſe of Lybia, and towardes the Weſt beyond Gades, hauing found another world beyond the Ocean, and with an army entred Britaine which is England & Scot- M
land, where neuer any came before. Are you richer then the Frenchmen, ſtronger then the Germans, wiſer then the Greckes, and are you more in number then the whole world beſide?
" What hope can you haue that may incite you againſt the Romans? But ſome of you will ſay,
" that bondage is a grieuous thing. But how much more then you, ſhould the Greekes thinke ſo,
" that were thought to bee the nobleſt nation vnder heauen, and had ſuch large dominions, and
" now obey the Roman gouernours? as alſo the Macedonians doe, who haue greater cauſe then

you

A you to ſeek their liberty? What ſhall I ſay of the fifty cities of Aſia? do they not all obey one ruler, and the authority of the Conſull, without any garriſon? What ſhall I ſpeake of the Eniochians, Colchians, the people of Taurus, the inhabitants of Helleſpontus, and Pontus, and about Mæotis, who in times paſt had no ruler of their own nation, whom now three thouſand ſouldiers keep in awe, and forty long Gallies keep now peaceably thoſe ſeas, neuer ſailed on before? What thinke you, the Bythinians, Cappadocians, and thoſe of Pamphilia, Lydia, and Cilicia, could ſay for their liberty, who notwithſtanding now peaceably pay tribute vnto the Romans? What of the Thracians? whoſe countrey is fiue daies iourney in breadth, and ſeuen in length, farre more hard and ſtronger then your countrey, where froſt would hinder them that ſhould aſſaile them, yet doe they obey two thouſand Romans, who are in garriſon. After them the B Illyrians, whoſe countrey reacheth vnto Dalmatia, and Iſther, are kept in obedience only by two legions, with help of whom they alſo reſiſt the Dacians. The Dalmatians themſelues, who hauing ſo often attempted their owne liberty being oftentimes conquered, and ſtil as their wealth increaſing rebelling, are now in peace vnder one legion of the Romans. Nay, if any one haue cauſe to rebell, it is the Frenchmen, whoſe country is by nature of the place ſtrong, being on the Eaſt ſide compaſſed with the Alpes, on the North with the Riuer of Rhene, on the South with the Pyrenæan mountains, on the Weſt with the Ocean. Who notwithſtanding, hauing amongſt them three hundreth & fiue nations, who haue amongſt them as it were the very fountain of felicity, and with their goods and commodities inrich the whole world: yet doe they pay tribute vnto the Romans, and account their happineſſe to be builded vpon the felicity of the Romans, C and that neither for want of courage nor nobility of blood, who foureſcore yeares long fought for their liberty; admiring the Romans and fearing them, who ſtill gained more by fortune, then they did by warres: and now obey a thouſand and two hundreth ſoldiers, hauing almoſt againſt euery ſouldier a Citie.

The yeare of the world. 4030. after Chriſts birth. 68.

Fifty Cities of Aſia obey the Romans.

The defence of France.

Neither could the Spaniards, though gold grew in their countrey, keep themſelues from being ſubiect to the Romans. Nor the Portugales and the warlike Cantabrians, for all the diſtance of ſea and land between them and Rome. The Ocean, whoſe waues beating againſt the ſhoare, terriſieth the inhabitants adioyning, could not ſtay them but they paſt it: and carried an army beyond the pillers of *Hercules*, and paſſed the tops of the Pyrenæan mountaines, which reach vnto the cloudes, and ſo made all thoſe people ſubiect vnto them: and for all that they were ſo D warlike a nation, and ſo farre from Rome, they left only one legion for garriſon. Which of you haue not heard of the multitude of the Germanes? whoſe vertue and mighty bodies I thinke you haue often ſeene. For in euery countrey the Romanes haue them for captiues: yet they whoſe countrey is ſo large, hauing harts farre bigger then their bodies, and ſoules that contemn death, who are more cruell then brute beaſts; yet are they now limited by the riuer Rhene, and kept in ſubiection by eight legions of Romans: and thoſe that were taken were made ſlaues, and the reſt choſe rather to ſaue themſelues by flight then fight. And you who haue ſuch confidence in the walles of Ieruſalem, conſider the walles of Britanie; whoſe countrey though compaſſed with the Ocean, and almoſt as great as our whole world the Romans ſayling into it haue conquered, and foure legions keep that Iſland ſo populous. What ſhould I ſay more, when the Par-

The Spaniards ſubiect to the Romans.

The Germans multitude, vertue and huge ſtature.

The Britains ſubiect to the Romans

The Parthians

E thians, a moſt warlike people, who lately raigned ouer ſo many nations, and abound in ſo much wealth, are now compelled to ſend pledges to Rome? Nay, you may ſee all the nobility of the Eaſt at Rome, who with peace ſhadow their captiuity; and almoſt all the nations vnder the Sun trembling and dreading the Roman puiſſance: and will you only warre againſt them? Doe you not conſider what befell the Carthaginians, who boaſting themſelues of that great *Hannibal*, ſprung from the noble race of the Phœnicians, at laſt were deſtroyed by *Scipio*? Neither could the Cyrenæans, who tooke their beginning from the Lacedemonians, nor all the race of the Marmaridans, which extended as farre as the Deſerts (which are very ſcarce of waters) nor the Syrtes, nor the Naſamonians, nor the Moores, nor the innumerable multitude of the Numidians, haue been able to reſiſt the power of the Romans; who by force of armes haue conquered F the third part of the world, the nations whereof can hardly bee numbred, which from the Sea Atlantick and *Hercules* pillers vnto the red Sea, containeth an infinite company of Æthiopians, and innumerable habitations of them: who beſides that they pay ſo much fruits and Corne vnto the Romans, as for eight moneths in euery year will keep and ſuſtain all the people of Rome, doe alſo pay tribute; and moreouer aſſiſt them any way they can, and neuer murmure at it, as you doe; and there is onely one legion left to keep them in obedience. But what ſhould I need to tell you of forraine examples, to ſignifie vnto you the power of the Romans, ſeeing you may

The Carthaginians made ſubiect by Scipios hands.

The Romans gouerne the Moores.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs birth 68.

well perceiue it by that they did in Egypt, hard by: which reaching vnto Æthiopia and rich Arabia, and bordering vpon India, hauing vnder it seuen hundreth and fifty millions of people, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria (which is easie to be counted by the tribute which is paid of euery person by the Poule) liuing in their country, yet disdain not to liue vnder the dominion of the Romans; notwithstanding, that they haue a great entisement to rebel, to wit, Alexandria which is both populous and very rich, in length 30. furlongs, in breadth ten, and paies more tribute in a moneth then you doe in a whole yeare; and, besides their mony, finde all Rome with corne foure moneths in the yeare: and it is on euery side compassed about either with a waste wildernesse, by which none can passe; or the fierce sea, which is boundlesse; or with great and strong riuers, or muddie and durtie quagmires, and marish grounds: all which little auailed them to withstand the force of the Romans. For two legions onely placed in the citie, keepe all the great countrie Egypt, and the nobility of Macedon in awe.

Alexandria acknowledgeth the power of the Romans.

What associates will you haue from some countrie not inhabited, to aide you against the Romans? For all those that at this day dwel in any place of the world, that is inhabited, obey the Romans. Except peraduenture some of you hope for help from beyond Euphrates, thinking that your countrimen of Adiabena will help you: but they wil not entangle themselues in these dangerous wars, for an vnreasonable cause; or if they would consent to so dishoneſt a deed, the Parthians wil not suffer them. For they are carefull to maintaine their league with the Romans, and would thinke it violated, if any vnder their dominions should warre against them. It remaineth then, that you must only trust that God will help you; but God doth assist the Romans: for it is vnpossible that such an Empire should continue without the helpe of God. Consider that this contempt of religion, although you were to war against farre weaker then your selues, yet were it hard to be dispensed withall; and it may so come to passe, that that wherby you hope to make God your partaker, thereby you may make him your enemie: for if you obserue the custome of Sabbaths, and in them doe nothing, it will not be hard to conquer you. For so your ancestors haue made experience by *Pompeius*, who euer deferred all his enterprises vntill that day, wherin his enemies were idle, and made no resistance. Now if in warre yee transgresse your countrie lawes, I know not then for what you should rebell. For truely all of you at this time are of that mind, that your countrie lawes shall not be changed. And I pray you how will you request help at Gods hands, if wilfully ye break his lawes? All that begin warre, either trust in humane riches, or diuine succor: and they that warre, hauing no probability to hope for any of these, wilfully lead themselues into open captiuity. What letteth you euery man with his owne hands to butcher his wife and children, and from consuming this goodly countrie with fire? for so you shall gaine this, not to abide the shame of a conquest. It is good O friends, it is good, whilest yet the ship is in the Hauen, to foresee & prouide for future tempests, and not then begin to feare when you are amidst the waues and surges of the sea. They who fall into misery not foreseene, are worthy to receiue compassion: but they that runne into wilfull calamity, deserue no pitie, but reproach. Vnlesse perhaps yee thinke that the Romans will fight with you, as you will condition; and that if they ouercome you, they will not vse you hardly, nor fire and destroy this sacred Citie, and all the whole nation as they haue done others. If yee be ouercome, whoso escapeth vnkilled, can haue no place of refuge: for all nations either are already subiect vnto the Romans, or feare that they shall be shortly. So that not onely you shall bee in danger, but also all Cities wherin any Iewes remain. For there is no nation nor people in the whole world, among whom some of your countrie are not, who all shall be most cruelly put to death if you rebell: and for the wicked counsell of a few men, all cities shall flow with blood of the Iewes; and no man shall be punished for killing Iewes, because of your offence. And if the Romans doe not execute all this outrage after your rebellion, then think how impious a thing it is, to rebell against so mild gouernors. Take compassion, if not of your children, and wiues, yet at the least of this city, which is the mother citie of all your nation. Spare these holy wals, and sacred temple, and keepe vnto your selues the law and sacred things of the temple: assure your selues that if the Romans again ouercome you, they will not spare these things, seeing you were no more gratefull vnto them, for preseruing them before. I protest before God, your holy temple, and all the Angels of heauen and our whole countrie, that I haue kept back no counsell, which I think profitable for you. Now if you consider of those things which are profitable for you, ye shal liue with me in peace: but if you follow your private affections, I will not be partaker of the miseries and dangers, you thrust your selues into. When he had thus spoken, he wept, his sister *Berenice* standing by him, and by his tears mitigated a great part of their fury. Then they cried that they meant not to bear armes

Gods fauour towards the Romans.

The last argument that proueth the Iews destitute of Gods & mans helpe, and vnapt to make warre.

Whilest the ship is yet in the Port, it is good to preuent the future tempest.

Agrippas prophecy of the Iewes future misery.

Agrippa protesteth that he had omitted no counsell that hee thought expedi[illegible] for the Iewes.

A armes againſt the Romans and *Cæſar*, but againſt *Florus*, for the iniury hee had done them. To this, *Agrippa* anſwered, But your deeds ſhew that you fight againſt the Romanes: for you haue not paid your tribute to *Cæſar*, and you haue burned the porches belonging vnto Antonia; now if you would hide your rebellion, repaire with ſpeed the porches, and pay your tribute: for this fort belongeth not to *Florus*, nor the money. Herewith the people were content: and aſcending into the temple with *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, they began to reedifie the porches, and the nobility and captains gatherd the tribute in euery village, and quickly brought forty talents (for ſo much mony was behinde.) And thus *Agrippa* appeaſed the beginning of theſe wars. After this he began to perſwade the people to obey *Florus*, till ſuch time as another were ſent to ſupply his place. Heerewith the multitude was ſo moued, that they contumeliouſly reuiled the king, and threw

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B ſtones at him, and draue him out of the city. The king ſeeing that their ſedition would not bee quieted, complaining of the iniury done vnto him, ſent the nobility and all the potentates to *Florus*, who was at Cæſarea, that he might chuſe whom he would amongſt them to gather the tribute through the whole country. And ſo he departed into his owne kingdome.

Agrippa the king is by the people driuen out of the city with ſtones.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the rebellion of the Iewes begun againſt the Romans.

C AT this time, ſome of the chiefeſt rebels, aſſembled together, ſuddainly aſſaulted a Caſtle called Maſſada, which at vnawares they took, and killed all the Romans, and in their places put a guard of their owne company. In the temple alſo, *Eleazar*, ſon of the high prieſt *Ananias*, a bould and deſperate young man, captaine of the ſouldiers, perſwaded them who offered ſacrifices, not to offer any but thoſe that were giuen by the Iews. And this was the ground and cauſe of the wars that enſued. For they reiected *Cæſars* ſacrifices, that were wont to bee offered for the good of the Romans. And although the high prieſts & people of account requeſted them not to omit that cuſtom of ſacrificing for their kings and gouernors, yet they refuſed ſo to do, truſting greatly to their faction: all the ſtrength of the city that deſired alteration, were of their mindes, and eſpecially *Eleazar*, who at that time was Generall, as is before ſaid. Wherefore all the potentates, high prieſts, and chiefeſt of the Phariſes aſſembled themſelues; & perceiuing into how great danger thoſe rebels daily brought the

The Iewes refuſe Cæſars ſacrifices for the proſperity of the Romans.

D citie, they determined to make triall of the courage of the ſeditious people: wherefore they aſſembled them together before the braſen gate, which was in the inner part of the temple toward the Eaſt. And firſt of all, they greatly complained of their raſh and vnaduiſed rebellion, and that they ſought to ſtirre vp ſo great warres againſt their countrey, inueighing againſt the cauſe that moued them therto, as being without reaſon: telling them that their anceſtors for the moſt part, adorned the temple with the gifts of Gentiles; neuer refuſing the offrings of ſtrangers; and not only not to haue refuſed their offrings (for that were an impious fact) but alſo placed in the temple the gifts that they ſent, which were yet to be ſeene. And that now onely to prouoke the Romans to warre, and denounce it againſt them, they began to alter religion: and beſide other dan-

E gers alſo, to make the city ſeeme guilty of impiety; as though it were ſuch a one wherein none might offer ſacrifice but Iewes, nor any but they might adore God. If we ſhould make ſuch a law againſt any priuat perſon, he had iuſt cauſe to accuſe vs of inhumanity. But now the Romãs were deſpiſed, and *Cæſar* himſelf accounted profane: and it was to be feared, that if the Iews diſdained to accept of *Cæſars* offrings, *Cæſar* would hinder them from offering any: And that the City of Ieruſalem would preſently bee accounted as an enemy to the Empire, vnleſſe they preſently accepted *Cæſars* ſacrifice; and before ſuch time as they heard theſe newes againſt whom this outrage was attempted. And hauing thus ſpoken, they brought forth the moſt learned amongſt the Prieſts, to recount from time to time how their anceſtors had alwaies accepted of the ſacrifices of ſtrangers.

Againſt thoſe who refuſe forraine ſacrifices.

F But none of the rebels gaue eare vnto any thing that was ſaid, and the Leuits came not to ſerue at the altar, as now preparing for war. When the Nobility ſaw that they could not appeaſe this ſedition, and that they themſelues ſhould firſt feele the Romans power, they deuiſed all meanes to pacifie the tumult, and ſent ſome as Embaſſadors vnto *Florus*: the chiefe whereof was *Simon*, the ſonne of *Ananias*: other ſome were ſent to *Agrippa*, of which the nobleſt was *Saulus*, *Antipas* and *Coſtobarus*, who were alſo akinne vnto the king, requeſting them both to come with an army into the city, and ſuppreſſe the ſedition which was raiſed, before it went further. *Florus* was glad

None of the ſeditious gaue eare to thoſe that were in authority. Embaſſadours ſent to Florus and Agrippa againſt the ſeditious.

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glad of theſe tidings, and deſiring nothing more then war, gaue no anſwer to the Embaſſadours. But *Agrippa* willing to ſpare both parts, as well the good as the rebels, and to preſerue the Iewes for the Romans, and the temple for the Iewes, conſidering it not meet for him to buſie himſelfe in ſuch affaires, ſent 3000 horſmen to aid the people againſt the rebels. Which horſmen were of Auranitis, Batanæa and Trachon, and made *Darius* their captaine; and *Philip*, ſon of *Ioachim*, Generall of all the army. Theſe coming into the city, the nobility, with the high prieſts and the reſt of the people that deſired peace, receiued this ſuccour in good part; and occupied the higher part of the city; for the rebels kept the lower part, and the temple: ſo that they inſtantly fought with darts and ſlings, and ſhooting of arrowes; and ſometime one ruſhing vpon another, ſuddenly they skirmiſhed together. The ſeditious were more valiant, but the kings ſouldiers were more skilfull in wars; who chiefly endeuoured to get the temple, and expel out of it thoſe who profaned it. And the rebels with *Eleazar* endeuoured, beſide that which they had already, to get alſo into their hands the higher part of the city. Wherefore, during the ſpace of 7. daies, there continued a great conflict betwixt them, and either part kept that they had. When the celebration of the feaſt came, cald Xylophoria, wherein euery one carieth wood to the temple, to keep a fire continually vpon the Altar; the rebels would not ſuffer their enemies to do their deuotion.

War in Ieruſalem between the ſeditious & thoſe that fauored peace.

Xylophoria a feaſt.

Now many of the theeues, who caried poyniards vnder their coats, went amongſt the weaker multitude, and boldly followed their old practice. The kings ſouldiers were ouercome, and forced to leaue the higher part of the city: and the rebels preſently coming in, ſet the palaces of *Ananias*, *Agrippa* and *Berenice* on fire, and forthwith went to the place where all charters were kept, purpoſing there to burn all bonds and obligations of debters; thereby to defraud the creditors, and ſo to ioine all the debters with their faction, and ſtir vp all the poore people againſt the rich. But the keepers of theſe publike writings fleeing, the ſeditious perſons ſet all on fire: and ſo hauing deſtroied as it were the ſtrength of the city, they addreſt themſelues againſt ſuch as reſiſted their proceedings. Some of the high prieſts and nobles hid themſelues in vaults; others, fleeing with the kings ſouldiers into the higher palace of the king, ſoone lockt vp the doores after them; amongſt whom was *Ananias* the high prieſt, and *Ezechias* his brother, and they who (as is before ſpoken) were ſent Embaſſadors to *Agrippa*: and ſo the ſeditious were ſatisfied that day with the victory, and firing of the houſes aforeſaid.

The kings ſouldiers are ouercome.

The next day, which was the fifteenth of Auguſt, they aſſaulted the Caſtle Antonia: and beſieging it two daies, they took all that guarded it, and killed them; and placed in it a garriſon of their owne company. This done, they went vnto the kings palace, whither *Agrippas* ſouldiers were fled: and diuiding their companie into foure parts, they began to caſt down the wals: none of them that were within durſt come out for fear of the multitude, but went vp to the turrets of the palace, and killed all thoſe that offred to come vp, and many of the theeues vnder the walles, with things that they caſt downe. This conflict continued day and night; for the rebels thought that thoſe which were within could not hold out for want of victuals: and they within thought that the ſeditious beeing wearied would ſoone giue ouer. In the meane ſeaſon, one *Manahemus*, the ſonne of *Iudas* of Galilæa (that moſt craftie ſubtile ſophiſter, who reuiled the Iewes in *Cyrenius* time for paying tribute, and would be ſubiect to any but to God) taking with him certaine nobles, went vnto Maſſada, where king *Herods* armorie was, and breaking into it, hee armed the common people and other theeues; and hauing them for his guard, he returned againe to Ieruſalem as king: & when he was made prince of that ſedition, he diſpoſed of the battery of the fortreſſes. But they wanted engines, neither could they openly vndermine the wals of the aduerſaries, who continually caſt downe darts: wherefore they began a mine a great way off, til it came vnder one of the towers which was ſupported by poſts of wood, and they ſet fire on the wood ſupporting it & went their way: ſo the ſupporters being conſumed with fire, the tower preſently fell downe, and there appeared a very high wall within. For thoſe within, perceiuing their aduerſaries intent, perhaps by the ſhaking of that tower, preſently builded this wall to keep out the rebels betweene them and it. The ſeditious, verily thinking that with the fall of the tower they ſhould be victors, when they ſaw another wall, were amazed. And the kings ſouldiers were ſent vnto *Manahemus* and others that were chiefe of the rebels, requeſting them to haue licence to depart. Which *Manahemus* granted onely to the kings ſouldiers, and thoſe of his owne countrey; who preſently accepting thereof, departed, and ſo left the Romans in great feare. For they were not able to reſiſt ſo great a multitude, and they thought it a ſhame to intreat that they might depart, thinking that it were dangerous for them although it were granted. Wherefore leauing the lower place which was cald Stratopedon, becauſe it might eaſily be taken, they fled into the kings

The Iews take Antonia and burne it.

Manahemus, the chiefe of the rebels, giues the kings faction and friends licence to depart.

The Romans forſaking the Stratopedon, flee into the kings forts.

A Kings towers, wherof one was called *Hippicos*, the other *Phaſaelus*, the third *Mariamme*. The rebels that were with *Manahemus* brake preſently into the lower part that the Romans had forſaken, and kild all that they found there, and when they had ſackt it, they ſet it on fire: And this was done the ſixt day of September. *The yeare of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the death of Ananias *the high prieſt*, Manahemus *and the Roman ſouldiers.*

B THe next day following, *Ananias* the high Prieſt was taken in one of the water Conduits of the kings palace, where he hid himſelfe, and was there kild with his brother *Ezechias* by theſe theeues: and the rebels beſieged all the towers round about, and kept diligent watch, leſt any of the Romans ſhould eſcape. But *Manahemus*, both for his good ſucceſſe in deſtroying the ſtrong holds, as alſo with the death of *Ananias* the high Prieſt, became proud and cruel: and thinking none ſo wiſe as himſelfe, in thoſe affaires, became an intolerable tyrant. Now two of *Eleazars* companions roſe vp and communed together, that it did not becom them that rebelled againſt the Romans (onely to recouer their liberty) that they ſhould be traytors thereof to their owne companions, who were of the ſame condition, and that they ſhould indure a King or Lord ouer them, who although he be no ſeuere man, yet he was of more abiect & baſe C condition then they. If it were ſo, that it were expedient to haue one Ruler ouer all the reſt, they had rather haue any one then *Manahemus*: and being thus agreed, they ſet vpon him in the Temple, where he was praying with great pomp, aparelled like a king, and hauing about him a guard of his friends in armour. Now when *Eleazar* his followers ſet vpon *Manahemus*, the people did alſo throw ſtones at him, and ſo ſtoned him, hoping that by his death the ſedition would be extinguiſhed. The guard of *Manahemus* at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but when they perceiued the whole multitude againſt them, euery one ſhifted for himſelfe as hee could, and thoſe that were taken were put to death, and they that eſcaped were afterward ſought for: onely a few of them fled to Maſſada, amongſt whom was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Iairus*, the ſon of *Manahemus* kinſman, and afterward in Maſſada becam a tyrant. But *Manahemus* fled into a place called Ophlas, where hee D baſely hid himſelfe: and being taken, hee was drawne out from thence, and after many torments put to death, and with him, all the Nobility that had aſſiſted him, as alſo *Abſalomon*, who was his onely helper: And in this matter (as I haue ſaid) the people greatly helped, hoping heereby to haue ſome end of that ſedition. But the rebels did not kill *Manahemus* to the end to extinguiſh ſedition, but to the intent to rob and ſpoile more freely.

The death of Ananias the high Prieſt, & of Ezechias his brother.

Eleazar his followers aſſault Manahem in the temple.

Manahem with the Princes ſlaine.

The people with many intreaties beſought them to let the Romans alone, whom they did beſiege, but they were ſo much the more earneſt againſt them: till they beeing no longer able to make reſiſtance, with the conſent of *Metilius* their Captaine, and ſome other of more authority, ſent vnto *Eleazar*, requeſting him to giue them licence to depart with their liues, and leaue their munition to the Iewes. Who accepting their petition, ſent vnto them *Gorion*, the ſon of *Nichodemus*, and *Ananias* the Saducee, and *Iudas*, the ſonne of *Ionathas*, to confirme the promiſe of their E liues. Which done, *Metilius* led away the ſouldiers: and whil'ſt the Romans had their weapons, none of the rebels durſt attempt any of their treachery againſt them: but ſo ſoone as euery one according to couenant laid down their ſhields and ſwords, and ſo departed miſtruſting nothing, *Eleazars* guard ſet vpon them, and kild them, who neither made reſiſtance, nor any intreaty for their liues, onely putting them in minde of their promiſe and oath. So they were all ſlaine ſaue onely *Metilius*, who greatly intreated for his life; and promiſing that he would become a Iew in religion, and bee circumciſed, they ſpared him. Yet was this a ſmall loſſe to the Romans, who onely had then but a very few ſlaine of their great and almoſt infinite army: and this ſeemed the very beginning of the Iewes captiuity.

The Romans vnable any longer to reſiſt, yeeld themſelues.

The Romans againſt all couenant & lawe are all ſlaine, ſaue Metilius.

F When they ſaw themſelues to haue giuen ſufficient cauſe of wars, and too great, and that the Citie was now ſo filled with iniquitie, that the wrath of God did hang ouer it, though there had been no feare of any harme to them by the Romans, yet the whole Citie mourned, and was ſorrowfull, and quietly minded, lamenting as though they themſelues ſhould anſwer for the ſeditious, for that murder which was committed on the Sabbath, when it is not lawfull for the Iews to do any good vvork.

Slaughter on the Sabbath day.

CHAP.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativity, 68.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the great massacre of the Iewes at Cæsarea, and in all Syria.

AT the same houre on the selfe-same day, it hapned, as it were by Gods prouidence, that the inhabitants of Cæsarea did massacre the Iewes that dwelt among them; so that at one time aboue 20000. were slaine, and not one Iew left aliue in all Cæsarea. For those that escaped, *Florus* took, and brought them forth bound vnto the people. After this massacre done at Cæsarea, the whole nation of the Iewes wexed mad: and diuiding themselues into companies, they wasted and destroied in short time all the borders of Syria, and the cities thereabout, to wit, Piladelphia and Geboni- H
The Iewes spoile the villages & burne the Cities of Syria.
tis, Gerasa, Pella and Scythopolis, and then they made incursion into Gadara, Hippon & Gaulanitis, pulling downe some places, and firing othersome. And from thence they marched towards Cedasa, a city of the Tyrians, and Ptolemais, Gaba and Cæsarea: and neither Sebaste, neither Ascalon could resist them, but they also were consum'd with fire. Likewise they destroied Anthedon, with Gaza, and most places adioining to these cities were sacked, to wit, the fields and villages, and a mighty slaughter was made of them that were taken in these places. The Syrians made as great a massacre of the Iewes as this among them: for all the Iewes inhabiting among them were murdered, not onely for an old grudge, but also for the auoiding of imminent danger. And all Syria was troubled in most grieuous manner, and euery city was diuided into 2. parts, and either parts safety consisted in this, to preuent the other in murdering them first: the I
daies were spent in bloudshed, and the nights in feare, worse then death it selfe. For though they onely pretended to destroy the Iewes, yet were they drawne to suspect other nations, that followed the Iewes religion; and because they were as it were neuters, the Syrians thought it not good to destroy them: and againe, for their agreeing in religion with the Iewes, they were constrained to hould them as enemies. Many of the contrary part, who before seemed modest, were now throgh auarice incited to meddle in this murder, for euery one took the goods of them that were slaine, and caried them to other places as conquerers. And he was most renowned that had
All Syria full of miserable calamities.
stolen most, as hauing also kild most. There might you see in euery part of the city the dead bodies of all ages vnburied, old men and children, and women lying in most shamefull maner, their secret parts being vncouered. Briefely, all the country was filled with exceeding great calamity, K
and the feare of misery to come was vnspeakeable.

And these were the conflicts betweene the Iewes and strangers. But afterward making incursion vpon the borders of Scythopolis, the Iewes there dwelling were their enemies. For they conspiring with the citizens of Scythopolis, and preferring their own commodity and security
Iewes against Iewes.
before their kinred and consanguinity, ioyned with the Gentiles against the Iewes, who for all that, were suspected for their forwardnes. Finally, the Scythopolites fearing that they would assault the city by night, and excuse their reuolting by their great misery, they commanded all the Iewes, that if they would shew themselues trusty vnto the Gentiles, they with all their children should goe into a wood hard by: who forthwith did as they were wild, suspecting nothing, and the Scythopolites were quiet for two dayes after, and did nothing: But the third night they sent L
forth scouts to see what they were dooing: who finding some of them asleep, and others not resisting, they surprised them in a moment, and kild them all, who were in number thirteene thou-
The Scythopolitans kill thirteene thousand Iewes.
sand, and afterward took their goods. I think it not amisse to speak of the death of *Simon*, who was the sonne of *Saul*, a man of regard: hee was a man of great courage, and strength of bodie, both which hee vsed to the great hurt of his owne nation: for he daily killed many Iewes, who dwelt neere vnto Scythopolis, and he alone often scattred diuers companies, and put whole armies to flight; who had an end woorthie of his deeds, and murdering of his countreymen. For when the Scythopolites had compassed the wood about, so that none could escape their hands,
Simon daily killeth many of his countriemen in Scythopolis.
they killed the Iewes in euery part thereof. *Simon*, drawing his sword, made no resistance to any of his enemies: for he saw that it was bootlesse to striue against such a multitude. Then pitifully M
crying out, I receiue, O Scythopolits, a worthy reward for that which I haue done, who to shew my fidelity towards you, haue kild so many of mine own countrimen: & it is a iust plague that a strange nation should be false to vs, who impiously forsook our own brethren. I will do therfore as a profane person, killing my selfe with my own hands, and this death wil be a sufficient punishment for my offences, and a full argument of my magnanimitie, that none of my enemies may boast of my death, nor insult ouer me. When he had thus said, he beheld al his family with compassion

A passion & rage mixt together: he had a wife & children, and aged parents. And first taking his father by the haire of the head, stood vpon him, and thrust him through; after him he kild his mother, who was willing to dy; after them his wife & children, euery one of them as it were offring their bodies to the sword, desirous to preuent the enimies. When he had slain all his kinred, himselfe remaining aliue, he stretcht forth his arme that they might see what he would do, and thrust his sword into his own body vp to the hilts. A yong man, who for his magnanimity and strength of body was worthy to be pitied, had yet a iust and deserued end for trusting forren nations.

The yeare of the world. 4030. after Christs birth. 68.

Simon kils his parents, his wife and children, and at last himselfe.

CHAP. XX.

Of another grieuous slaughter of the Iewes.

B AFter this so great a massacre of the Iewes in Scythopolis, other cities also did rise against them where they inhabited, and 2000. and 500. were slaine at Ascalon, and 2000. at Ptolemais, and the Tyrians kild diuers, and kept many in prison: Likewise, they of Gadara and Hippon slew the most valiant, and those of least courage they cast into prison. Also all other cities, who either feared or hated the Iewes, rose vp against them. Onely they of Antiochia, Sidonia and Apamia, spared them that dwelt with them, and neither kild nor imprisoned any of them: perhaps they stood in no feare of them if they should haue risen, because their city was so populous: yet I think they spared them only for pity sake, because they saw they were quiet, and not seditious. The inhabitants also of Gerasa did no harme to the C Iewes amongst them: but when they desired to depart, they conducted them safely to the end of their borders. In the kingdome also of *Agrippa* much cruelty was shewed against the Iewes: for he being gone to *Cestius Gallus* at Antiochia, left the rule of his country to one of his friends named *Varus*, kinsman to king *Sohemius*; and there came vnto him 70. of the chiefe Nobilitie of the countrey Batanæa, requesting a garrison to represse those that should attempt rebellion amongst them. *Varus* sent certaine of the kings souldiers armed, and kild them all as they were coming to him. But hee did this impiety without *Agrippa* his consent, onely for auarice: and as it were emboldened by this fact, he ruinated the whole realme, still continuing such crueltie and impiety against his nation, till such time as *Agrippa* vnderstood thereof, who, for *Sohemus* sake, durst not put him to death, but dispossessed him of his place. In the meane while the rebels took D the fort called Cyprus, which is situate aboue Iericho, and after they had kild the garrison, they destroied the fortresse. At the same time a multitude of Iewes laid siege before the castle of Macheron, and perswaded the souldiers left in garrison to yeeld the castle: who, fearing that if they denied they should bee compelled thereto, deliuered it vnto them; vpon condition, that they might quietly depart, and they of Macherunt placed a strong guard within it.

Another slaughter of the Iewes. The cities in armes against the Iewes.

Varus kils 70 Iewes in their iourney.

The Romanes yield vp their castle in Machunte to the Iewes.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Iewes were slaine at Alexandria.

E THe citizens of Alexandria had alwaies a quarrel against the Iews that liued with them, since the time that that famous *Alexander* vsed their help against the Ægyptians, and therefore permitted them to inhabite in Alexandria, and to haue the same priuiledges that the rest of the citizens had. And this honour was also continued with them vnto the time of the successors and heires of *Alexander*: who also gaue them a certaine place in the city to dwell in, that there they might liue more cõmodiously. The Gentiles hauing nothing to do among them, permitted them also to call themselues Macedonians. And afterward, when Egypt was brought vnder the rule of the Romans, neither *Cæsar*, nor any one else, did diminish the Iewes dignity in that place which *Alexander* had giuen them. So that now there was daily conflicts betwern them & the Greeks: and although the Iudges on both parts still punisht them that were in fault, yet the sedition more and more encreased; and when all cities else were fild with F troubles, there the tumult was more vehement. For when the Alexandrians had called together the people to determine of an Embassage to *Nero*, certaine Iewes mingled themselues amongst the Greeks, & so went into the Amphitheater: who being espy'd by their aduersaries, the Greeks cried out, that the Iewes were enemies, and came as spies, and so laid violent hands vpon them. Some of them fled, onely three of them were taken by the Greekes, whom they drew to a place to burne them aliue. All the Iewes of the city came to succour them, and first they threw stones at them, and then taking fire-bands, they ranne in a rage into the Amphitheater, and threatned

Sedition in Alexandria between the Greeks and Iewes.

to

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs birth 68.

to burne all the people there assembled: which they had done, if *Tiberius Alexander* gouernour of the city had not appeased their fury; who did not at the first vse force of armes against them, but sent their nobility to perswade them to cease, and not incite the Roman army against them. But the seditious Iewes refused his admonition, & mocked *Tiberius*: who seeing that they would not otherwise bee appeased, sent two legions of armed Romans against them which were in the city, and with them 5000. other souldiers, who by chance came out of Lybia to this massacre of the Iewes: and *Tiberius* gaue them charge not onely to kill them, but also to fire their houses; and take their goods. The souldiers presently went into the place cald Delta (for there the Iews were gathered together) and did as they were commanded, and not without bloudy victory. For the Iewes, gathering themselues together, put those amongst them that were best armed in the forefront, who held out for a long time; but when they began to flee, they were massacred like beasts, and some of them were killed in the field, some were burned in their houses, the Romanes first taking what they found, neither sparing infants nor old men, but killing all ages. So that all that place flowed with bloud, for there were slaine 50000. Iewes: and all the rest had beene extinguished, had not *Alexander* (moued to compassion by their intreaties) commanded the souldiers to leaue off; who beeing obedient vnto him, presently departed: but the people of Alexandria were hardly withdrawne from that massacre, because of the hatred which they had conceiued against the Iews: and with much ado were withheld from tyrannizing ouer the dead bodies. And this befell the Iewes of Alexandria.

Tiberius Alexander exhorteth the seditious Iewes to keep peace.

A cruell victorie, wherein 50000. Iewes are slaine.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the massacre of the Iewes by Cestius Gallus.

CEstius Gallus now thought it time to bestirre himselfe, forasmuch as the Iewes were now hated euery where: and taking with him the twelue whole legions out of Antiochia, two thousand choosen footmen, and foure companies of horsemen out of euery one of the other legions, and with them the kings forces that came to help him, to wit, two thousand horsemen of Antiochia, three thousand foot all boawmen, and three thousand footmen sent by *Agrippa*, a thousand horse, and foure thousand which *Sohemus* brought, whereof the third part were horse, the rest foot, and for the most part boawmen; he went towards Ptolemais: and many ioyned themselues to them out of euery city, who, though they were not so skilfull in warre as the Romans, yet their hatred was more then theirs. *Agrippa* himselfe was there with *Cestius*, being ruler of those he brought. There *Cestius* taking a part of the army, went to Zabulon (which is the strongest city of Galilæa, cald also Andron, and parts the borders of the Iewes from Ptolemais) and when he found it desolate (for the inhabitants thereof fled into the mountaines) who left it full of all riches; giuing licence to the souldiers to sack it, he afterwards set it on fire, although he admired the beauty thereof (for it was built like Tyre & Sidon, and Berytum) and after spoiled all the territories about it. Likewise, when he had burnt all the villages thereabout, he returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians, and especially those of Beryth, staid still behinde to get booties: which when the Iewes vnderstood, and that *Cestius* was departed, they tooke courage, and came and set vpon them, and kild of them 2000. In the meane while *Cestius* departed from Ptolemais, and went to Cæsarea, and sent part of his army to Ioppe, commanding them to keep the towne if they could get it: and if the townsmen made any resistance, that then they should stay till hee came with the rest of the army. Some of them went by sea, some by land, by which meanes they did easily take Ioppe: so that the people thereof neither had time to flee, nor to prepare themselues to fight; and setting on them, they killed all men with their families: and thus sacking the towne, they set it on fire, and there were slaine 8000, and 400. In like manner he sent part of his horsemen to Narbatena in the Toparchy neer Samaria, who spoil'd the country, kild a great nũber of inhabitants, robd and burnt the villages, and carried away a great booty with them.

Huge companies of the Romans.

Zabulon, a strong Citie of Galilee, spoild and burnt.

The Iewes kill 2000. Syrians.

The Romanes take Ioppe, & burne it, and kill 8000. and and 400.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Cestius *his battell against Ierusalem.*

HE sent also *Cæsennius Gallus*, Generall of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and gaue him as great an army as he thought sufficient to conquer that nation, whom the strongest citie of Galilee called Sephoris curteously entertained, and other Cities followed their example.

Sephoris and other cities of Galilee do friendly entertaine the Romans.

A example. They that were ſeditious & gaue themſelues to robbing, fled into the mountain which is ſituate in the midſt of Galilee againſt Sephoris, called Aſamon: theſe *Gallus* incountred with his army; who, ſo long as they kept the higher part of the mountain, eaſily reſiſted the Romans, & killed aboue 200. of them: but when they ſaw the Romans had occupied a higher place then that wherein they kept, they eaſily were ouercome: for not beeing armed, they could not ſtand out, and if they ſhould haue fled, they could not haue eſcaped the horſemen, ſo that onely a few hid themſelues in difficult places, & aboue 2000 of thē were ſlaine. *Gallus* perceiuing all Galilee in peace, and not minded to reuolt, returned with his companies vnto Cæſarea, & *Ceſtius* with his whole Army went vnto *Antipatris*: where vnderſtanding that a great multitude of Iews were gatherd togither in the tower called Aphecy, he ſent ſome before to skirmiſh with them: but the
B Iewes would not abide battel, and the ſouldiers burned their tentes, and the villages adioyning. *Ceſtius* went from thence to Lydda, and found the citie deſolate, for al the people were gone vnto Ieruſalem becauſe of the Feaſt of Tabernacles: and when he had killed fifty perſons whom he found there, he fiered the towne, and went no further: and going by Bethoron hee pitched his Tent in Gabaus, which is fifty furlongs diſtant from Ieruſalem. When the Iews ſaw themſelues in danger, they left the ſolemnity, & prepared themſelues for war: & hauing a great multitude, they went to fight, obſeruing no order, altogether with indiſcreet cries, not regarding the Sabbath, which they hould in great eſtimation: & the ſame fury, that made them leaue their deuotion, made them alſo victorious in that battel; for they aſſaulted the Romans with ſuch a courage, that they brake their battle array: and killing all that reſiſted, they preſſed into the middeſt there-
C of: & if a freſh ſupply both of horſe and foote, had not come in time, all *Ceſtius* army had been in great danger. So there were ſlaine fiue hundred and fifty Roman ſouldiers, and foure hundreth of them were foote, and the reſt were horſemen, but of the Iewes but two and twenty. The moſt valiant in this combate were *Monobazus* and *Cenedæus*, kinſmen to king *Monobazus* of Adiabena, and next to them *Paraides Niger*, and *Silas* a Babylonian, who fled vnto the Iewes from king Agrippa, whom he had lately ſerued: and ſo the Iewes being repulſed, returned into Ieruſalem; and *Simon* the ſonne of *Giora* inuaded the Romans, as they were returning towards Bethoron, and ſlewe many of the rereward, and tooke many carts, and much baggage withall, which hee brought into the citie. *Ceſtius* ſtaied three daies in the field, and the Iewes kept the high places, eſpying which way he went, purpoſing not to be quiet if the Romans departed.

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Two thouſand ſeditious ſlain in Galilee by the Romans.

Antipatris ſpoiled and burned.

Lydda burnt.

Ceſtius planteth his army fifty furlongs from Ieruſalē.

The aſſault & victorie of the Iewes againſt the Romans.

The courage of the Iewes againſt the Romans.

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CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the ſiege of Ieruſalem by Ceſtius, *and of the maſſare.*

AGrippa perceiuing the Romans to be in great danger, for that all the mountaines were couerd with infinite numbers of the Iews, he purpoſed to trie, if through few words he could perſwade them to deſiſt from warre; or if any refuſed, to receiue thoſe that were willing. Wherefore he ſent vnto them *Borcæus* and *Phœbus*, whome they well knew, aſſuring and promiſing them pardon from *Ceſtius*, and from the Romans, of all that they had already done, if they would now lay downe their armes, & ioine with them. But the rebels
E fearing that all the multitude in hope of ſafety would ioine with *Agrippa*, determined to kill the Legats, and ſlew *Phœbus* before he ſpake any word, & *Borcæus* being wounded, eſcaped. But the people were angry hereat, & with ſtones and clubs draue them into the towne that were the authors of this fact. *Ceſtius* perceiuing them at oddes amongſt themſelues, thought that he had now a fit opportunitie to aſſault them, and ſo came vpon them with his whole army: and putting them to flight he purſued them vnto Ieruſalem. And when he had pitched his Tents in the place called Scopus, he departed ſeuen furlongs frō the citie, & did nothing againſt the citie for three daies ſpace, perhaps hoping that they within would relent: and then ſending a great many ſouldiers into the villages adioining to fetch corne, the fourth day which was the thirtieth of October, he came againſt the citie with his armie in battell array. The people of the Iewes were kept
F in awe by the rebels, who terrified by the Roman diſcipline, forſook the outmoſt parts of the city, & fled into the innermoſt part of the temple. *Ceſtius* paſſing Betheza, burned Cænopolis and the new market place, and comming vnto the higher part of the citie, he pitched his Tent neere the kings palace: & if at that time he had violently iſſued in at the wals, he had taken the city and ended the wars. But *Tyrannus Priſcus*, General of the footemen, & many other rulers & captaines of the horſemen, being hired with money by *Florus*, hindred that his purpoſe, whereby the wars were ſo prolonged, and a thouſand calamities befell the Iewes. In the meane time manie of the

The rebels kil one of the kings embaſſadours: another of them eſcaped, being wounded.

Ceſtius draweth forth his whole armie againſt the Iewes.

The yeare of the world,4030. after Christs birth, 68.

chiefeſt among the Iewes,& *Ananus* the ſonne of *Ionathas*, called *Ceſtius*, as though they would haue opened him the gates: but hee was angrie & ſcarce truſted them, till at laſt they delaied the time ſo long, that the rebels perceiued this treaſon, and caſt *Ananus* down the wal, & with ſtones draue his accomplices into their houſes. Which done, they retired themſelues into the towers, from whence they beat back thoſe that ſcaled the wals. The Romans for fiue daies ſpace aſſaulted the wals on euery ſide, but all in vaine; and the ſixt day, *Ceſtius* with many choſen ſouldiers and boawmen aſſaulted the temple on the North ſide. The Iews valiantly made reſiſtance out of the porches, & often repulſed the Romans approching the wals: yet at laſt they, with the multitude of their aduerſaries darts, were forced to giue back. Then the Romans that went before, hauing their ſhields vpō their heads, leaned againſt the wall, & they in the ſecōd place held their ſhields againſt theirs in the firſt, and ſo in order vntill the laſt, therby making as it were a couering as the Romans call it; or defence, that all their ſhot and darts could doe them no harme; ſo that the ſoldiers did ſafely vndermine the wals, and attempted to fire the gates of the temple.

Diuers Iewes cal for Ceſtius as if they intended to open their gates vnto him.

The Romans couer themſelues with their ſhields, & vndermine the wals and burne the Temple gates

Now the ſeditious people were hereat greatly amazed, and many fled out of the Citie, as though it would preſently be taken. And the good were hereby encouraged, as much as the rebels were diſmaied, and came vnto the gates to open vnto *Ceſtius*, who had well deſerued at their hands. And truely had hee but a little longer continued his ſiege, he had taken the Citie. But I thinke that God being angry with the wicked, would not ſuffer the warres to be ended at that time: for *Ceſtius* neither regarding the good wil of the people, nor the deſperation of the rebels, remoued his armie from thence; and hauing receiued no loſſe, very vnaduiſedly departed from the Citie: at whoſe vnlooked for flight, the rebels tooke heart; and making after him, they killed the horſemen and footemen that came laſt. And then *Ceſtius* went to the Tents which hee had fortified in Scopion. The next day he went further into the countrie; whereby he more encouraged the rebels, who following him, killed many of his rereward. Afterward, either end of the armie beeing well ſtrengthned, the Iewes aſſaulted them that were behind, and the laſt durſt not caſt any darts againſt them, who wounded them on their backes, thinking that an infinite multitude had followed them; and they were not able to reſiſt thoſe that aſſaulted them on each ſide, beeing as it were heauie, and not daring to breake their order; on the contrarie, ſeeing the Iewes ſo actiue & apt to skip to and fro: ſo that the Romans endured much harme at the hands of their enemies, and did them none; and thus were they beaten all the way along, and many of them killed, amongſt whom was *Priſcus* captaine of the ſixt legion, and *Longinus* the tribune, & *Aemilius Iucundus* captaine of a troupe of horſemen. And ſo with much adoe, they came vnto Gabio; where they firſt pitcht their Tents, caſting away much of their baggage, which might any way hinder them. *Ceſtius* ſtaied there two daies, doubtfull what to doe: the third day he perceiued his enemies to be increaſed, and all places about to be filled with Iewes: whereby he ſaw that his ſlow haſt was to his diſaduantage, and the number of his enemies would ſtil increaſe if he made any longer abode there. Wherefore that he might flie ſpeedily, he cauſed the ſouldiers to caſt away all thoſe things that might any way be a hinderance vnto them, & killed their Mules and Aſſes, & cattell, ſauing onely thoſe that bare munition; fearing that if hee ſhould not deſtroy them, the Iewes might make vſe of them againſt him, and ſo he led the armie toward Bethoron. The Iewes in large paſſages little moleſted his army: but when they were to paſs a ſtreight, then they killed them of the rereward, and thruſt other ſome downe into the valley, and all the armie of the Iewes were ſpred vpon the eminent places, whereby the armie was to paſſe, expecting to welcome them with arrowes. Where the footmen amazed, and bethinking how to help themſelues, the horſemen were brought into great danger: for they could not keepe their rankes for darts and arrowes, neither could they goe to hurt their enemies, the aſcent vnto the top of the mountaines was ſo ſteepe: & they were compaſſed on each ſide with rocks and deep valleies, ſo that if any went out of the way, he fell down and was killed, inſomuch as there was no way to fly nor to reſiſt. Now not knowing what to doe, they began to weepe, and crie out as men in deſperation: and the Iewes anſwered them with an encouraging one another to play the men; being glad of their enemies aduerſitie, and cruelly bent againſt them: and all the armie of *Ceſtius* had there periſhed, had not the night come on and helped them, which by her darkneſs gaue leaſure to the Romans to flie into Bethoron. In the meane while, the Iewes kept all the places thereabouts beſieged, and garded the paſſages. *Ceſtius* ſeeing it not poſſible to march openly, thought it beſt to flie, and choſe almoſt 400. of his ſtrongeſt ſouldiers, and ſet them in very eminent places, commanding them that when they were aloft, they ſhould crie as they did before, that the Iewes might thinke that the whole army was there, and ſo he with the reſt of his army marched

Ceſtius ſodain departure maketh the theeues more confident.

The Iewes purſue their enemies, and bring them into a deſperate eſtate.

The mourning and lamentation of the Romans, & the Iewes exhortation.

Ceſtius ſtratageme.

A ched quietly 30. furlongs. In the morning the Iewes perceiuing the Romans to be fled, assaulted the 400. wherby they were deceiued; & presẽtly killing them with darts, forthwith they followed *Cestius*: who hauing fled a great way in the night, made more haste the next day, so that the soldiers for feare left their rams and instruments to beat down the wals, and slings, and much other munition; which the Iewes taking, after vsed against them. And thus they followed the Romans vnto Antipatris: and seeing they could not ouertake them, they returned, bringing with them the warlike instruments, and rifling those that were slaine, and taking whatsoeuer the Romanes had left behind; and so singing songs of victory, they returned vnto Ierusalem, hauing lost verie few of their company, and slaine fiue thousand, and three hundreth and eightie of the footmen of the Romans, and their helpers; and nine hundreth and fourescore horsemen. And this vvas
B done vpon the eight day of October, and in the twelfth yeere of the raigne of *Nero*.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the crueltie of those of Damascus against the Iewes, and of Iosephs *affaires in Galilee.*

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

C NOw continently after *Cestius* aduerse fortune, many of the chiefest amongst the Iews daily fled and forsooke the citie, as a ship presently ready to sinke. *Costobarus* and *Saul* two brethren, and *Philip* the son of *Ioachim* Generall of *Agrippas* army, fled out of the citie and yeelded themselues vnto *Cestius*. As for *Antipas*, who was also besieged with them in the kings palace, he would not flie with the rest, and so was killed by the rebels. But *Cestius* sent *Saul* and the rest of his company into Achaia vnto *Nero*, to let him vnderstand the cause of their flight, and to shew how *Florus* had caused all these wars: for so he hoped that *Nero* would bend his wrath against *Florus*, and quit him from danger. Then the people of Damascus vnderstanding the death of the Romans, deuised how to destroy the Iewes which inhabited amongst them: & they thought it was easie to be accomplished, for that the Iewes were already assembled in the common baths, for feare of some such matter: yet they mistrusted their women, who all, except a fewe, were Iewes in religion. Wherfore they tooke great heed to conceale their intent from them: & so assaulting the Iewes altogether in a narrow place, and hauing nothing to defend them, they put them all to the sword, who were in number ten thousand. The rebels that so pur-
D sued *Cestius*, returned into Ierusalem, and ceased not to ioin all vnto them that fauoured the Romans, either by force or by flatterie: and assembling themselues in the temple, they determined to choose a greater number of captaines. Wherefore *Ioseph* the sonne of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the high priest were appointed rulers of the Citie, and especially to see the wals therof repaired. *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon* was put in no authoritie, notwithstanding that he had in his custodie all preies and spoiles taken from the Romans, and *Cestius* his money, and a great part of the publike treasure, becaus they perceiued him through authoritie to waxe proud, and his attendants become stately. Yet in time *Eleazar* by money and craft, perswaded the people to obey him in all things. And they requested other captaines to be sent into Idumæa, who were *Iesus* the sonne
E of *Sapphas*, and *Eleazar* the sonne of the newe high priest: and they commanded *Niger* who was borne beyond Iordan, to obey these captaines, who was therefore called *Peraides*, and was then Gouernour of Idumæa. And they neglected not to doe the like by other regions: for *Ioseph* the sonne of *Simon* was sent to Iericho and Manasses beyond the riuer, and *Iohn* the Essean to Tamna, euery one to rule the gouernment of his country as a Toparchy. Lydda, Ioppe, and Amnaus, were annexed to *Iohn* the Essean, and *Iohn* the sonne of *Ananias* was appointed Gouernour of Gophnitis and Acrabatena. And *Ioseph* the son of *Matthias* was made ruler ouer both Galilees, vnto which was ioyned Gamala the strongest Citie in that coast.

The Damascenes kill ten thousand Iews in one hour.

Ioseph the son of Gorion and Ananus the high priest appointed to gouerne the Citie.

Ioseph the Historographer gouernour of both Galilees.

As for other gouernors, euery one discharged his place according to his wisdom and dexteritie. When *Ioseph* came to Galilee, which was committed to his protection, his first care was to
F get the good will of the inhabitants, knowing that it might much profit him, although in other matters he had offended. Then considering that he should haue most mighty & assured friends, if he made them partakers of his authoritie; and likewise get the loue of the common people, if he did esteeme of those things which they should thinke well of; He chose seuentie of the most ancientest wise men amongst them, and made them rulers ouer all Galilee, & elected seauen iudges ouer the lesser townes to iudge inferiour matters: for he reserued all great affaires and criminall causes to his owne hearing. Moreouer, hauing ordained a forme of iustice that those se-

Ioseph makes 70. Elders rulers in Galilee, and appointeth seuen in euery City to determine the causes of lesse waight.

uentie ſhold follow, he tooke counſell how to work their outward ſecurity : And being aſſured G
The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.
that the Romans wold come into Galilee, he compaſſed thoſe places with ſtrong wals that were fit for his purpoſe, to wit, Iotapata, Berſabea, Selamis, Pereccho, Iapha, & Sigoph with the moũtaine Itaburium, Tarichea, & Tiberias. Moreouer, he fortified the caues neere the lake Geneſar,
Ioſeph fortifieth the conuenient cities with walles.
which is in lower Galilee, and in high Galilee Petra, which is alſo called Achaberon and Seph, Iamnith, and Mero; in Gaulanitis alſo Seleucia, and Soganes, and Gamala : he onely permitted them of Sephoris to build their owne wals, becauſe he perceiued thẽ to be rich & prone to war of themſelues. Likewiſe *Iohn* the ſonne of *Leuias*, at *Ioſephs* commaund, built the wall of Giſcala himſelfe alone: but in all other places that were fortified, *Ioſeph* put to his helping hand, and told how they ſhould be done. He leuied alſo an army of a hundreth thouſand, vvho vvere all young men, vvhom he armed with olde armour, which he gathered from all parts of the country : and H
Ioſeph inſtructeth the Galileans in warre.
conſidering that the Roman army was inuincible, for that they were all obedient vnto their rulers and expert in warre, hee could not inſtruct them in martiall diſcipline, other occaſions forcing him to the contrarie: but calling to minde that the multitude of rulers made obedience, hee ordained many captaines & conſtituted diuers ſorts of ſouldiers, as the Romans vſed to do; making ſome gouernours often, otherſome ouer a hundreth, and others ouer a thouſand; and appointed likewiſe rulers ouer them. He taught them alſo how to giue the ſigne of warre, and how to ſound the trumpet both to call them to combate, and to retire: how to march in length, and caſt in a ring, and alwaies to ſuccour them that were moſt in danger : and to be ſhort, hee taught
Ioſeph teacheth the Galileans how they ſhould obey in the warres.
them whatſoeuer might either incourage them, or make them actiue : but eſpecally he exerciſed I
them in feates of armes, imitating in particular the order of the Romans, often telling them that they were to fight with men, who for ſtrength of body & courage paſſed al nations of the world. Alſo he told them that hereby he ſhould perceiue whether they would be obedient in warre, If now they abſtained from ſuch things as were vſuall to ſouldiers, to wit, robbing & ſpoiling their countriemen, and craftie and deceitfull dealing; nor thinke the ſpoile of thoſe with whome they conuerſed to be their owne gaine : for thoſe wars had alwaies beſt ſucceſſe, where the ſouldiers carried good conſciences; and they that were bad, ſhould not onely haue men, but God alſo for
Euerie one of the cities of Galilee ſend the halfe of their multitude to warfare, the reſt they keepe to prouide them victuals.
their enemy. And after this maner he daily exhorted them, and now he had appointed how many were to fight. For threeſcore thouſand footmen, and two hundreth and fifty horſmen, and beſide theſe foure thouſand and fiue hundreth whom he hired, were alwaies in readineſſe, & ſix K
hundreth choſen men to guard his owne perſon. And the hirelings onely excepted, the reſt of the ſouldiers were prouided for by the cities : for euery citie before mentioned, ſent one halfe of their men for ſouldiers; and the other halfe they kept to prouide victuals for them, that one part being emploied in warre, the other might doe ſuch buſineſs as the citie required.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Ioſephs *dangers and eſcape, and of the malice of* Iohn *of Giſcala.*

L
WHileſt *Ioſeph* thus ordered the eſtate of Galilee, there aroſe a traitor borne in Giſcala, the ſonne of *Leuias* whoſe name was *Iohn*, a moſt ſubtil & deceitfull treacher, who by vile meanes was now become the richeſt man in that countrey, beeing before verie poor; where by for a while hee was hindred from putting his villanies in practice :
Iohn a notable diſſembler, and a thirſtie murtherer vnder hope of gaine.
who could lie at his pleaſure & eaſily giue credite vnto lies, who thought deceit to be a vertue, which he vſed euen toward his deareſt friends: & a great counterfeiter of humanity: yet for the hope of gaine became a cruell murtherer. Hee alwaies aimed at high matters, with an aſpiring mind, & at firſt nouriſhed his hope with ſmal villanies. For firſt he was a thief after his own manner, & liued in woods and ſolitarie places; at laſt he got him a company of audacious people like M
to himſelfe, at firſt ſmall, but afterward he greatly increaſed it. He had alſo a great care to chooſe no idle perſons, but ſuch as were ſtrong of body, valiant of mind, and skilfull in martiall affaires: of theſe he gathered foure hundreth, the moſt of them out of Tyre, and the villages thereabout: and with them he waſted all Galilee, and put many in minde of the miſerable wars to come. This man a long time before deſired to be gouernour of the army, and aſpired to greater matters, only the want of money hindred him : and perceiuing that *Ioſeph* tooke delight in his induſtrie, hee perſwaded him to ſuffer him to build the wals of that place where he was borne, which was now deſolate; and to accompliſh this, he gathered great ſummes of money of the richer ſort. Then he deuiſed another ſhift: for hauing perſwaded the Iewes that were diſperſed ouer all Syria, that they

A they ſhould vſe no oile, ſaue onely that which was made by their owne nation, he cauſed diuers veſſels of oile to be brought vnto the confines of Galilee, and buying foure barrels for a piece of Tyrian money (which amounted vnto foure Antique groates) he ſould them againe vnto the Syrian Iewes, the halfe of one barrell for as much as all foure coſt him. And for that Galilee abounded with oiles, and eſpecially at that time, hee conueied it to ſuch places where there was great want, and none was brought but by himſelfe. By this meanes, hee gathered an infinite maſſe of money, which preſently he turned to his preiudice who had giuen him licence ſo to get it. And thinking that if he could depoſe *Ioſeph*, that then hee might come to bee ruler ouer Galilee, hee commanded his followers to robbe and ſpoile more then they did before, and ſo to trouble the countrey, that he might either kill the gouernour, if hee ſought to redreſſe it, at vnawares; or if

B he let all alone, to accuſe him of cowardice to the people for ſo doing. Moreouer, he had already giuen out ſpeeches, that *Ioſeph* went about to betray Galilee to the Romans, and deuiſed many things to this effect to worke *Iosephs* ouerthrow. It hapned that at that time, ſome of the village of Dabarit, who watched in the field, ſet vpon *Ptolomæus*, who was factor for *Agrippa*, and his ſiſter *Berenice*, and ſpoiled them of all cariage, wherein was much coſtly apparell, and many ſiluer cups, and ſix hundreth peeces of gold. And for that they could not doe this ſecretly, they brought all the whole bootie to *Ioſeph* at Tarichea: who reprouing them for offering violence vnto the kings ſeruants, commanded the things to be kept at the houſe of *Aeneas*, who was one of the richeſt men in the towne, who ſhould reſtore them to the owner when time ſerued: wherein thinking to doe himſelfe great good, he wrought himſelfe much danger. For the theeues beeing

C offended that they receiued no part thereof, & ſeeing that *Ioſeph* wold reſtore to *Agrippa* & his ſiſter *Berenice* that which they had laboured to get, they went roūd about the villages in the night, and ſpread this falſe report in euery place, that *Ioſeph* was a traitor to his country, and with the ſame rumour filled the cities thereabout. So that early in the next morning, a hundreth thouſand armed men came againſt *Ioſeph*. Finally, the multitude aſſembling themſelues togither in the theater at Tarichea, the greateſt part cried out in their choler and fury, that the traitor might be depoſed, or herſome that he might be burned, and *Iohn* himſelfe incited many, and with him one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sapphias*, who at that time was gouernour of Tiberias. All the friends of *Ioſeph* and his guard being terrified with ſuch a multitude, fled, foure onely excepted. But *Ioſeph* in the

X meane while was aſleepe: and had he ſlept a little longer, they had ſet his houſe on fire. Whereupon he aroſe, and the foure that remained with him, counſelled him to flie: but he not diſmaid

D in that he was left alone, nor for that ſo great a multitude came againſt him, went boldly towards them with his garment all torne and aſhes vpon his head, holding his hands behind him, and his ſword vpon his neck. Whereat they that bare him good will, eſpecially the people of Tarichea, were moued to compaſſion: but the country people and they whom he ouerlaid with taxes and tributes, curſed him, and had him bring forth the publike treaſure, and confeſſe his treaſon: for becauſe of the attire and habite he came in, they thought hee would not haue denied any thing whereof he was accuſed, and that he came ſo to moue them to compaſſion, & ſo to obtaine pardon for his offence. This his humility ſtood him in good ſteed; for hereby thoſe that before were inraged againſt him, now began one to fall out with another in his behalfe, when he promiſed to

E confeſſe the whole matter: and then obtaining licence to ſpeake, hee ſaid: I was neuer minded to ſend back that money to *Agrippa*, nor to keepe it vnto my priuate vſe. For (God forbid) that I ſhould euer hold him for my friend, who is your open enemy, or that I ſhould ſo ſeeke mine own profit, that I ſhould thereby damnifie you all. But (O ye men of Tarichea) foraſmuch as I perceiued that your citie eſpecially had greateſt need to be fortified, and that you were not able to build the walles, and for that I feared the people of Tiberias, and others adioining, who ſtill gaped after this prey and wealth that was taken from *Agrippa*; I determined to get thoſe ſpoiles for you to reedifie your walles. If ye miſlike this, I will bring out the treaſure, and giue it to be diuided amongſt you: but if you like thereof, then it appeareth how you moleſt him who is your benefactor.

F This ſpeech of his well pleaſed the people of Tarichea, and diſpleaſed them of Tiberias; ſo that they breathed out threatnings againſt him. Thus they both left *Ioſeph*, & fought one againſt another. He now hauing many partakers (for the people of Tarichea were almoſt fortie thouſand) ſpake more boldly vnto the multitude, and rebuked their temeritie; affirming that it was neceſſarie to ſtrengthen Tarichea with that preſent money, and that hee would alſo prouide to ſtrengthen other cities and that they ſhould not want money, if they would agree and conſpire togither againſt them, from whom they ſhould take it; and not to offer violence vnto him who

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

Iohn imploieth the money he got, againſt him by whoſe meanes he gained it.

Agrippas preſident robbed.

An hundreth thouſand armed mē come out againſt Ioſeph.

All Iosephs friends and guard ſaue foure fly from him.

Iosephs oration to the ſeditious.

The yeare of the world, 4021. after Christs birth, 69.

would endeuour to get it. So the reſt of the multitude being deceiued, though they were angry, yet departed; and two thouſand armed men offered to ſet vpon him: but he being alreadie retired into his houſe, they ſtood without, threatning him. Wherefore *Ioſeph* vſed another deuice likewiſe to repreſſe theſe: & getting vp into the top of the houſe, he beckned vnto them with his hand to keep ſilence; and then ſaid that hee was ignorant what they requeſted at his hands: for hee could not heare one for another, becauſe their voices were confounded through the multitude; but if they would ſend ſome into the houſe to talke friendly with him, he would do whatſoeuer they requeſted. The nobles and magiſtrates hearing this, preſently went into the houſe: whom, when he had led into the innermoſt part of the houſe, hauing ſhut the doores, hee cauſed to be beaten, ſo long til that all their bowels appeared: the doores in the meane time being made faſt, the people ſtaied before the houſe, thinking that the cauſe of their long tarrying was, to alledge reaſons to and fro; & preſently *Ioſeph* opening the doores put them forth amongſt the people all bloudy as they were: wherat they were ſo terrified, that leauing their weapons behind them they ran away. Hereat *Iohn* tooke occaſion to encreaſe his enuie; and hauing ill ſucceſſe in this policy, he ſtill attempted other plots to bring *Ioſeph* in danger: and counterfeiting himſelfe ſicke, he requeſted *Ioſeph* to permit him to goe to Tiberias, and vſe the hot bathes for to recouer his health. But *Ioſeph* not hauing yet perceiued his treaſon, wrote letters in his behalfe to the gouernour of the towne, willing him to be *Iohns* hoſt, and to let him want nothing that he needed: which he had in good ſort. And two daies after his arriuall there, hee went about the buſineſſe, which he came to effect, and entiſed ſome with money, others with flatteries, to reuolt from *Ioſeph*. *Silas* whom *Ioſeph* had made gouernour of the city vnderſtanding this, hee preſently by letters gaue notice thereof to *Ioſeph*: who receiuing them in the night, went to Tiberias, and vvas there early in the morning, and the reſt of the multitude came out to meete him: but *Iohn* notwithſtanding he iudged that he came againſt him, yet ſtill he counterfaited himſelfe ſick in bed, and ſent a man of his acquaintance to excuſe his abſence for not comming to meete *Ioſeph*. Then *Ioſeph* aſſembled the Tiberians togither in a place to ſpeake vnto them, concerning that which was written vnto him: and *Iohn* ſent armed men thither with commandement to kill *Ioſeph*. The people perceiuing them to draw their ſwords, cried out: and *Ioſeph* at their cry looking about him, and perceiuing their ſwords euen almoſt at his throat, he leapt down a little hill vpon the ſhore, which was ſix cubits high, vpon which he ſtood to ſpeake vnto the people: and going into a boat with two of his guard which he found there, he went into the midſt of the lake, & preſently his guard taking their weapons aſſaulted the traitors. *Ioſeph* fearing that a great conflict would enſue, & ſo the whole city for a few mens fault be deſtroied, ſent to his ſouldiers, charging them onely to worke their own ſafety and no more, and to kill none, nor reprooue any for that wicked fact: who forthwith obeying his command, ceaſed from fight.

But they that inhabited about the citie, and heard of the treaſon, and by whom it was attempted, armed themſelues and came againſt *Iohn*: but he before they came, fled into Giſcala, where he was borne. In the meane while, all Galilee came and ioined with *Ioſeph*, and there were many thouſands of armed men gathered together, affirming that they came againſt *Iohn*, and to fire that citie which had receiued him. *Ioſeph* thanked them for their good will, ſaying that hee had rather conquer his enemies by policy, then by fire or ſword; and therefore requeſted them to be content. Hee alſo publiſhed an edict, wherein hee declared that all thoſe that had rebelled with *Iohn*, and did not forſake him within fiue daies next following, ſhould loſe all their liuings, and their manſions ſhould be ſacked, and their houſes & family ſet on fire. Hereupon three thouſand preſently forſooke *Iohn*, and came and caſt downe their weapons before *Ioſephs* feete, proſtrating themſelues before him: ſo that there only remained with *Iohn* but one thouſand of fugitiue Syrians. By who *Iohn* being aſſiſted, again went ſecretly to worke, hauing ſo ill ſucceſſe by plaine dealing: and ſo priuilie ſent meſſengers to Ieruſalem, who told that *Ioſeph* had gathered a great armie, and that except he were quickly preuented, hee would come and vſurpe the dominion ouer that mother citie. But the people vnderſtanding before of *Iohns* hatred, did not regard it: yet diuers rich men and magiſtrates who enuied *Ioſeph*, ſecretly ſent money vnto *Iohn*, to hire ſouldiers that where ſtrangers, that hee might warre againſt *Ioſeph*; and determined amongſt them to diſplace him: & thinking that their decree was not ſufficient to effect it, they ſent moreouer fiue hundreth and foure thouſand armed men, and foure of their principal nobility amongſt them, to wit, *Ioazar* the lawyer, and *Ananias* the Sadducee, and *Simon* and *Iudas* the ſonnes of *Ionathas*, all very eloquent & learned men, to withdraw the peoples minds from *Ioſeph*; giuing them charge, that if hee of his owne accord came vnto them, that then they ſhould permit him to

ſpeake

Another ſtratageme of Ioſephs againſt the Iewes.

Iohns enuy & treaſon againſt Ioſeph.

Iohn perſwadeth the Tiberians to reuolt frō Ioſeph

Iohn ſendeth certain armed men to kill Ioſeph.

Ioſeph flees in a little boat by the lake.

Iohn fleeth into his country Giſcala.

The Galileans flock to Ioſeph againſt Iohn.

Iohns treaſon againſt Ioſeph

A speak for himselfe: but if he refused so to doe, that then they should hold him as an enemie. *Iosephs* friends at Ierusalem gaue him intelligence, that an army came against him, but for what cause they knew not, for that it was kept secret. And heereupon before he could preuent it, foure Cities did reuolt from him, to wit, Sepphoris, Gamala, Giscala & Tiberias, the which he soone after easily recouered, without any force of armes: and hauing taken the foure captaines & counsellors of his enemies, hee sent them vnto Ierusalem: against whom the people beeing incensed, would haue killed them, and those that brought them, had they not fled betime.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 69.

Foure cities of Galilee submit themselues to Iosephs enemies

CHAP. XXVII.

B *Tiberias and Sepphoris were recouered by* Ioseph.

NOw *Iohn*, for feare of *Ioseph*, kept himselfe within the wals of Giscala: and a few daies after Tiberias reuolted again, the inhabitants calling in *Agrippa*, who came not at the day appointed, & yet a few Romane souldiers shewing themselues, they reuolted from *Ioseph*. *Ioseph* vnderstanding this at Tarichea, hauing sent his souldiers to fetch corne, thought it not good to go alone against the rebells, neither did he think it best to delay the time any longer, fearing that whil'st he delaied, king *Agrippa* would come & possesse the towne: for the next day, because it was the Sabbath, he could do nothing. Wherfore he thought to ouercom the rebels by policie, & so he commaunded the gates of Tarichea to be kept shut, that his intent C might not be reuealed vnto them of Tiberias. Then taking all the boates that were in the lake, in number two hundreth and thirtie, and in euery one of them foure sailers, hee hastily sailed to Tiberias: and when he came neere the citie, yet so farre off that the inhabitants thereof could not easily descry him, he left all the boates vpon the water emptie, & taking onely seuen of his guard with him, vnarmed, he went neer vnto the citie, that they might see him. When the rebels perceiued him, and thought that the boates had been full of armed men, they cast downe their weapons, and held vp their hands to him, beseeching him to spare the citie. *Ioseph*, after many threatning and bitter speeches, first, for that hauing vndertaken warres against the Romans, they with ciuil wars consumed their owne forces: secondly, for that they sought his life who had wrought their safety, and that they were not ashamed to shut the gates against him, who had builded the citie walls; yet (said hee) if any would come and talk with him, and confirme a league of their fi- D delitie vnto him, he wold not refuse them. So tenne of the chiefest among them came vnto him, whom hee carried away in a fisher-boat farre from the citie, & sent for fiftie Senators, as though he requested their promise also. And deuising newe causes, he still vnder pretence of agreement sent first for one, and then for another, as he thought good, till he had loaded all the boats: which done, he commanded all the boatmen with all speed possible to go to Tarichea, and put them in prison, so that he carried away all the councell, which were in number 6. hundreth & two thousand people, all whom he brought to Tarchea in boates. But they which remained in the Citie, cried with one voice, that one *Clitus* was cause of that reuolt, and therfore besought *Ioseph* to punish him for all. *Ioseph* told them that he would put none of them to death, but commanded one E of his guard called *Leuis*, to come and cut off *Clitus* his hands: but he fearing to trust himselfe amongst all his enemies, refused to doe execution. *Clitus* perceiuing that *Ioseph* was angry, and readie to come out of his owne boat to do it himselfe, besought him to grant him one of his hands: which *Ioseph* did, vpon condition, that hee should cut off the other himselfe. So *Clitus* drawing out his sword with his right hand, cut off his left, being afraid of *Ioseph*; and after this, hee returned to Tiberias to bring it againe vnder his subiection: and within a few daies after, hee tooke Giscala and Sepphoris, which were reuolted; hauing giuen the spoils therof to his souldiers, but yet afterward he restored all that was taken away vnto the people, and so hee did to the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris: and by this meanes got the good will of them all.

Tiberias is recouered by Ioseph, and saued by a stratagem.

Ioseph with 7 souldiers cõmeth to Tiberias, & terrifieth his enemies.

Ioseph by a subtile policy tolleth out the chiefest of Tiberias, & carrieth them away in boats to Tarichea.

Clitus the author of the sedition, drawing his sword with his right hand, cut off his left.

CHAP. XXVIII.

F *How the people of* Ierusalem *prepared themselues to warre, and of the tyrannie of* Simon Giora.

VNtill this time, there were broyles in Galilee: & now ceasing from ciuill dissension, they prepared themselues against the Romans. And the potentates of Ierusalem, and *Ananus* the high Priest, with all speed renued and repaired the walls, and made all sorts of instruments

The troubled estate of Ierusalem.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

ments for warre, arrowes and other weapons; so that all the Citie was busied heerein, and trayned their men in warlike discipline. All places were filled with tumults; but the grauer sort were verie pensiue, & many as it were foreseeing the calamitie that after ensued, burst out into teares: they that desired peace, receiued no comfort in any thing: all things were don at their beck, who were cause of all this warre. And the estate of the Citie euen then before the Romans came, was like a Citie to be destroyed. Now *Ananus* omitted that which was necessarie for war, and laboured to reconcile the seditious faction of them that were called Zelous: but how he was ouercom and vvhat his end was, vve vvill declare heerafter. Now one *Simon* the sonne of *Giora* in the Toparchie of Acrabatena, hauing gathered together a multitude of seditious people, robbed and spoiled all; and not onely brake into rich mens houses, but also did beate them grieuously, openly exercising his tyrannie. But when *Ananus* and the rest sent an armie against him, he fled vnto his fellow thieues of Massada, and there hee staied till *Ananus* and the rest of his enemies were slaine: and then he wasted Idumæa with the rest, so that the gouernours of that place were faine to put a garrison in euery village: so great was the number of them, that were slaine by these thieues. And thus stood the affaires of the Iewes.

Simon the Son of Giora committeth great rapines and murthers in Acrabatena and Idumæa.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 3. Booke.

1 *Of the comming of* Vespasian *generall of the Romans into Iudæa, and of the two massacres of the Iewes, and how the Sephorites yielded themselues to* Vespasian.
2 *The description of Galilee, Samaria, and Iudæa.*
3 *Of the helpe sent vnto them of Sephoris, and of the military discipline among st the Romans.*
4 *How* Placidus *assaulted* Iotapata.
5 *How* Vespasian *inuaded Galilæa, and at his onely presence how the Galileans fled.*
6 *How* Gabara *was taken.*
7 *How Iotapata was besieged, and of the situation and batterie thereof.*
8 *Of the siege of Iotapata by* Vespasian, *and of* Iosephs *diligence, and of the excursions of the Iewes against the Romans.*
9 *How* Vespasian *did beate the wals of Iotapata, with a Ramme and other warlike engines.*
10 *How Iotapata was againe assaulted.*
11 *How* Traian *and* Titus *tooke Iapha.*
12 *How* Cerealis *ouercame the Samaritans.*
13 *How Iotapata vvas taken.*
14 *How* Ioseph *being taken saued his owne life.*
15 *How Ioppe vvas taken againe.*
16 *How Tyberias vvas yielded.*
17 *How Tarichea vvas besieged.*
18 *Of the lake called Genesar, and the fountaines of Iordan.*
19 *How Tarichea vvas deliuered.*

CHAP.

A

CHAP. I.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Of Vespasians *comming into Iudæa, and of the two massacres of the Ievves.*

AFter that *Nero* vnderstood of his euill successe against the Iewes, hee was seized with feare and astonishment; yet hee dissembled it as much as necessitie would permit him. In the meane while he set a good face on the matter, and made as though he were of more courage, saying, that that which happened, was rather by the fault of his Generall, then by the valour of their aduersaries: thinking that it behooued him, who was Emperour, not to shew himselfe mooued with a little bad newes; and the greatnesse of his Empire shewed hee had a mind which yielded to no misfortune. Yet it appeared by the vexation of his spirit that he was much moued, & in great care vnto whom he should commit the charge of the East, which rebelled; who both would conquer the Iewes, and chastise the inhabitants about them, that bare the same mind as they did. At last, he found *Vespasian*, whom hee thought onelie meet for that purpose; a man who from his infancie had been trained vp in warres, euen vntill he was gray-headed, who had appeased the people of the West, and helped them beeing troubled by the Germans, and recouerd it for the Romans: as also he did Britannie, which was vnknown before; and for that cause made his father *Claudius* triumph without taking any paines for it. *Nero* considered all these, and his prudence grounded in old age with his experience, who also had sonnes in the flower of their age to be pledges for his fidelitie, and that represented their fathers wisedom. God, as it should seem, euen then disposing something of the whole common-wealth, *Nero* sent him to gouerne the armies in Syria, greatly encouraging him with faire speeches and promises, as at that time need required.

B C

Nero is amazed and afraid at the valiant acts of the Iewes.

Nero sendeth Vespasian to gouern in Syria and direct his warres.

Thus he departed out of Achaia, where he was with *Nero*: and he commaunded *Titus* his son to leade the fift and tenth legions from Alexandria, and he himselfe crossing ouer to Hellespont, went after by land into Syria, where he assembled all the Romane forces, and all the helpe of the kings adioyning that were confederates. But the Iewes after *Cestius* vnfortunate successe became proud of their victorie, and could not containe themselues; but like men tossed at Fortunes pleasure, they still gaue more occasion of warre: and gathering all their warlike forces together, they went to Ascalon, which is an old citie seauen hundreth and twentie furlongs distant from Ierusalem, which the Iewes alwaies hated, for which cause also they first assaulted it. The Gouernours in this expeditiõ, were three men excellent aboue the rest for strength & wisedome, to wit, *Niger* of Peræa, *Silas* the Babylonian, and *Iohn* the Essean. Now the citie of Ascalon had very strong walls, but few men to defend it; for it had onely one company of footmen, and one band of horsmen, whom *Antonius* gouerned. The Iewes made such haste, as though they had dwelt hard by. *Antonius* perswading himselfe that they would assault him, caused his horsemen to issue forth of the citie: & neither fearing the multitude nor the malice of his aduersaries, he valiantly aboad the first assault of the enemies, and beat them backe that attempted to assault the wall. So the Iewes who were vnskilfull, hauing to doe with them that were expert; & they beeing on foot fighting against horsmen, without order against those that were in good order; being lightly armed, against their aduersaries who were well prouided, were easily repulsed.

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Vespasian and Titus gather great forces against the Iewes.

The Iews besiege Ascalon.

Antonie fighteth with the Iewes.

Finally, they were more led by rage and wrath, then by good counsell; and they against whom they fought were obedient, and would doe nothing without the commandement of their Leader. For their first rankes beeing broken, they were forced by the horsemen to turn their backes; and turning themselues to their owne company, who turned toward the wall, became as it were enemies to them-selues. So that euerie one seeking to auoide the horsemem, they were all dispersed about the field, which was in euery place for the aduantage of the horsemen. This greatly helped the Romans to kill so many Iewes: for they that fled were easily ouertaken by the Romans, and killed; and others compassing diuers of the Iewes about, slew them with darts: so that the Iewes were in as great desperation for al their huge multitude, as if they had been alone. The Iewes indeauouring to ouercome their misfortunes, were ashamed to flie, and so fled not hastilie, hoping that fortune would change. But the Romans not wearied in that which they did with great dexteritie, cõtinued the fight the most part of the day: so that there were slaine of the Iewes ten thousand, and two of their leaders, *Iohn* and *Silas*. The rest, many beeing wounded, followed their Generall *Niger*, vvho fled into a little towne of Idumæa, named Salis: manie of the

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The Romans ouercome the Iewes & make a great slaughter of them.

Ten thousand Iewes slaine.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

the Romans also were wounded in that fight. But the Iewes were not daunted with this misfortune, but the griefe thereof much encreased their courage: neither were they dismaied with the former losse of so many men within so short time; but rather calling to mind their great victorie they had before, were drawn to vndergo yet another mishap. Shortly after, before the mens wounds were healed, they gathered together all their forces, and went againe to Ascalon in greater number and furie, but with the same successe and skill in warlike affaires which they had before. For *Antonius* hauing warning which way they meant to come, placed an ambush in the way; & the horsemen setting vpon them at vnawares, they killed aboue eight thousand of them, before they could prepare themselues to fight: and all the rest fled, and *Niger* with them, shewing as he fled many arguments of a valiant mind: & for that the enemies pursued them, they fled into the safest tower of a towne called Bezedel. *Antonius* knowing it to be in vaine to stay about the tower that was inuincible, yet loth to let the General of their aduersaries to escape, set fire on the wals; & so departing, triumphed, thinking that *Niger* had been burned. But he leapt into a deepe vault in the Castle, and so escaped, and three daies after hee shewed himselfe vnto his souldiers, who sought for him weeping, that they might burie his body, for they thoght him dead: whom against all expectation seeing aliue, they were very glad, as though by Gods prouidence he escaped to be still their Leader.

Eight thousand Iewes slaine at Ascalon.

Vespasian came to Antiochia, which is the mother citie of al Syria, and brought his army with him, which for greatnesse and happy successe, doubtlesse was the third in the whole world; and finding that king *Agrippa* did expect his comming, he hasted with all his forces from thence to Ptolemais. At this place there came vnto him the citizens of Sephoris a citie of Galilee, who had no thought at all of rebellion: these both prouident for their owne safetie, and well knowing the forces of the Romans, before *Vespasian* came, submitted themselues vnto *Cestius Gallus*, and receiued from him a garrison of souldiers; and now also curteously entertaining *Vespasian*, offered their help against their countrimen. To whom *Vespasian* at their request gaue a guard of horse and foote, so great as he thought was able to resist the force of their enemies, if the Iewes should attempt any thing against them. For he thought it would be a great helpe vnto him in his warre to come, to haue Sephoris the greatest citie of Galilee situate in a strong place on his side, which otherwise might be a safeguard to the whole nation.

Vespasian with his whole army commeth to Ptolemais.

The Sephorits do curteously entertaine the Romans.

CHAP. II.

The description of Galilæa, Samaria, and Iudæa.

THere are two places named Galilæa, the one is called high Galilæa, and the other lowe Galilee: and they are both compassed with Phœnicia and Syria. On the west Ptolemais with the limits of his territorie doth part their borders, and the mount Carmell, wich in time past belonged vnto Galilee, but now vnto the Tyrians. Vnto which adioyneth Gabaa, which signifieth the horsmens citie: so called for becausse king *Herods* horsemen were sent thither to inhabite. On the South part it ioyneth to the Samaritans and Scythopolitanes vnto Iordan. On the East part it bordereth vpon Hippene, and Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, which are the borders of kings *Agrippa* his country. On the North it bordereth vpon Tyria. The length of lower Galilee reacheth from Tiberias vnto Zabulon; neere which is Ptolemais by the sea coast. In breadth it reacheth from the Village Xaloth, situate in a great field, vnto Bersabe, where also begins the breadth of high Galilee, and reacheth vnto the village called Baca, bordering vpon the Tyrians; and the length thereof is from a village neer Iordan named Thella, vnto Meroth. And beeing of such bignesse, and enuironed with so many nations, yet did they alwaies resist forraine forces. For the Galileans are from their childhood warlike, and neuer are daunted by feare or penurie: for their countrey is most fruitfull, set with all manner of trees, and very fertile, notwithstanding the inhabitants take small paines in tilling the ground. All parts thereof are tilled by the inhabitants, and there is no waste part.

The description and situation of the higher Galilee

The length and breadth of the lower Galilee.

The fertilitie of Galilee.

There are manie Cities, and in euerie place there are villages populous and rich: so that the least Village there, hath in it aboue fifteene thousand inhabitants. And although Galilee bee lesse in compasse then the region beyond the riuer, yet it is more populous, fertiler and richer then the same: for it is all tilled, and all beareth fruit. But that beyond the water, though it be bigger, yet it is not all inhabited, for there are many deserts and barren places, & only beareth wild fruits. Peræa hath a good soile & large fields, beset with diuers trees, especially oliues, vines and palme trees: and it is abundantlie watred with brookes running from the mountaines, and springs

The description of the countrey beyond the flood.

springs that continually come down, when in the dog daies they are almost dry. The length of this place is from Macherunt to Pella: the breadth from Philadelphia to Iordan. This town Pella before mentioned, lieth on the North part, and Iordan on the West, and the countrey of the Moabites bordereth on the South, and on the East Arabia, Silbonitis, Philadelphia and Gerasis. Samaria is seated between Iudæa & Galilee, beginning at a town situate in a place called Ginæa, and endeth in the Toparchy of Acrabatena, nothing differing in nature from Iudæa. For both of them are ful of mountaines and fieldes, and good for tillage; full of trees abounding both with wilde apples and others: for they are of their nature dry, but haue raine enough, and haue passing sweet waters, and aboundance of good grasse, and great store of milch beasts, and which is a great argument of wealth, both places are verie populous. The confines of these countries is Anauth, a village otherwise called Borceos, which lieth on the North part of Iudæa. The South part of Iudæa, if you measure the length, is extended vnto the village of the Arabians, called Iardan: the breadth reacheth from Iordan vnto Ioppe: in the midst thereof is situate Ierusalem; so that some call that citie the nauell of that countrey. Iudæa also bordereth on the sea coast, euen vnto Ptolemais. It is diuided into eleuen portions: the first is Ierusalem, head & chiefe of all, being aboue all the rest, as the head is aboue the body: and the rest are Toparchies. Gophna is the second, after that Acrabatena, then Thamna, afterward Lydda, also Ammaus, and Pella, and Idumæa, and Engadda, & Herodium, and Iericho: besides these Iamnia and Ioppe commaund the places adioyning. Moreouer, there is Gamala & Gaulanitis, & Batanea & Trachonitis, which are portions belonging to king *Agrippa* his kingdom. This countrey beginneth at mount Libanus, & the fountaines of Iordan, and reacheth in breadth vnto the lake neer Tiberias. And in length it reacheth from Iulias to Arphas, and the inhabitants are partly Iewes, and partly Syrians.

The yeare of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

The description of the Region of Samaria.

The description of Iury whose middle part is Ierusalem.

The diuision of Iudæa.

CHAP. III.

How aide was sent vnto the people of Sephoris: and of the militarie discipline of the Romanes.

I Haue alreadie spoken of Iudæa as briefely as might bee, and with what countries it is enuironed. Now *Vespasian* sent helpe vnto the inhabitants of Sephoris, to wit, one thousand horsemen, and sixe thousand foot, *Placidus* the Tribune being their gouernour: the horsmen diuided themselues into two companies; lodged in a great Plaine, and the footemen were in garison in the citie for to defend it, but the horsemen staied without. These horsemen made excursions on euery side, and greatly molested *Ioseph*, who was quietly bent, & also spoiled all that was without the cities, and alwaies repulsed the inhabitants, if at any time they tooke courage to reuenge themselues. Notwithstanding, *Ioseph* assaulted the city Sephoris, hoping to take it: which he before such time as it reuolted vnto the Romanes, had compassed with so strong wals, that the Romans themselues could not haue taken it; so his hope was frustrate: for neither by force nor fair meanes would the Sephorites yeeld vnto him. Heereat the Romanes beeing angry, troubled the countrey more then before; who now neither night nor day ceased from destroying it, but robbed and spoiled all they found, and all men able to beare armes they slue, and made the rest their slaues: Thus all Galilee was filled with fire and sword, and no man escaped that calamitie, onely they saued themselues, that fled into the cities that *Ioseph* had walled.

Vespasian sendeth helpe to the Sephorits, but filleth Galilee with sword & fire.

Titus came to Alexandria beeing winter, sooner then hee was expected: and so receiued there the souldiers that hee was sent for: and hauing a prosperous iourney, hee quickly came to Ptolemais; and finding his father there with two of the chiefest legions, to wit, the fift and tenth, hee also adioyned that fifteenth legio that he brought with him. And there followed them eighteen companies, fiue out of Cæsarea, one troupe of horsemen, and fiue companies of horsemen out of Syria: ten of these companies of foot had in euerie one of them a thousand men, the rest onelie sixe hundreth and thirteene, and in euery troupe of horsemen were a hundreth and twentie. The kings also brought great aide: for *Antiochus*, *Agrippa* and *Sohemus*, brought each of them 2000. bowmen, and a thousand horsmen: and *Malchus* king of Arabia, brought 5000 foote, and 1000 horse, & the most of his footmen were archers; so that the whole army together with the kings aide, amounted vnto the number of threescore thousand horse and foot together; besides them that followed the campe, who were a great multitude, & not inferiour vnto the souldiers in warlike discipline: so that one may admire the Romanes, who so traine vp their seruants in time of peace, that they are verie fit for warres. So that whosoeuer well beholdeth their militarie

Titus bringeth a mighty army into Iudæa.

discipline,

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

discipline he shall perceiue that they gained not this their goodly Empire by chance & fortune, G
but by vertue: for they do not only thē begin to vse weapons when they come to fight, but they
practice militarie discipline before they need: and they are not idle in time of peace, but alwaies
practice themselues therein without ceasing. Their exercises are like warre it selfe, & euery soul-
The diligence and labour of the Romanes in prouiding things necessary for the warres.
dier is euery day exercised in euery sort of weapons, euen as though they were fighting against
the enemie, so that hereby they easily indure the burthen & trauaile of wars. For their disorder
doth not make them forget what to do, neither doth feare dismay them, nor continuāce of fight
and war wearie and tire them. So that whosoeuer they fight against, who are not so well prouided
in these affaires, as they are, they alwaies ouercome them: and one may well call their practices a-
mongst themselues, conflicts without bloudshed; and their wars indeed, conflicts whith bloud-
The industry of the Romās. The order of the Romans in their camp.
shed. They are not easily ouercome at vnawares: for in what enemy-countrey soeuer they come, H
they fight not before they haue fortified their camp about, which they do not rashly, neither do
they pitch their tents in marish or high places, after a disordered manner, for if the place be vne-
quall, they make it plaine. And they proportion their campe foure square: for they haue manie
Smiths, and all kind of workmen needfull, which doe still follow the armie, to accomplish such
busines. And in the innermost part of the campe they make tabernacles, whose outside resem-
bleth a wall, with towers equally distant one from another, and betweene them engines of warre
to cast stones, and such like, that all kind of shot may be in readinesse. They also build foure gates
large and wide, both for their cattell easily to come in at, and also for themselues if need require,
to enter in or issue out speedily. I

Within the camp, there are streets diuided into certaine spaces: in the midst their rulers, & a-
mongst them all, the Generals tent like a temple, so that it seemeth a citie, and a market full of
shops made in an instant. There are also seats builded for the gouernors to iudge of controuer-
sies, if any arise betweene the souldiers and others. All this place and all things belonging thereto
are made in an instant, partly by reason of the multitude, partly by the industry of such as work:
and if need require they compasse it with a trench foure cubits deepe, and as many broad. Thus
the souldiers enclosed with armes, doe liue quietly in their tents, without disorder, and all things
are done with good aduice and order, whether they need water, or corne, or wood: for they
must all goe to dinner at the time appointed, and all sleep at once, and a trumpet giueth notice K
when to watch and guard, and nothing is done that is not commanded.

The reuerence & obedience of the Romans souldiers to their captains
In the morning, all the souldiers come vnto their captaines to salute them, the captaines to the
tribunes, and they all to the Generall, and he giueth them a watch word, & telleth them what hee
thinketh good, & how they shall behaue themselues towards those that are vnder them, wherby
in fight they may demeane themselues, and well know when to assault, and when to retire. When
they goe forth of the camp a trumpet soundeth, & no man is idle, but at the first becke taketh a-
How the Romans forsake their campe.
way his tabernacle, & makes all ready for their departure. Then the trumpet soūdeth again, war-
ning them to be ready: & hauing loden their beasts with their baggage, they expect the sound a-
gain, as though they were to run a race, & at their departure they burn their camp, because it is ea-
sie to build the like again, & also least afterwards it may aduantage their enemies. Whē the trum- L
pet hath sounded the third time, which is a signe to sette forward, then they hasten those that are
slow, least they forsake their order. And a crier standeth on the right hand of their general, asking
thrice if they be prepared to fight, & they as often answere that they are, holding vp their right
hands with lofty courage: & so they march on easily, euery man keeping his rank, as though they
were ready to giue battell. The footmen haue a head peece, a breast plate, and a sword on the left
The armour of the Romā footmen.
side, and on the right side a dagger. The footmen guarding the generall haue a Iauelin a & shield:
The furniture of the Romā horsemen.
the rest armed euery one with bucklers and pikes. Moreouer, they carry a saw, a basket, a sardle,
a hatchet, also a cord, a sythe, a chain, and victuals for 3. daies, so that the footmen are as much lo-
den as their cattel. The horsmen carry at their right side a long sword, in the left hand a dart, and M
a long shield hanging against the horse side, & a quiuer with 3. darts with broad edges, which are
as big as a speare: they haue also helmets and breast-plates like the footmen. And the generals
The Romans attempt nothing vnaduisedly or rashly.
horsmen that guard his body do nothing differ from the rest. That cōpany alwaies leadeth, that
the lot falleth vnto. And these are the fashions of the Romans cōcerning their warlike discipline.
They neuer do any thing vnaduisedly in battaile, but manage all things according to counsel, so
that they either do not erre, or if they do, their fault is easily amended. For they thinke that bad
successe after deliberation is better then good fortune without it; and they thinke that there-
in fortune did but flatter them, to worke them some great despight, by reason they haue not deli-
berated: but that which is premeditated, although it haue euil successe, yet it maketh them wary

against

A againſt another time. And none of them accounts that good ſucceſs, which cometh by chance, and yet euery one is comforted in their miſfortune, for that they take good aduice. By the military exerciſes they do not only make the bodies of their ſouldiers ſtrong, but their mindes alſo more hardy: and their diligence is the greater by their feare. For their lawes are capital, not only for them that forſake their order, but alſo for them that cõmit the leaſt enormity or negligence; and their generals are more ſeuere then their lawes: who only by rewarding the good, purchaſe fauour, leaſt they ſeem cruell in puniſhing the wicked. Moreouer, they are ſo obedient to their rulers, that in peace they honor them, and in warre the whole army ſeemeth one body vnited together: they ſo keep order, and are ſo ready to turne here or there, and ſo attentiue to any cõmand, and alſo diligent to note ſignes made vnto them, and ſo quick to labour with their hands,
B that they are alwaies apt to do any thing, but ſlow to endure. Inſomuch that they know no place, where they haue been ouercome, either by number or courage, or counſell, or by the difficulty of the place, nor by fortune it ſelfe: For they think victory more certaine then Fortune. Therefore ſeeing that their deeds are ruled by aduice and counſell, and their commandments ſo well fulfilled by the Army, what maruell is it if their Empire in the Eaſt reach vnto Euphrates, in the Weſt vnto the Ocean, in the South vnto Affrick, in the North vnto Rhene and Danubius? ſeeing that one may iuſtly affirme the poſſeſſion leſſe then the poſſeſſors. This I haue ſpoken, not to praiſe the Romans, but to comfort the conquered, and to terrifie thoſe that deſire alteration: and perhaps it may teach them who want good diſcipline, and are ignorant of the manners and cuſtomes of the Romans in their militarie affaires. But I returne to my purpoſe.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

The Romans grow more diligent by feare.

The obedience of the Roman ſouldier is no ſmal occaſion of his victory.

How farre the Roman gouernment extendeth.

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CHAP. IIII.

How Placidus *aſſaulted* Iotapata.

IN the meane time *Veſpaſian* liuing at Ptolemais with his ſon *Titus*, prepared his army. But *Placidus* was already entred into Galilee and run through it, where he ſlew almoſt all he found who were of the weaker ſort of people & cowards: And ſeeing that thoſe of courage alwaies fled into the cities that *Ioſeph* had fortified, he turned his forces againſt *Iotapata*, which was the ſtrongeſt of them, thinking it might eaſily be taken by a ſudden aſſault, and that he thereby ſhould get great glory, and that by taking it great profits might enſue,
D in that the people ſeeing the ſtrongeſt citie ſurpriſed, they would not fly to any againe. But it fel not out as he expected; for the people of Iotapata vnderſtanding of his comming, met him neer the towne, and ſuddenly encountring the Romans, being a great multitude and well diſpoſed to fight, as thoſe that bare armes for the generall ſafety of the country, and the liues of their wiues and children, they put the Romans to flight, wounding many, only ſeuen being ſlaine: for the Romans in flying kept their rankes: and being armed round about, they were not dangerouſly wounded; but the Iewes being vnarmed, rather truſted to their darts and arrowes then to handy blowes. There were three Iewes ſlaine, and a few wounded: and ſo *Placidus* when he ſaw himſelfe repulſed from the towne, he fled.

Placidus draweth his forces againſt Iotapata, & being repulſed, flies.

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CHAP. V.

How Veſpaſian *inuaded Galilee, and how at the very ſight of him the ſeditious fled.*

VEſpaſian deſirous to take Galilee himſelf, departed from Ptolemais, making ſuch iournies as ſouldiers ought to keep, which the Romans are wont to follow. And he commanded thoſe that came to help him, and the bowmen becauſe they were lighter armed, to go before & repreſſe the enemies incurſions, and ſearch the wood and forreſt fit for ambuſhes, whereby they were to paſſe: after them followed part of the Roman footmen and horſmen: and after them there marched ten by ten out of euery hundreth, bearing with them their armor, and the meaſures of their camp. After them followed men, whoſe office it was to
F mend the waies, where they were bad, and cut down the woods that were in the way, leaſt with bad way the army were tyred. After them he ſent his baggage and the baggage of the rulers vnder him, and withall horſmen to guard it. And after them he himſelf followed, leading an army of choſen footmen and horſemen, accompanied with his owne guard of horſemen, and he had out of euery legion ſixſcore men for his own guard. After followed they that carried the engins to batter the wals of the cities, and other inſtruments, and with them the Prefects and Tribunes, guarded with their choſen ſouldiers. After them other enſignes, and the Eagle, the which the

Veſpaſian directeth the Romans march.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs Nativity, 69.

Romans hold for chiefe of all, becauſe it is the King of all birds, and is moſt valiant and ſtrong: wherfore they think it a ſigne of dominion and victory, ouer all them againſt whom they bear it. After theſe ſacred enſignes followed the trumpets ſounding in warlike manner; and after them the army marching ſix in a rank; and as the cuſtome is, a Centurion went by them to keep order: the ſeruants were all with the footmen and baggage. After the laſt company who were hired, followed armed footmen and horſmen in great number. And thus *Veſpaſian* with his whole army came vnto the borders of Galilee: and there pitching his Tents, he ſtaied the ſoldiers who were very eager to fight; as it were boaſting and ſhewing his army to terrifie his aduerſaries, and giuing them time to repent, if any one would alter his minde before the warre began, yet did hee prepare to beſiege the wals and fortreſſes. The only ſight of him made many rebels flie, and danted the moſt of them. For *Ioſephs* ſouldiers who had pitched his Tents a little from Sephoris, when they knew that war grew on, and that they were preſently to fight with the Romans, they did not onely fly before they fought: but alſo before they ſaw their enemies. *Ioſeph* being left with a very few, knowing he was not able to abide the enemies; and that the Iews were diſcomfited, and that if he put any truſt in them, they would for the moſt part reuolt vnto the enemies; for that time abſtained from all warre, and thought to get himſelfe out of danger: and ſo accompanied with them them that remained with him, he went to Tiberias.

The Eagle by the Romans is held the enſigne of the Empire and a ſigne of victory.

Ioſeph forſaken by his friends flies to Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

How Gadara was beſieged and taken.

Veſpaſian went vnto Gadara, and tooke it at the firſt aſſault: for all able men fit for warre were fled out of the citie: and entring the citie, he put all to death. For the Romans had no mercy, partly for the hatred they conceiued againſt the Iewes, and partly in reuenge of that which had befallen *Ceſtius*. And they burned the citie and all towns and villages adioyning: ſome of them being already deſolate, and the inhabitants of the reſt were made ſlaues. *Ioſeph* fled into the citie which he made choice of for his ſafegard, and filled it with feare. For the people of Tiberias thought he would neuer haue fled, if there had been any hope of withſtanding the Romans: wherein they iudged not amiſſe, for he did foreſee what euent thoſe warres would haue, and that their only ſafety conſiſted in changing their rebellious minds. He himſelf, though he hoped to obtaine pardon of the Romans, yet had he farre more rather haue died then to haue liued pleaſantly with them againſt whom he was ſent, and ſo become a traitour vnto his countrey committed to his charge. Wherefore he determined faithfully to write all his eſtate, and the eſtate of the countrie vnto the nobility at Ieruſalem, and not to extoll the enemies forces too much, leaſt they ſhould ſay he was a coward; nor yet putting them in any comfort, leaſt perhaps they now penitent for that they had done, againe by his letters ſhould be incited to goe forward in their rebellious courſe: willing them preſently to write an anſwere, whether they thought it good to enter into league with the Romans; or if they would make warre, then they ſhould ſend a ſufficient army againſt the Romans: and hauing written to this effect, he preſently ſent men away to Ieruſalem to beare theſe letters.

Ioſeph is afraid of the Romans, and writeth to Ieruſalem.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſiege of Iotapata.

Veſpaſian was very deſirous to take Iotapata, for that he knew many of his enimies were fled thither, and for that this was the ſtrongeſt refuge they had. So hee ſent before footmen & horſemen, to plaine the waies which were full of ragged ſtones, ſo that it was hard for footmen to paſſe, and altogether vnpoſſible for horſemen: who within foure daies effected that which they were commanded, and made a large way for the army to paſſe: And the fift day which was the one & twentith of March, *Ioſeph* before they came entred into the citie, coming thither from Tiberias to encourage the Iewes who were diſmaied. A certain run-away told *Veſpaſian* that *Ioſeph* was come thither, willing him to haſten thither, for if he could take *Ioſeph* he might eaſily take all Iudæa. Hereat *Veſpaſian* was very glad, & took it as good fortune, that the moſt prudent and potent of his enemies, ſhould (God at that time ſo working) put himſelfe as it were in hold, and ſo preſently hee ſent *Placidus* before with a thouſand horſemen, and with him captaine *Ebutius*, a man both ſtrong, valiant and prudent, and commaunded them to compaſſe the Citie with a ſiege, leaſt *Ioſeph* ſhould priuily eſcape from thence. The

Ioſeph comes to Iotapata from Tiberias

Iotapata beſieged.

day

A day after he himſelfe followed with the whole army, and about noone cam to Iotapata, and leading his army vnto the North ſide of the town, he pitched his tents vpon a hill ſeuen ſtounds diſtant from the citie. Vpon purpoſe placing himſelf within the view of his enemies, that the very ſight of his army might terrifie them: which he alſo did; for preſently euery one was in ſuch a feare, that none durſt go out of the citie. The Romans being wearied all that day, would not aſſault the city: wherfore they inuironed the town with two ſquadrons, and the third that conſiſted in horſmen, was placed without to intercept all paſſage, that none of the Iewes could paſſe any whither. Heereby the Iewes now in deſperation tooke heart; for in warre nothing is more forcible then neceſsitie. The next day began the batterie, and euery Iew kept his quarter: and kept themſelues in order, and reſiſted the Romans before their wals. But when *Veſpaſian* ſent all
B the bowmen, and thoſe who caſt darts and other things to beat them off from the wals, and hee himſelfe with footmen aſſaulted the wals in another place where they might eaſily be entred: then *Ioſeph* fearing the citie, accompanied with all the people iſſued out of the town, & aſſaulted the Romans fiercely, and did driue them from the wals, ſhewing courage & ſtrength: and they themſelues ſuffered as much harm as they did vnto their enemies. For as they were encouraged with deſperation, ſo were the Romans with ſhame, who were armed with military knowledge and ſtrength, and the Iewes only with anger. And the fight continued all day euen vntill night;
C wherein many Romans were wounded, and only thirteen ſlaine: and of the Iewes there were ſix hundreth wounded, and ſeuenteene ſlaine. The next day alſo they met the Romans, and reſiſted them more ſtoutly then before, taking courage for that they the day before had reſiſted them, contrary to their expectation: and all the Romans fought more valiantly, aſhamed as it were of themſelues, in ſuffering the Iewes to reſiſt them; thinking withall that they themſelues were ouercome, if they did not quickly ſuppreſſe their enemies. Wherfore the Romans for fiue daies together ceaſed not to aſſault the towne, and the Iewes ſtrongly rebatted them: and now neither the Iewes feared their enemies, nor the Romans were diſmaied with the difficulty of taking the town. Iotapata is almoſt all ſituate vpon a rock, and compaſſed about with deep vallies,
D which deſcend ſtraight downe like a wall: ſo that one can ſcarcely ſee the bottome. There is only acceſſe vnto it on the North part, where it is ſeated vpon a mountaine going ouerthwart; which *Ioſeph* incloſed with a wall, to the end it might be no paſſage for the enemies: all the reſt of the citie is inuironed with high mountaines, ſo that it cannot be diſcerned by any before they be hard at it. And Iotapata was thus ſtrengthned.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

Nothing is more effectual in warre or more deſperate then neceſsity.

A fight between the Romans & the Iewes continued a whole day, and broken off by night.

The ſituation of Iotapata.

Veſpaſian determined both to ſtriue againſt the nature of the place, and hardineſs of the Iewes; and therefore called all his captaines together, and conſulted with them to begin a hot ſiege: at laſt they reſolued to reare a mount in that place where the citie was eaſieſt to be entred. He ſent his whole army to prouide wood to do it, who cut down the mountaines neer vnto the towne: and great ſtore of wood and ſtone being brought, ſetting hurdles before them to beare off the darts and arrowes, he began to raiſe a mount; ſo that they receiued little or no harme by dartes caſt from off the wals: others brought earth from places thereabout, and no man was idle. The Iewes caſt continually great ſtones and all kind of darts vpon that which defended them; which though they pearced not thorough, yet they made a great noyſe and terrified the workemen.
E Which *Veſpaſian* ſeeing, cauſed all engines that did caſt ſtones and darts, which were in number a hundreth and threeſcore, to be placed againſt the wals, to beate the Iewes from thence. And ſo they caſt ſtones, and darts, and fire, and arrowes in great abundance: ſo that they did not onely beate the Iewes from off the wals, but alſo out of the reach of their ſhot; for both the Arabian archers & thoſe that vſed ſlings and darts, and all the engines continually plaied vpon them. For all this the Iews reſted not, but running out in companies as thecues, they took away that which defended the workmen, and then aſſaulted them hauing no defence: and when they had beaten them away, deſtroyed and fired all that the Romans had wrought for their owne defence and ſafegard. At laſt *Veſpaſian* perceiued that theſe domages hapned for that there was ſpace left betweene all theſe workes, whereby the enemies had acceſſe to do them ſuch harmes: where-
F fore hee vnited them together, and ſo hindered the priuy excurſions of the Iewes. When the mount was almoſt made and the towers vpon it finiſhed, *Ioſeph* afraid to doe nothing for the ſafegard of the towne, called all workmen neceſſary together, and commanded them to make the wall there higher; but they ſaid it was vnpoſſible for them to worke, for the number of ſhot in that place. Then *Ioſeph* made this deuice to defend them: he fixed ſtakes in the ground, and faſtned vnto them hides of Kine & Oxen new ſlaine, by which they were defended from ſhot, and fire; ſo that they labouring night and day raiſed the wall twenty cubits high, erecting

Veſpaſian intends to begin a ſharp ſiege.

The Iewes break out and beat down the bulwarke.

Ioſeph fixeth ſtakes in the ground and faſtneth vnto them raw Oxe hides to raiſe the wall and beat off the ſhot.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth 69.

also vpon it many towers: and by this meanes made it a strong defence. Whereat the Romans, G who before thought themselues sure of the towne, were now greatly dismaid both by this deuice of *Iosephs*, and also by the hardinesse of the Iewes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the siege of Iotapata by Vespasian, *and the diligence that* Ioseph *vsed, and how the Iewes made excursions against the Romans.*

THis stratagem and the cariage of the Iewes greatly moued *Vespasian*: for now they receiuing courage in that defence, made assaults vpon the Romans of their own accord, and H euery day skirmished, running out in companies, and like theeues, taking away whatsoeuer the lighted vpon; and what they could not carry away, they set on fire. At last *Vespasian* would not permit his souldiers to fight any longer: but determined now to besiege it and take it by want of victuals, purposing either to make them come & yeeld themselues for lack of food, or if they held out, to famish them: and that it would be more easie to take it by force, if ceasing awhile frō assaulting it, he afterward set vpon it, they being in anguish for the danger they were in. Wherfore he cōmanded all passages to be kept, that none could go out of the citie. But they had great store of corne, and of all other things else, except salt & water, whereof they stood in great want: for there is neuer a fountain in the citie, and they haue little raine in sommer time, so that the inhabitants were in great distresse; for now there was hardly any water left in the citie. I *Ioseph* perceiuing there was abundance of all things else, and that the citizens were valiant, as also the siege like to continue long, he gaue to euery one water in measure: with which they were not contented, thinking it as good to want altogether; as to haue it in that maner; and now they began to faint, as though they had suffred extream drought. The Romans perceiuing this, being vpon a high hill, ouer against the place whither all the Iewes came together to receiue water, they with their shot killed many that came thither, insomuch that *Vespasian* hoped that within short time their water would be spent, and they constrained to yeeld. But *Ioseph* to frustrate this hope, commanded a great many garments to be laid in water and hanged vpon the wals, so that the water might run downe on euery side. When the Romans saw this, they were much grieued and affraid, for that they wasted so much water in mockery, and before had thought that they K had wanted water to drink. And now *Vespasian* scorning to win the citie by siege, purposed to assault it againe by force. The Iewes were very glad of this: and the citie beeing in danger, rather wished to be slaine then perish through hunger or thirst. *Ioseph* deuised also another way to get such necessaries as he wanted, out of the countrie: for there was a valley out of the way, and therfore not regarded by the Romans: wherefore *Ioseph* sent men into the countrie to his friends for such things as the citie wanted, by this way; cōmanding them when they came neer the watchmen, to hide and couer themselues with hairie skins, that the watchmen might think them to be dogs: and this he vsed a good space, till at last the watchmen perceiued it, and so set a guard there to stop the passage. When *Ioseph* perceiued the citie could not hold out long, and fearing his owne life, if still hee continued there, he treated with the chiefe of the citie that he L might fly. But the people perceiuing his intent, flocked about him, and besought him to take pitie vpon them, and not forsake them, who had no hope but in him, affirming that for his sake they were all courageous and bold to fight; and if they were taken, yet he would be a comfort vnto them, telling him that it did not become him to fly from his enemies, nor to forsake his friends, neither as it were to leap out of a ship shaken with a tempest, into the which hee came when the seas were calme, for so by this means he would soon ouerthrow the city; & once gone, no man afterward could or durst resist their enemies; for in him was all their hope.

Vespasian restraineth his souldiers from fight and besiegeth the citie.

Ioseph deliuereth his soldiers water by measure.

Iosephs stratagem.

Another policy of Iosephs.

The people beseeched Ioseph that he would not forsake them.

Iosephs prudence.

Ioseph kept it to himselfe that his purpose was to worke his owne safety: for hee told them the thing which he intended was for their good, affirming that though he staied still in the citie, yet he could do them little good: and if the citie should chance to be taken, then hee and they were M like to perish; but if he were abroad and not besieged, hee could doe them great good: for hee would presently assemble all the people of Galilee, and come against the Romans, and so raise their siege; whereas now in staying with them he saw not wherein he did them any good, but rather incited the Romans against them, making them more earnest to take the towne then they would be, onely because he was there, that they might take him; but if they knew once that hee were fled, they would not then be so earnest in the siege. *Ioseph* herewith could not perswade the people,

A people,but they flocked faſter about him, and both yong and old of all ſorts came and proſtrated themſelues at his feet,weeping, and beſeeching him to take ſuch hap as ſhould befall them,whether it were good or bad;not for that they enuied his eſcape,but for that they hoped they ſhould receiue no harme if he remained with them. *The yeare of the world,4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.*

He then bethought thimſelf that if he ſtaid with them,he fulfilled their requeſt;and if he denied, he feared they would force him. Wherfore being partly moued by compaſſion, he determined to ſtay; and being now, as all the citie was, deſperate, he told them that now it was time to fight,ſeeing there was no hope of ſafety: and that it was a goodly matter to ſpend their liues renowmedly, and do ſome noble act to leaue a remembrance vnto their poſterity of their valour: and ſo went about it. And iſſuing out of the city with the moſt valiant among them,when he had B killed the watchmen, at the firſt encounter hee came euen vnto the Romans tents, and tore the skins that their tents were made of, and fired others,and their engines: and ſo he did the ſecond and third day,and for certaine daies & nights afterward neuer ceaſed. When *Veſpaſian* perceiued the Romans greatly endomaged by ſuch incurſions & very loth to fly for ſhame, and not able to follow them being ſo loaden with their armor, and that the Iewes alwaies did ſome exploit before they retyred themſelues into the citie; he gaue commandement vnto his ſouldiers to leaue their aſſault, & not to fight againſt men who deſired to die, affirming that no men were ſtronger then thoſe in deſperation,and that if they found none to aſſaile, their courage would ſoon be alaid; like vnto a flame of fire,when the matter that nouriſheth it, is conſumed. Moreouer, the Romans muſt ſeeke victory more warily, for that they fought not for neceſſity, but onely to in- C creaſe their dominions: and after that, oftentimes they beat the Iewes by the Arabian archers, and with ſlings and darts, and other ſhot which neuer ceaſed, and ſo the Iewes by this meanes were repreſſed. But ſo ſoon as they were without the danger of the ſhot, they more furiouſly aſſailed the Romans, ſparing neither body nor minde,but continually fought by turnes,and euery one of the citie aſſiſted them that ſo laboured.

Ioſeph ſtaies in Iotapata. Whereas there is no hope of help there warre is the laſt remedy.

The audacious courage of the Iewes in their extream deſperation.

The Iewes with their ſlings are repulſed by the Arabian archers.

CHAP. IX.

How Veſpaſian *did beat the wals of Iotapata with a Ramme, and other warlike Engines.*

D VEſpaſian thinking himſelfe as it were beſieged, both for the long time which hee had continued the ſiege, and alſo for the diuers aſſaults and priuy excurſions of the Iews; hauing now almoſt raiſed the Rampiers as high as the wals of the citie, determined to batter them with a Ramme. A Ramme is a huge beam like the maſt of a ſhip,whoſe end is armed with a ſtrong maſſiue iron, made in the forme of a Rams head: whereupon it takes his name, becauſe he butteth with his head. It hangeth on another beame with ropes, like the beam of a paire of ballances: the beame it hangeth on lying acroſſe is held vp with two props, which being drawne back by force of many men,and then ioyntly with all their forces ſhooued forward, it ſtriketh the wall with the head of iron: And there is no wall nor tower ſo ſtrong,but though it abide the firſt ſtroke of the engine, yet can it not hold out long. The Generall of the E Romans thought good to vſe this meanes to take the city by force, for that the ſiege was dangerous, by reaſon that the Iewes neuer reſted; ſo the Romans with all kind of ſhot endeuoured to beat the Iewes from off the wals that made any reſiſtance: and the archers and they who vſed ſlings,were hard by: and when they ſaw that none of the Iewes durſt come vpon the wals, they applied the Ramme vnto them; and couered it aloft with hurdles and skins, both for to defend themſelues and the engine, and at the firſt aſſault the wals were ſhaken, ſo that the citizens cried as though the town had been already taken. *Ioſeph* ſeeing them ſtill beat one place, and that preſently the wall would fall, deuiſed a way to reſiſt the force of the Ramme, and ſo he filled ſacks with chaffe, and let them down off the wall iuſt againſt that place,where the Ram ſtrook ordinarily, and ſo brake the force of the blowes, the looſneſſe of the chaffe making no reſiſtance; and F ſo drowning or abating the violence of the ſtroke. By this meanes the Romans were hindered: for whither ſoeuer they brought the Ramme, thither did they vpon the wals alſo remooue the ſacks of chaffe,and brake the force thereof: till at laſt the Romans alſo deuiſed a way to cut theſe ſacks, taking long poles & binding Siethes vnto the ends of them, and ſo cut theſe ſacks of chaf. And the Ramme ſhooke the wall, and the wall newly built was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt. Then *Ioſeph* and his ſouldiers ſought to help themſelues by fire workes, and ſo they fired all that was made of dry wood in three ſeuerall places, and withall the engines,and forts, and mounts of the

A Ramme.

Ioſephs deuiſe how to break the force of the Ramme.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs Nativity, 69.

Romans, who now had much adoe to defend themſelues: firſt, becauſe that they were terrified with the valour of the Iewes: and ſecondly, becauſe euery one had worke enough to defend himſelfe againſt the fire, which ſeiſing vpon dry matter with Brimſtone and Pitch wonderfully encreaſed; ſo that in one houres ſpace it conſumed all the works that the Romans had made with ſo great labour. There was a Iew the ſon of *Samias* called *Eleazar*, who deſerued eternall memory: this man was born at Saab in Galilee. This *Eleazar* took vp a great ſtone, and caſt it down with ſuch force vpon the Ramme, that he brake off the head thereof; and nothing fearing leapt downe amongſt the midſt of his enemies, and brought it away into the citie: at the laſt being vnarmed, & as it were a marke for his enemies to ſhoot at, he receiued in his bodie fiue arrowes; and as though he had not felt them, ſo ſoon as he had gotten vp the wal where all might ſee him, he boldly ſtood ſtill, and ſo through griefe of his wounds hauing the head of the Ramme in his armes fell down. Next vnto him two brethren of Ramath in Galilee ſhewed themſelues valiant, named *Netiras* and *Philip*, who aſſaulted the tenth legion of the Romans with ſuch violence, that they brake their ranks, and put all to flight that ſought to withſtand them: which *Ioſeph* and thoſe that were with him perceiuing, took fire and burnt the engines, workes, and defences of the fift and tenth legions that were fled, and thoſe that followed deſtroied all engines, and other matter that was left. In the euening the Romans againe erected the Ram againſt that part of the citie which before they had beaten, and ſo began afreſh to ſhake the wall in the ſame place that before they had battered: and one of the Iewes ſhot an arrow from the wal, and wounded *Veſpaſian* in the ſole of the foot, yet the wound was not great, for that the force of the arrow was ſpent before it came to him, hauing come a great way off.

Ioſeph burnes the engins, & turneth off the Romans.

Eleazars ſtrength and courage.

Netiras and *Philips* valour againſt the Romans.

Veſpaſian wounded in the ſole of the foot by an arrow.

This fact greatly troubled the Romanes, who ſeeing *Veſpaſian* bleed, preſently ſpread theſe newes through the whole army, and almoſt all of them came running to ſee their Generall, and eſpecially *Titus* who feared his fathers death: ſo that the whole army partly for the loue of their Generall, and partly for the feare of *Titus* his ſon, were greatly troubled: but *Veſpaſian* preſently freed the army from all perturbation; and his ſonne *Titus* from feare. For the griefe of the wound being paſt, he ſhewed himſelfe to all that were ſorrowfull for him, and incited them to fight againſt the Iewes more earneſtly then before; and now euery one as it were to reuenge their Generall, deſpiſed all danger, and aſſaulted the wals, one exhorting another. *Ioſeph* & his aſſociates, notwithſtanding that many of them were killed with ſhot, darts and arrowes; yet they forſooke not the wals, but with fire and ſword, and ſtones fiercely aſſaulted them, that being defended with hurdles battered the wals with the Ram, but to little purpoſe: for they were continually killed, being in ſight of their enemies, and for that they could not ſee them, preſently were ſtriken down. for their fire did make ſuch a light as though it had been day, ſo that the Romans eaſily perceiued whither to direct their ſhot: and for that their engines were not perceiued afarre off, the Iewes could not defend themſelues from the arrowes & ſtones that were ſhot againſt them, by which means many of them were ſlain, and the tops and corners of the towers beaten down. And there was no man ſo well guarded, but hee was ſlaine by force of thoſe ſtones; ſo that any man may know of what force that engin is, by that which hapned that night. For one that ſtood neere *Ioſeph* vpon the wall was ſtriken with a ſtone, and his head carried from his body by violence of that blow three furlongs, as though it had beene caſt out of a ſling: and the next day a woman great with child was ſtriken on the belly with one of thoſe ſtones, and the child carried forth of her from the place where ſhe was ſtriken three furlongs; ſo great was the force of this engine: Therefore the violence of the engines was more terrible, and likewiſe the noiſe of darts, arrowes and other ſhot. And many were ſlaine on euery ſide, and the bodies of thoſe that were killed, ſtriken againſt the wal made a noiſe: and within the citie was heard a pitifull lamentation, and weeping among the women; and without, a heauy mourning and cry of them, that were wounded to death; and all that part of the wall where the fight was, flowed with blood: ſo that now the multitude of dead bodies had ſo filled the ditch before the wal, that the Romans might eaſily paſſe ouer them into the citie, and the mountains about did eccho with the cries of the citizens: and all that night long nothing wanted, that either might by the eie or eare moue terror. And many ſtoutly fighting for Iotapata died moſt valiantly, many alſo were ſore wounded: and notwithſtanding the wall was continually battered, yet it was almoſt morning before it fell, being all night long beaten with the Ramme. And then they of Iotapata repaired the breach with their bodies and armour, before the Romans could ſet bridges to enter it.

The warre renued againſt the Iewes.

The force of the Roman darts.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

How Iotapata was againe assaulted.

ON the morning *Vespasian* brought his army to enter the breach, hauing giuen them but little rest after their whole nights labour: and desirous to make the Iewes that defended the breach to forsake their place, before such time as he entred, he took the most valiant of his horsemen, and vnhorsed them, being armed from the head to the foot, and placed them in three ranks; that they, being so armed, might besiege round that part of the wall that was battered, and to take long pikes in their hands, so that as soon as the bridges were set, they should first enter the breach. After them he placed the strongest of his footmen: the rest of his horsmen he set round about the city vpon the mountaine, to the end that none might escape thereout: after the footmen he commanded archers to follow with their arrows ready in their hands, and them that vsed slings also, and other engins for shot. And he caused other to scale the wals, where they were not battered, to the intent that the townesmen, busied in resisting them, might leaue the breach vnmanned; and the rest being wearied and oppresst with the thicknes of the shot, should of force forsake their standing. But *Ioseph*, perceiuing his intent, placed old men and children, and those that were already wearied, vpon those parts of the wals that were not battered: & himselfe with the stoutest of the city went to defend the breach, and placed six men before them, whom he chose out, himselfe being one of them, to sustaine the first brunt of their enimies assault: commanding them likewise to stop their eares, to the end that they might not bee terrified with the cries of the army. He willed them also to defend themselues with shields against the darts & arrowes, and giue back a little, til such time as the archers quiuers were emptied: and if so be that the Romans should offer to make bridges, that then they with their instruments should resist; & that euery one should now fight, not to defend his country, but as it were to recouer it being in a maner already lost; & imagine, that they now did see their aged men slaine with their children, and their wiues almost taken by their enemies, and now to reuenge themselues vpon those that hereafter would massacre their whole city: and thus he appointed men in both places. The weaker multitude, women and children, seeing the city compassed about with three ranks of horsemen, & that the Romans with their swords drawn preased against the breach, that all the mountaines about did shine and glitter with their weapons that were placed there, and certain Arabians to serue the archers with arrowes: they cried out as though the city were now taken, so that a man would haue iudged them already amidst their enemies swords, and not onely in danger to fall into their hands. Wherefore *Ioseph* commanded the women to their houses, lest their cries should effeminate his souldiers minds; willing them likewise to keep silence, and threatned them if they did not: and so he marched to the breach, which place fell to his lot, and gaue no heed to them that sought to scale the wals, but onely beheld a far of the force of the arrowes.

When all the trumpets began to sound, and the aire to be obscured with the multitude of arrowes; *Iosephs* companions, remembring the charge giuen them, stopped their eares, and armed their bodies against the shot of arrowes: And so soon as the bridges were set against the wal, presently they ran; and before the Romans could enter vpon them, they got them into their hands, and resisted them that sought to come vpon them, shewing great prowess & strength, and themselues no way inferiour vnto the Romans, though they were in extream danger, and the Romans in none: and did not giue one foot back, till either they did kill or were killed. But the Iewes had not any fresh men to second them that were tired; & the Romans, stil as they were wearied, sent fresh supply; and ioining together their long shields, exhorting one another, they became as it were a wall or defence inuincible; and the whole army like one body did beare backe the Iewes, and so set foot on the wals. Then *Ioseph*, in this desperate case, deuised some way to repell this present calamity: wherfore he commanded the Iews to fetch scalding oile, which they had ready, and poure it vpon the Romans yet seething, who also cast the pans vpon them. This deuice brake the ranks of the Romans, so that with great paine and griefe they fell from the wal, and tumbled downe: for the scalding oyle easily got between their flesh and armour, and scorched them like fire beeing easily heated, and long continuing hot by reason of the fatnesse; and the Romans, being loaden with helmets & breast-plates, could not flee; so that some leapt down off the bridge, and others for griefe did; others would faine haue retired themselues, but could not, because their enemies followed them so hard. But neither the Romans wanted vertue and valour

Vespasian leadeth on his army to enter the city.

Iosephs subtill policy.

The cries of women and children in the battell.

The war of the Romans with the Iewes vpō the bridge

The Iewes poure scalding oile vpon the Romans.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs Nativity. 69.

valour in aduerſe fortune, nor the Iewes prudence & good aduiſe. For the Romans, notwithſtanding they were in intolerable paine, being ſcalded with hot oyl, yet did they freſhly aſſault them that hurt them, and euery one did thruſt him forward that was before him, as it were deſirous to ſhew their courage. Then the Iewes vſed another deuice to make them retire: for they pourd fenugreek boiled vpon the bridge, ſo that they ſlid down: and neither they that would haue fled, nor they who did ſtriue to aſſault the Iewes, could ſtand vpon their feet, it was ſo ſlippery; and many falling downe vpon the bridge, were by their owne company troden to death; others did ſlide downe vpon the Rampier; and alwaies as they fell, the Iewes ſtrook them: and ſeeing that the Romans were retired from the place, ſo that now they were not forc't to handy blows, they had leaſure to ſhoot arrows and darts againſt them. When *Veſpaſian* ſaw that his men in that fight endured much miſery, towards euening he cauſed them to retire, many beeing ſlaine, and more wounded, and 6. men of Iotapata were ſlain, and aboue 300. wounded: this fight was vpon the 20. day of Iune. But after that *Veſpaſian* had comforted his ſouldiers for that which had hapned, and perceiuing that they were angry, and deſired to fight to reuenge themſelues, ſo that they needed no exhortation; he raiſed the Rampier higher, and erected 3. towers 50. foot high, couering them aloft with iron, that ſo by reaſon of their waight they might ſtand ſtedfaſt, and not bee conſumed by fire: and theſe he placed vpon the Rampiers, and in them Archers, and men that caſt darts and ſuch like: who not being perceiued of them that were vpon the wall, by reaſon of the highnes of the towers, and the couering thereof, eaſily wounded them who were placed thereon. So the Iewes, when they could not auoid the arrowes, nor be reuenged vpon them whom they could not ſee, nor yet fire the towers being couered with plates of iron, forſook the wals; yet alwaies encountred with them who ſought to enter. And the people of Iotapata thus reſiſted, notwithſtanding that many euery day were ſlaine, and that they did their enemies no harme without great danger to themſelues.

The Romans retire without obtaining their purpoſe.

Veſpaſian ereCteth higher platformes & towers.

The Citizens of Iotapata valiantly ſuſtain the ſiege.

CHAP. XI.

How Iapha was taken by Traianus *and* Titus.

The taking in of Iapha by Traiane.

AT this time *Veſpaſian* vnderſtood that Iapha, a city neer Iotapata, minded to rebell, encouraged ſo to do, for that they vnderſtood how they of Iotapata had held out contrary to all expectation: wherefore he ſent thither *Traianus*, gouernour of the tenth legion, and with him 2000. footmen, and a thouſand horſe: who perceiuing the town able to reſiſt, and the inhabitants prepared for to fight, and come out to meet him (for the towne being for the ſituation ſtrong enough, it was alſo compaſſed with a double wall) ſeeing this, he fought with them, and after a while put them to flight, and the Romans following them, brake in with them at the firſt gate: which the citizens perceiuing, ſhut the ſecond gate, not ſuffering their owne citizens to enter in, for feare that the enemies alſo ſhould ruſh in with them, as they had done into the firſt gate. Truly, God gaue that victory vnto the Romans, whoſe will it was that all warlike men of the city ſhould haue their own gates ſhut vpon them, and ſo fal into their enemies hands, who were moſt greedy to deſtroy them. For many came to the gates, and called thoſe that kept them by their names, pitifully intreating that they might come in: which whil'ſt they did, they were butchered like ſheep, being encloſed between two wals: their own citizens hauing ſhut one gate vpon them, and the Romans the other: and many thus encloſed periſhed with their fellowes ſwords, & an infinit number by the rage of the Romans, hauing no courage to reſiſt and reuenge themſelues. For the treaſon of their owne citizens, and the terror of their enemies together, vtterly diſcouraged them, & ſo they died al in number 12. thouſand, not curſing the Romans, but the Iewes their owne countrimen. *Traiane*, thinking that the citie was now deſtitute of fighting men, or if any were within, that they durſt not reſiſt being thus terrified, reſerued the taking of the city for the General, and ſent meſſengers vnto him, requeſting him to ſend his ſonne *Titus* to make an end of the victory. *Veſpaſian*, fearing that yet there wold be ſome reſiſtance, ſent *Titus* with 500. horſmen, & 1000 foot: who haſtning thither, placed *Traianus* on the left ſide of the town, & himſelf on the right: ſo the Romans on euery ſide ſcaled the wals, & the Galileans hauing awhile reſiſted, preſently left them. Then *Titus* & his followers leaping down, preſently got into the city, & began a vehement fight with them that were aſſembled therein, ſome valiantly iſſuing out of the narrow ſtreets, & aſſaulting them, and the women caſting ſuch things as they could get vpon the Romans from the toppes of their houſes, and thus they held battell ſix houres. When their fighting men were all ſlaine, then the old

The Iewes ſhut vp by the Romans, between two wals are ſlaine.

12000. Iewes ſlaine.

Titus with his forces comes to Iapha.

A ſharp skirmiſh within the towne between the Galileans and the Romans.

A old men & children,and all the other company both in the ſtreets and in their houſes were ſoon diſpatcht,ſo that none of them were left aliue, ſaue only infants,who with the women were led captiues. The number of them that were ſlain both in the city and in the firſt conflict,amounted to 15000; and the number of thoſe that were led into captiuity, were 1000. 100. and 30. And this maſſacre of the Galileans hapned the 25.day of Iune.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

CHAP. XII.

How Cærealis *conquered the Samaritanes.*

B THe Samaritanes alſo were partakers of this calamity, who aſſembled themſelues together in mount Garizin,which they account a ſacred place. But both their aſſembly & their courage did portend their wars: and not warned by their neighbours harmes, nor with any aduice or iudgement conſidering their owne infirmity,and the Romans pow er,began to be tumultuous. *Veſpaſian* foreſeeing this, thought it good to preuent them: and although all the region of Samaria had garriſons in it,yet for all the great multitude aſſembled,it was thought that the garriſons were able to keep them vnder. Wherefore he ſent thither *Cærealis*,the Tribune of the fift legion,with 600. horſmen,and 3000.footmen. *Cærealis* thought it not the beſt way to go vnto the mountaine,and fight with the whole multitude, becauſe a great many of their enemies were vpon it: wherfore he cõmanded his ſouldiers to beleguer the mountaine about at the foot thereof, and ſo keep them there all the whole day. There hapned at that time a vehement heat, and the Samaritans wanted water: for it was then Sommer, and the people had not prouided themſelues of victuals,ſo that many in one day only for want of drink died of thirſt,the reſt preferred death before the miſery they indured,and ſo fled to the Romans: of whom *Cærealis* learned that thoſe that yet remained on the mount,were euen diſmaid by the miſery they endured. Wherefore he aſcended the mountaine, and compaſſing about the enemies with his army,he firſt exhorted them to yeeld,willing them to ſaue themſelues,promiſing them all their liues,if they would caſt downe their weapons: but nothing preuailing with them, hee ſet vpon them,and kild them all,in number 11000. and 600: and this was done the 27. day of Iune. And theſe were the miſeries that befell the Samaritanes.

The aſſembly of the Samaritanes on the mountaine Garizin.

Want of water in the mountain Garizin.

11000, & 600. Samaritanes ſlaine.

D

CHAP. XIII.

How Iotapata was taken.

THe Citizens of Iotapata indured this hard ſiege contrary to all expectation, and in the ſeauen and fortith day the Romans mounts were raiſed higher then their wals: on the ſame day one of the city fled vnto *Veſpaſian*,and tould him in what caſe the city ſtood, and how few citizens were left,and that with daily watchings & fighting they were farre ſpent,whereby they were not able to reſiſt any more, and that they might be taken by policie if they were followed: for in the laſt part of the night, being wearie,they ceaſed from their labour, and ſlept vntill the morning: wherefore hee perſwaded *Veſpaſian* to aſſault them at that time. But *Veſpaſian* knowing how faithfull the Iewes were one vnto another, and how they contemned all puniſhment,gaue little credit to this run-away: for a little before,one of Iotapata being taken, could not by any torments be compelled to confeſſe,or diſcloſe the eſtate of the city, whom the fire nothing mou'd,& ſo at laſt he was crucifi'd,laughing,& ſcorning death: yet a probable coniecture which he had, perſwaded him to giue credit ſomewhat to this traitors words: and for that he knew no great harme could befal him,if he ſo aſſaulted the city as the traitor willed,he commanded the man to be kept, and made all his army in readineſſe to aſſault the towne. So at the houre appointed,he made towards the wals with ſilence; *Titus* being the firſt, accompanied with one *Domitius Sabinus* a tribune,& a few of the 15 legion: who killing the watchmẽ, entred into the city,and after them *Sextus Cærealis* & *Placidus*, with their companies; ſo the Caſtle was taken,and the enemies were in the midſt of the towne,and it was faire day light, and yet the townſmen knew nothing, beeing now faſt aſleepe after their great labours and watchings: and they that did watch could ſee nothing,there was ſo thick a miſt by chance that morning, & the reſt neuer wakened till death was at their dore; and that they perceiued their calamitie and deſtruction. The Romans,mindfull of all that had befallen them in the time of the ſiege,did neither

E

A fugitiue certifieth the weake eſtate of of the citizens of Iotapata, & how few they were.

F

The Romans enter the city whilſt the Iews are aſleep.

The yeare of the world.4031. after Christs birth 69.

ther ſpare nor pity any one: but driuing the people out of the higher part of the city into the lo- G
wer part therof, they maſſacred them all, where they that would could not fight for the narrow-
neſſe of the place: ſo being cumbred for want of room, and ſliding downe the banks for haſte,
their enemies ſtill purſuing them, they were eaſily ſlaine. Many of *Ioſephs* guard ſeeing this that
they could not fight, gathered themſelues together in a corner of the city, and ſlew themſelues,
that the Romans might not kill them. But ſome of the watchmen, who firſt perceiued the city to
bee taken, fled into a tower, and reſiſted awhile (this tower was ſituate on the North ſide of the
city) and at laſt being enuironed with their enemies, towards euening yielded, and offred them-
ſelues to be ſlain. And the Romans might haue boaſted that that victory had bin without bloud-
ſhed on their part, had not *Antonius* a Centurion been ſlain treacherouſly. For one of them who
fled into the caues (as many did) requeſted *Antonius* to giue him his hand, in token that he might H
come out ſafe & without danger: which he doing vnaduiſedly, ſtraightway the Iew with a ſpear
ſmote him in the flank, wherof he preſently died. The Romans that day ſlew all the people that
they found, and the daies following they ſearcht all the ſecret places, and drew thoſe out of the
caues and dens that had fled thither, and ſlew all but women and infants: ſo that they took away
1000. and 200. captiues: and the number of them who were ſlaine during the ſiege, and at ſuch
time as the city was taken, amounted to 40000. And *Veſpaſian* commanded the city to bee de-
ſtroied, and the caſtles to be burnt, and ſo Iotapata was taken the 13. yeere of *Nero*'s raigne, on
the firſt of Iuly.

The Romans are touched with no mercy nor cõpaſsion

The fight of the Iewes with the Romans in the tower.

Antonius ſlain by a Iew thorow treaſon.

40000. Iewes periſh during the ſiege, and in the former battels.

CHAP. XIIII. I

How Ioſeph *was taken, and how he redeemed his life with deeds and words.*

BVt eſpecially aboue all others, the Romans made diligent ſearch for *Ioſeph*, both for the hatred they bare him, and alſo becauſe *Veſpaſian* greatly deſired to get him, for that hee being taken, the greateſt part of the wars were then ended; ſo they ſought him among the dead, and amongſt thoſe that were hid: but hee (fortune fauouring him) when the city was taken, eſcaped from the midſt of his enimies, and leapt into a deep Well, which had a large caue on the one ſide, the which they aboue could not perceiue; where he found forty principal men who had prouiſion for many daies. The enemies being in euery place, he in the day time lay hid, K and in the night he went forth to ſee if he could eſcape; and perceiuing that al places about were diligently watcht for to take him, he returned againe into the caue, and lay there two daies: the third day a certain woman that had bin with them in the caue was taken, and ſo he was deſcri'd. Then *Veſpaſian* ſent two Tribunes to him to promiſe him ſafety, and bring him before him; the Tribunes names were *Paulinus* and *Gallicanus*: But *Ioſeph* would not accept their offer, fearing that becauſe he had been the authour of all the euils that the Romans had indured, that therfore they ſought him out to puniſh him: till *Veſpaſian* ſent vnto *Ioſeph*, *Nicanor*, the third Tribune, one of *Ioſephs* acquaintance. *Nicanor* recounted vnto him how milde the Romans were towards them whom they had conquered, and that the Roman captains rather admired him for his ver- L tue, then hated him. Moreouer, that his Generall intended not to puniſh him (which if he plea- ſed he might do whether he yeelded himſelfe or no) but to ſaue him, who was ſo valiant a man: adding alſo, that if *Veſpaſian* meant ill, hee would neuer haue imploied his friend in ſuch a meſ- ſage, to vſe friendſhip (ſo noble a vertue) to ſo euill a purpoſe as to worke treaſon: and that he, though *Veſpaſian* had beene ſo minded, would neuer haue conſented to haue betraied his friend. *Ioſeph*, after *Nicanors* words, beganne to ſtudy, as doubtfull what was beſt to doe. Whereat the ſouldiers beeing angry, beganne to caſt fire into the caue: but *Veſpaſian* hindered them, beeing deſirous to take *Ioſeph* aliue. *Nicanor* ceaſed not to intreat him: and hee perceiuing how his ene- mies beganne to wex angry, and calling to minde the dreames he had in the night, wherein God foretold him of al the Iews calamities, and what ſhould betide the Roman princes (for he could interpret dreames, and whatſoeuer God obſcurely ſhewed, beeing inſtructed in the holy books M of the Prophets, and himſelfe a prieſt as his parents were.) So at that time being as it were filled with the Spirit of God, and recording the dreames and horrible viſions which hee ſaw in his ſleepe, hee prayed ſecretly to GOD after this manner; O Creator (quoth he) ſeeing that it pleaſeth thee to ruinate the nation of the Iewes, and that all good fortune is gone vnto the Ro- mans, and that thou haſt choſen my ſoule to foretell future euents, I yeeld vnto the Romans to ſaue my life, proteſting that I meane not to goe to them to play the traytor vnto my countrey, but

Ioſeph leapt into a deep trench, and lieth hidden in a caue.

Veſpaſian by Tribunes ſendeth Ioſeph aſſurance.

Nicanor the tribune known to Ioſeph.

Ioſephs dream of the ſlaughter of the Iews

Ioſeph, filled with the ſpirit of God, ſecretly praieth.

Ioſeph conſents to Nicanor.

A but as thy miniſter; and hauing thus ſpoken, he yielded himſelfe vnto *Nicanor*. But they, who fled into the caue where *Ioſeph* was, perceiuing that *Ioſeph* yielded vnto the Romans, flocked all about him, and cried out. How are our countrey lawes violated? Where are thoſe promiſes of God made to the Iewes? where are thoſe gallant mindes that contemn and deſpiſe death? Art thou O *Ioſeph* deſirous to liue, and ſee thy ſelfe to become a vile bondſlaue? How ſoon haſt thou forgotten thy ſelf? How many haſt thou perſwaded to embrace death for their liberty ſake? Truly thou haſt but a ſhadow of valour and prudence in thee, if thou doſt hope that they will ſaue thy life againſt whom thou haſt ſo behaued thy ſelf: or if they would ſaue thee, to deſire life at their hands. But ſeeing the Romans offer hath made thee forget thy ſelfe; yet we, to preſerue the honour and credit of our country, will lend thee our armes and ſwords, and ſo if thou be willing to

B die, dy like the Generall of the Iewes: which if thou refuſe to do; thou ſhalt whether thou wilt or no dy like a traitor to thy country. When they had thus ſaid, they al threatned to kil him with their ſwords, if he did yield to the Romans. *Ioſeph* feared their violence, and perſwaded himſelf, if he died before he had put them in minde of Gods commandements, that then he ſhould die a traitor to God: wherefore he began to make a Philoſophicall diſcourſe vnto them concerning this preſent eſtate, what was to be done.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

The Iewes violence & expoſtulation againſt Ioſeph.

Ioſephs oratiõ to his countrimen.

Wherefore (O my friends, quoth he) are we become murtherers of our ſelues? Wherefore do we make war betweene things ſo vnited, as are the ſoule and the body? Will any man ſay that my mind is changed? Why, the Romans knowe that it is a thing moſt honorable to dy in wars, not any way, but according to the law of armes, to wit, by the conquerers hand. If I intreat the

C Romans to ſpare my life, then am I worthy to periſh with mine own ſword & hand: but if they think good to ſpare their enimies, ſhould not we think it good likewiſe to ſpare our own ſelues? Truly it is meer folly to do that to our own ſelues, for the which we fight againſt them. I confeſs it is a commendable thing to dy for ones liberty; but yet to dy in fight, and by their hands who took away that liberty: but now neither do they war againſt vs, nor kil vs. He is not onely to be iudged a coward who refuſeth to dy when need requireth, but alſo he who wil dy when no need vrgeth. Moreouer, what with-holdeth vs from offring our ſelues to the Romans? Truly, feare of death. Shall we therefore make that certain our ſelues, which we feare at the Romans hands? But ſome will ſay, How if not, then we are made captiues: conſider what liberty we now haue. You will ſay it is the part of him that is valiant to kill himſelfe: nay truely, it is the part of a very

It is a goodly matter to dy for liberty, but yet to dy fighting.

D coward. For I think him to be a timorous ſeaman, who perceiuing a tempeſt coming, before it fall, ſinketh the ſhip wherin he is. Moreouer, it is againſt the law of Nature, and the nature of all creatures to kill themſelues, and thereby we ſhould commit a hainous crime againſt God. There is no liuing creature that of his owne ſeeking would willingly die: for euery one feeleth in himſelfe the ſtrong & forcible law of Nature; wherby they deſire to liue: and for this cauſe we iudge them for our enemies, that ſeek to take it from vs; and puniſh them that do take it indeed. And do you thinke it is not a greater contempt of God for a man to deſpiſe his gift? For wee of him receiued our firſt being, and from him let vs expect our ending. The body is mortal, framed of corruptible matter; but our ſoules are immortal, and there is a little part of God placed in our bodies. If any one abuſe that which another man putteth him in truſt with, preſently we think

The ſimilitude of a ſayler.

It is againſt the common courſe of nature for a man to kill himſelf, yea and a hainous ſinne againſt God.

E him a perfidious and wicked man: and ſhall we think that if we caſt away out of our bodies that which God hath put vs in truſt withal, and placed in the ſame, that he ſhal not know of it; whom we haue ſo abuſed? We hould thoſe ſlaues worthy to be puniſhed that run away from bad maiſters: and ſhall not we then be held for impious, who flee from ſo good a maſter as God is? Do ye not know that they, who according to the law of nature depart out of this life, and render that to God which they receiued of him, when he who gaue it requires it, ſhall leaue behind them a perpetual name to their poſterity and family? And that vnto thoſe ſoules who are obedient to their Creator when he cals them, he giues a holy & ſacred manſion in heauen, and from thence after a reuolution of the heauens, departing, are againe commanded to dwel in chaſte bodies? And that they who haue wrought their owne death, go vnto dark hell? and that God puniſheth

The ſoule is immortal, & a portiõ of God placed in our bodies.

God reuengeth him on the author of iniuries.

F this their offence vpon all their poſterity? Hence it is that God is diſpleaſed therewith, and it is forbidden by our moſt wiſe Lawmaker. For if any amongſt vs kill themſelues, it is decreed that til the ſun go downe they ſhall be vnburied, yet we hold it lawfull to bury our enemies. Other nations cauſe their right hands to be cut off, who haue kild themſelues; iudging that as the ſoule thereby was made a ſtranger to the bodie, euen ſo by that fact was the hand made a ſtranger vnto it. Wherefore, O companions, thinke on that which is decent, and not to adde to our humane miſery impiety againſt God who created vs. If we deſire to be ſaued, let vs ſaue our

The cuſtom of the ancient Iewes, and how they dealt with thoſe that ſlue themſelues.

Ioſephs peroration.

ſelues,

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ſelues: for it is no diſgrace to receiue our liues at their hands who are witneſſes of ſo many valiant deeds of ours. If we deſire to dy, let vs die by their hands who haue ouercome vs. I will not go into my enemies camp to be a traitor againſt my ſelfe. For I beare not their minde who forſake their own company to flee to their enemies: for they flee vnto them to ſaue their liues, but I go vnto them to work mine owne death, euen the death of my ſelfe. And I would to God that the Romans would break promiſe with me; for if they kill me after they haue promiſed to ſaue my life, I ſhall willingly dy, and with great courage, hauing their breach of promiſe and periurie for a comfort of the laſt victory. G

Ioſeph is in great danger to be ſlaine.

Ioſeph ſpake much to this effect to diſſwade his companions from killing themſelues. But they ſtopping their eares with deſperation, wherewith they had armed themſelues to die, came furiouſly towards him with their ſwords drawne, vpbraiding him, that he was a coward, and euery one was ready to ſtrike him. Then *Ioſeph* calling one by his name, and looking vpon another with a countenance like a gouernor, holding anothers hand, and intreating the reſt (diſtracted in ſuch danger) at laſt eſcaped from being killed at that inſtant: for ſtill as one came neere him to ſtrike him, he turned his face vpon him like ſome cruell beaſt; and ſome of them who remembred how he had been their captaine in their extreamity, with reuerence of his perſonage trembled, ſo that their ſwords fell out of their hands: and many lifting vp their armes to ſtrike him, of their owne accord let their weapons fall. *Ioſeph*, notwithſtanding his deſperate eſtate, yet was he not void of counſell, but aſſiſted by Gods prouidence, hee hazarded his life, and ſpake vnto them as followeth. Seeing (quoth he) that yee are all determined to die, let vs caſt lots who ſhall kill one another; and he, to whom the lot falleth, ſhall be kild by him who next enſueth, and ſo the lot ſhall be caſt vpon euery one of vs, ſo that none of vs ſhall be forced to kill our ſelues. For it were iniuſtice, that when ſome of vs be ſlaine, the reſt ſhould repent themſelues, and ſo eſcape. They all liked well of this, and alwaies he vpon whom the lot fel, was ſlain by him that followed, as though they were now to die with their captain: for death was more acceptable, becauſe they thought *Ioſeph* ſhould dy with them. Now it hapned by the prouidence of God, that *Ioſeph* remained aliue onely with one other, and then perſwaded him who was left aliue, to liue & not ſeek death, for fear the lot ſhould fall vpon himſelfe: and for that if he ſuruiued, he ſhould be polluted with the murther and ſlaughter of his owne nation. Thus *Ioſeph*, deliuered both from the wars of the Romans, and alſo of his owne nation, went with *Nicanor* vnto *Veſpaſian*. H

Another policy of Ioſeph.

Ioſephs fellowes dye by lots, & Ioſeph and another are reſerued. I

Ioſeph reſorteth to Veſpaſian with Nicanor.

All the Romans came about him to ſee him: and preſſing about their Generall, they made a great noiſe, ſome reioicing that he was taken, others crying out to puniſh him, others ſtriuing to come neere to behold him better; and they who were a far off cryed out to kill their enemy: but thoſe who were neere him & beheld him, remembring his proweſſe, were aſtoniſhed to ſee that change. And there was no Captaine nor Ruler, but although before they were all moued againſt him, yet now beholding him, they all beganne to pitie him: and eſpecially *Titus*, who beeing of a gentle diſpoſition, admired *Ioſephs* valour, his conſtancy in aduerſity, and his age, and thereby was moued to take compaſſion vpon him, remembring what a manner of man he had beene during the wars, and what hee now was beeing fallen into his enemies hands: calling alſo to mind the force and power of Fortune, and how ſmall a ſtay the chance of warres had, and that no humane affaires had any ſtay or hold in them; wherefore he drew many mens mindes to pity him, ſo that *Titus* was the chiefe author of *Ioſephs* life: yet *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be carefully kept, as though he meant to ſend him to *Cæſar*. Which *Ioſeph* hearing, requeſted that hee might ſpeake a word or two with him alone. Then all but his ſon *Titus* departing and two of his friends, Thou O *Veſpaſian* (quoth he) thinkeſt onely that thou haſt *Ioſeph* for thy captiue, but I am a meſſenger vnto thee of great matters from God, otherwiſe I knew my country lawes, and how it behoued the Generals of our nation to die, and not to bee taken aliue by their enemies. Wilt thou ſend me to *Nero*? Wherefore? As though *Nero* ſhould ſtill liue, and thou not ſucceed him? Thou, O *Veſpaſian* art *Cæſar*, and the Emperour of Rome, and *Titus* alſo thy ſonne; and keep mee in bonds with thee, for thou art not onely my Lord, but Lord of all the world, and ſea, and land, and all mankind. And if I now faine theſe things in this ſtate that I am, of mine owne mind againſt God, let me be reſerued vnto a greater puniſhment. After he had thus ſpoken, *Veſpaſian* gaue ſmall credit to his words, and onely thought that *Ioſeph* fained theſe things of himſelfe to ſaue his life: yet by little and little he beganne to giue credit vnto him, becauſe God put it in his mind to hope for the Empire: and foretelling his raigne by many ſignes and tokens, he alſo found *Ioſeph* to tell the truth in other matters. For one of *Veſpaſians* friends anſwered, that it was marſhaile that hee knowing that, could not prophecie the euent of the warres againſt Iotapata, and what was like K

An example of Titus grace and mercy towards Ioſeph.

Ioſeph hath priuate conference with Veſpaſian.

Ioſeph foretelleth Veſpaſian of his future honours. L

Ioſephs truth in all things. M

to

A to befall himſelf, that ſo he might haue auoided thoſe euils. *Ioſeph* anſwered, that he foretold the citizens of Iotapata, that after ſeuen and forty daies they ſhould be deſtroyed, and that the Romans ſhould keep him aliue in hold. *Veſpaſian* ſecretly enquired of theſe matters, and finding by the relation of the captiues that it was true, he began to giue more credit to that which *Ioſeph* had told him concerning himſelfe. So he commanded *Ioſeph* to be kept priſoner, yet did he giue him apparell and diuers other things in moſt kinde manner: and *Titus* did greatly honour him. The fourth day of Iuly *Veſpaſian* returned vnto Ptolomais, and from thence he came into the ſea coaſt vnto Cæſarea, which is the greateſt Citie of Iudæa, whoſe inhabitants are for the moſt part Greeks: ſo the inhabitants receiued the army and the Generall with all friendſhip poſſible, both for that they loued the Romans, as eſpecially alſo for that they hated them, who were deſtroid;
B ſo that many intreated *Veſpaſian* to put *Ioſeph* to death. But *Veſpaſian*, iudging this a raſh petition, would make no anſwere vnto it: and he left two legions to winter at Cæſarea, becauſe he ſaw it was a fit place, and ſent the tenth and fift vnto Scythopolis, becauſe hee would not ouer-charge Cæſarea with the whole army. This place is warme in winter, and exceeding hot in ſommer, by reaſon it is ſituate on a Plaine by the ſea coaſt.

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Ioſeph is kept bound, yet rewarded by Veſpaſian.

Cæſarea a great citie by the Sea ſide, inhabited for the moſt part by Greeks.

Scythopolis.

CHAP. XV.

How Ioppe was taken againe.

C IN the meane time a great multitude being gathered together, who either were ſeditious perſons or theeues, or ſuch as had eſcaped out of the ruinated cities, began to redifie Ioppe for their refuge, which *Ceſtius* before time had deſtroyed: and ſeeing that they could not rob nor ſpoile the countrie which was already waſted, and left deſolate by warres, they purpoſed to become pyrats: and ſo building ſhips for that purpoſe, they robbed the Phœnicians, Syrians and Egyptians, not ſuffering any to paſſe thoſe ſeas without danger. *Veſpaſian* vnderſtanding their intent, ſent horſemen and footmen thither: who finding the citie not guarded, got into it in the night time: which the inhabitants perceiuing were ſo afraid, that they durſt not make any reſiſtance to expell the Romanes, but they all retired themſelues vnto their ſhips, and there ſtaid all night, a flight ſhot from the ſhore. Ioppe is naturally no road for ſhips (for it is ſituated vpon a turbulent ſhore) and on either ſide hath very high and
D eminent rocks, which trouble the ſeas, and make huge waues: in this place (if we may beleeue the fable) one may ſee the ſignes of *Andromedaes* chains. When the north wind blowes, it ſtriketh the waues againſt the rocks, and ſo cauſeth a dangerous ſea, that it were farre more ſafe to be in the midſt of the ſeas, then at that ſhore when the ſame wind bloweth. The inhabitants of Ioppe rode there all night, and by break of day the north wind began to blow fiercely, & draue ſome of the ſhips one againſt another, and others againſt the rockes: and many ſtriuing againſt winde and weather, and ſeeking to get into the midſt of the ſea for feare of the rocky ſhore, and their enemies there, were drowned; and they that eſcaped, neither had any place of refuge, nor hope of ſafety; for the tempeſt did driue them from the Sea, and the Romanes from the Citie; ſo that the ayre was filled with cries of the people expecting to be drowned, and with the noyſe
E and ſound of the ſhippes beaten one againſt another. So ſome of the inhabitants of Ioppe were ſwallowed by the waues, others ſuffered ſhipwracke, ſome killed themſelues rather then to be drowned: many with the waues were ſtriken againſt the rocks, ſo that the ſea was bloudy, and all the ſhore was couered with dead bodies: and whoſoeuer eſcaped the ſea and got to ſhore, the Roman ſouldiers there ready ſtanding killed them. There were foure thouſand & two hundreth dead bodies caſt vpon the ſhore. So the Romans hauing without any fight taken the citie, they deſtroied it: and thus was Ioppe taken, and twice deſtroied by the Romans in a ſhort time. *Veſpaſian* builded there a caſtle, and placed in it ſome few horſmen & footmen, to the end that none of the Iewes ſhould come thither againe to play the Pyrats, and that the footmen might keepe the Caſtle, and in the mean time the horſmen might go forth, and ſpoile all the towns & villages,
F and teritories belonging to Ioppe: which alſo they did. When the newes of the deſtruction of Iotapata was brought vnto Ieruſalem, many gaue ſmall credit to it, partly for the greatneſſe of that calamity, partly for that no one man could ſay, that he had ſeen the deſtruction of the citie: for none eſcaped that maſſacre to bring newes, but only report thereof was ſpread abroad; but at the laſt it was verified to be true by thoſe that dwelt neere vnto that place, and then they beleeued it. Many things alſo which were falſe, were reported as true. It was likewiſe bruted, that *Ioſeph* was ſlain in the deſtruction of the citie, for whoſe death all Ieruſalem ſorrowed, and euery

Ioppe the ſecond treat of the ſeditious and theeues.

Of Andromeda, read lib. 4. Ouid Metamorph.

A huge tempeſt drowneth thoſe of Ioppe in the Sea.

Foure thouſand and two hundreth bodies caſt out.

Veſpaſian taketh Ioppe & encampeth in the Caſtle.

Fame it ſelfe declareth the deſtruction of Iotapata.

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one mourned for their loſt kinred, all bewailed the ſuppoſed death of the Generall, and ſome of their ſons, others of their brethren and kinsfolke, and others of their acquaintance. They all mourned for *Ioſeph* thirty daies, and hired many muſicians to ſing funerall ſongs for him. At laſt truth diſcouered it ſelfe, and the true newes of the deſtruction of Iotapata with the accidents there: alſo how *Ioſeph* was not ſlaine, but liued with the Romans, and that the Romans honored him with more then a captiue could expect. Then the Iewes began as much to hate him now liuing, as before they mourned for him when they ſuppoſed him dead. And ſome ſaid he was a coward, others that he was a traitor vnto his country, and the whole citie breathed out reprochfull ſpeeches againſt him. Theſe heauy tydings encreaſed their rage, and this their aduerſitie (which vnto wiſe men had bin a warning to prouide leaſt the like befell them) made them more outrageous; ſo that alwaies the end of one miſchiefe was the beginning of another. To be ſhort, now they were more incenſed againſt the Romans then before, as it were that they might alſo be reuenged of *Ioſeph*. And this was the eſtate of the citizens of Ieruſalem.

Ioſeph is ſaid to be ſlaine in Ieruſalem.

The hatred, malice and wrath in Ieruſalem againſt Ioſeph.

G

H

CHAP. XVI.

How Tiberias was yeelded.

VEſpaſian was deſirous to ſee the kingdome of Agrippa (for the King had entreated him to go thither, partly to feaſt him and his whole army, partly to repreſſe ſome troubles ariſing in his kingdome, in the time of his abſence) and ſo departed from Cæſarea vpon the Sea coaſt, and went vnto Cæſarea Philippi, where he ſtaied, and refreſhed his ſoldiers twentie daies; and himſelfe alſo feaſted, giuing God thanks for his proſperous ſucceſſe in the warres. This done, he had intelligence that Tiberias and Tarichea were reuolted (both which cities belonged vnto *Agrippa* his kingdom) and fully determining vtterly to deſtroy the Iewes which inhabited thereabouts, hee thought it good to lead his army againſt theſe two places, eſpecially that he might reward *Agrippa* for his good entertainement, by ſurrendring theſe cities vnto him. Wherefore hee ſent his ſonne *Titus* to Cæſarea to bring the ſouldiers there vnto Scythopolis, which was the greateſt of all the ten cities, which alſo is neere vnto Tiberias; whither himſelfe being come he expected his ſonnes comming: and departing from thence with three legions, he pitched his tent in a place called Enabris, where the ſeditious people of Tiberias might behold his army; this place was thirty furlongs from Tiberias: from thence he ſent *Valerianus* the *Decadarch* to entreat a peace with them, and ſent fifty horſmen to accompany him: for he vnderſtood that the people deſired peace, and againſt their will were forced to warre, by ſome of the ſeditious amongſt them. *Valerianus* coming neer vnto the citie wals, lighted from his horſe; commanding all his company to doe the like, that they of Tiberias might not thinke that they came to fight, but in peaceable manner: but before he ſpake any one word, the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt of the ſeditious perſons came out armed againſt him, hauing one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Tobias*, who had been a captaine of theeues, for their gouernour and leader. *Valerianus* not preſuming to fight without authority from his generall, although he had been certaine of the victory; againe conſidering that it was great danger for ſo few to fight againſt a whole multitude, and withall terrified with the boldnes of the Iewes, contrary to his expectation; hee fled on foot accompanied only with fiue other, leauing his horſe & the reſt behind him, whom *Ieſus* and his followers took, and brought into the citie, reioycing as though they had taken them in fight and not by treaſon. But the Senators & chiefe of the citie, fearing what might enſue of this fact, went vnto the Romans, and together with King *Agrippa* came vnto *Veſpaſian*, and proſtrated themſelues at his feet, beſeeching him not to deſpiſe them, and not to thinke that the whole citie were partakers with thoſe few wicked perſons, that ſo had merited his diſpleaſure; requeſting him to ſpare the people who alwaies had honoured the Romans, but rather that he ſhould puniſh the authors of that reuolt and miſdemeanour: who alſo had withheld the whole Citie, euen vntill now, to yeeld it ſelfe vnto the Romans. *Veſpaſian* moued by their entreaties, pardoned the Citie, though he was incited againſt them all for taking of *Valerianus* his horſe; in that hee perceiued *Agrippa* was ſorrowfull, for feare that the Citie ſhould bee deſtroyed, and ſo by them *Veſpaſian* promiſed the townes-men pardon. Then *Ieſus* and his aſſociates thinking it not ſafe for them to abide there, fled vnto Tarichea. The next day, *Veſpaſian* ſent before him *Traianus* with certaine horſemen into the Caſtle; to ſee if all the multitude deſired peace: and finding the people to beare peaceable minds, he with his whole army came vnto the citie. And the inhabitants opening the gates of their

Veſpaſian commeth vnto Agrippas kingdom and recreateth himſelf there, and feaſteth twenty daies.

I

Valerianus peaceably ſpeaks to the townes-men.

K

The ſeditious ſally out and put the Romans to flight

L

The citizens of Tiberias proſtrate theſelues before Veſpaſian and obtain pardon

M

A their citie, went to meet him with great ioy, all crying out that hee was the author of their welfare and benefactor, and wishing him all prosperity and felicity. The gates of the citie were narrow, so that the army could not quickly enter in: wherfore *Vespasian* commanded a part of the wall on the south side to be pulled downe, and so entred in: yet did hee not sacke the citie, nor ruine the wals, for *Agrippaes* sake, who promised that from thencefoorth the citizens would be quiet. And so he pacified that citie greatly troubled with sedition.

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The Tiberians entertaine Vespasian with acclamations.

CHAP. XVII.

How Tarichæa was besieged.

B VEspasian departed from Tiberias, and pitched his tents betwixt it and Tarichea, and encamped himselfe, foreseeing that there hee should haue some trouble and long abode: for all rebels that desired warres came thither, trusting both to the strength of the citie, and the lake adioyning vnto it called Genesar. For this citie was situate like Tiberias, vnder the mountains: and *Ioseph* had enclosed it with a wall on euery side, where it was not compassed by the lake. But the wall though it were strong, yet was it not so strong as that of Tiberias: for *Ioseph* builded that in the beginning of the rebellion, hauing men and mony at will; but that of Tarichea was built only by the remainder of his liberality. The Tarichæans had great store of ships in the lake adioining, to the end that if they were ouercome by land, they might fly by water: and therfore they had prepared their ships for battel by water if need should be. Whi-

Vespasian besiegeth Tarichæa.

C lest the Romans entrenched themselues, *Iesus* & his followers not dismaied either with the multitude or military discipline of his enemies, issued out of the citie, and slew the workmen, and destroyed a part of the worke: and perceiuing the Romans armed & assembled together against him, he fled again vnto his company without any losse or harme receiued. But the Romans pursued them so fast, that they forced them to take their ships: and so being gone as far frō the shore, as that yet they might easily reach them with the shot of an arrow, they cast anchor & disposed their ships in warlike maner, and fought against the Romans who were on shore. *Vespasian* vnderstood that a great multitude of them were gathered together in a place neer vnto the city: wherfore he sent his son *Titus* against them with 600. horsmen, who finding the number of his enemies to be infinit, certified his father, that he needed more forces: and perceiuing many of those

The Romans driue the Iews to their ships.

D horsmen of good courage, before any more aid came, and yet that some of them were afraid of the Iewes, he stood in a high place where all might heare him and said, O ye Romans, I wil first put you in mind who you are and of what nation, that so you considering what your selues are, may also consider who they are with whom we are to fight; neuer yet was there any enemy in any part of the world that could escape our hands. The Iewes themselues though already ouercome, yet do they endure and manfully beare out their misery: if therfore they constantly endure wars, and fight valiantly being in aduersity, what should we do who are in prosperity? I reioyce to see you shew good countenance, yet I feare least so huge a multitude of our enemies discourage some of you: let euery one therfore once againe consider, who himself is, and with whom he is to fight: and that although the Iewes be bold and valiant enough, yet they obserue

Titus Oration to his terrified souldiers.

Iewes are not to be feared.

E no warlike order, and are vnarmed, & so are more fitly tearmed a multitude then an army. I need not speake of your knowledge and skill in wars: nay for this only cause are we trained vp in warlike discipline in the time of peace, to the end that our number should answere to the number of our enemies when we are to ioyne battell: for what fruit shall wee shew of this our perpetuall warlike order & discipline, if we dare only fight with a rude multitude that are no more in number then our selues? Think that you being armed are to fight with vnarmed, and being horsmen are to fight with footmen, and being guided by the aduice of a captaine, with them who haue no head nor ruler: and that these things considered do supply in vs the want of more men, and the contrary in our enemies doth as it were much diminish their number. Victory doth not onely

Victory consisteth not in the multitude, but in the courage of a few that fight valiantly.

F consist in the multitude of men be they neuer so warlike, but also in a few, if they be valiant: for as they are few, so are they easily guided, and may easily come to helpe one another, not being pestered; whereas huge multitudes do more hinder one another then doe good, and doe themselues more harm then their enemies. So the Iewes are led with desperation, rage & fury, which indeed in prosperous successe are of some force, but in a desperate fortune they are quickely daunted: but we are led by vertue and obedience and fortitude, which both are of force in prosperity, and also are good in aduersity. Moreouer, wee haue greater occasion to fight then the Iewes haue: for they fight only for their country and liberty, but we fight for renowne & Em-

The Romans haue greater cause of warre then the Iews.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs Nativity, 69.

pire; that we hauing already gained the Empire of the whole world, it might not be thought that our enemies the Iewes were aduerſaries able to match vs. Conſider moreouer that ye need not feare any great danger, for we haue many to help vs; and that hard by: let vs therefore atchieue the victory before any more ſuccor come vnto vs; ſo ſhall our credit be greater, and our victory more famous. I verily think that now triall is made of me, my father, and you; to diſcerne if he be my father, I his ſon, and you my ſouldiers: for he is wont to be victorious, and ſhall I returne vnto him being conquered? and are you not aſhamed to be diſmaied, ſeeing that I your captain will offer my ſelfe and vndergo the greateſt perils? My ſelf will beare the brunt of the enemies, and firſt encounter with them, and let none of you depart from me: perſwade your ſelues that God will aſſiſt my force, and boldly preſume that we can doe much more being in the midſt of our enemies, then if we ſhould only fight without and not be amongſt them. G H

It becometh ſouldiers to obey ther captaine.

Titus hauing thus ſpoken, as it were by Gods prouidence, all his ſouldiers took heart and courage, ſo that now they were ſory to ſee *Traianus* come with 400. horſmen more before the fight was begun, as though their victory ſhould be leſſe renowmed, becauſe hee came to help them. *Veſpaſian* alſo ſent *Antonius* and *Silo* with 2000. archers, to take the mountaine that was iuſt oppoſite vnto the towne, and to beat them that defended the citie, off from the wals, and they did as they were commanded. Then *Titus* with all force poſſible, firſt ruſhed with his horſe vpon the enemies: and all followed him with a huge cry, ſcattering themſelues in ſuch order as they occupied as much ground as the Iewes, and ſo appeared more then they were. The Iewes though terrified by their diſcipline, yet they withſtood the firſt aſſault: but in the end diſmaied, and put out of order with their lances, and killed with the horſmen, euery one fled as faſt as he could into the Citie. And *Titus* killed ſome as they fled, others as he met them, and thoſe he ouertooke, and many one for haſte tumbling one vpon another; and he preuented all that fled vnto the wals, and draue them back againe into the field, till at laſt the multitude preuailed, and ſo they got into the Citie. Now at their retume into the Citie there befell a great diſſenſion: for the inhabitants conſidering their owne eſtate, and the euent of all former warres, and eſpecially of this laſt fight, miſliked of warre and deſired peace: but the ſtrangers that had fled from other places thither, and were in great multitudes, would needs contend therein; and ſo one part began a mutinie againſt the other, as though they would preſently one haue taken armes againſt another. *Titus* being not farre from the wall, heard theſe tumults within the Citie, and cried out vnto the Romans; This is the houre (fellow ſoldiers) wherein God hath giuen the Iewes into our hands: why doe we deferre the time any longer? why doe we not take the victory offered? doe you not heare the cries within? they who eſcaped our hands are at variance amongſt themſelues: the citie is ours if we make haſte, and making haſte take courage: for nothing worth renowme can be atchieued without danger: and let vs not only preuentour enemies concord which neceſſity wil ſoone effect, but alſo our owne forces before any freſh aide come vnto vs; that beſide the victory we haue, being ſo few ouer ſo huge a multitude, we may alſo diuide the ſpoile of the citie among vs. No ſooner had he thus ſpoken, but preſently he mounted vpon his horſe, and rode into the lake, and ſo paſſed into the Citie, and all the ſouldiers followed him. They that defended the wals were amazed at his boldnes, ſo that none made reſiſtance againſt him as he came: but *Ieſus* with his followers leauing his quarter which was his to defend, fled into the fields, others flying towards the lake fell into their enemies hands, who came that way againſt them, and ſo were maſſacred euen as they were getting into their ſhips, otherſome were ſlaine as they did ſwim to ouertake the ſhips that were new launcht from the ſhore: and there was a great ſlaughter of men all ouer the citie. For the ſtrangers that fled not made reſiſtance, and the towneſ-men did not offer to defend themſelues; for they abſtained from fight, hoping for pardon in that they were not againſt thoſe proceedings: till at laſt *Titus* hauing ſlaine the wicked, tooke compaſſion vpon the towneſ-men and ſaued their liues, and cauſed the ſlaughter to ceaſe. They who fled into the lake ſeeing the citie euen taken, ran away as farre as they could from their enemies. *Titus* ſent horſmen to let his father vnderſtand what he had done. Wherof he hauing intelligence, being very glad for his ſons valour and magnanimitie, and for the atchieuing of ſuch a victory, wherby a great part of thoſe warres was ended, he commanded preſently the citie to be guarded round about, to the intent that none might eſcape away aliue. And the next day hee came downe vnto the lake, and commanded ſhips to be built to purſue thoſe that had eſcaped by it: and hauing many workemen and great ſtore of matter to build them withall, his command was preſently effected. I K L M

Veſpaſian ſendeth new ſupplies to Titus.

The Iewes fly into the citie.

A bitter diſſenſion and ſedition in the city

Titus oration to the Roman ſouldiers.

Ieſus with his followers flieth into the fields.

Titus certifies his father of his exploits and victory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the lake of Genezar, and the fountaine of Iordan.

The yeare of the world, 4032 after Christs birth, 69.

THe lake of Genezar taketh his name from the countrey adioyning vnto it, the breadth thereof is forty furlongs, the length a hundreth. The water of this lake is ſweet & good to drinke, and is more ſubtill then ordinarily pure waters of mariſh places are, and it is very cleere neere the ſhore, and more temperate to drinke, then either that of the riuer or fountaine, but it is alwaies more cold then one would iudge ſuch a lake to be of that largenes: for the water being ſet in the ſunne, doth not loſe his coldnes: which the inhabitants haue vſed to do in ſommer euenings to allay the naturall coldnes thereof. There are here many ſorts of fiſhes nothing like to fiſhes of other places, either in ſhape or taſte. The riuer Iordan paſſeth through the midſt of it. It is thought that Panium is the head & fountain of Iordan, but in truth is hath his original from Phiala, and from thence paſſeth vnder the ground: this place is a hundreth & twenty furlongs from Cæſarea towards that way which leades vnto Trachon on the right hand. This water is called Phiala, by reaſon of his roundnes: for it is as round as a wheele, and the water ſtill keepeth within the brink of Phiala, neuer encreaſing or diminiſhing; and no man knew that this was the head of Iordan, til *Philip* the Tetrarch of Trachon found it to be ſo: for he caſting ſtraws into Phiala, found them afterward carried vnto Panium, which before that time was thought to be the fountain of Iordan. Panium, though it be naturally beautified, yet by *Agrippa* his coſt and charges it was much more adorned. Iordan beginneth with a deep riuer out of this denne, and paſſeth along the mariſh places, and durty lake of Semechonitis, and from thence 120. furlongs vnto the citie of Iulia, and in the way diuideth the lake Genezar, and paſſing a great way further into the wildernes, at laſt it endeth in the lake called Aſphaltites. Vpon the lake Genezar there bordereth a countrey of the ſame name, naturally beautifull and admirable: for there is no kind of plant which groweth not there, and the inhabitants haue repleniſhed it with plants and trees of all ſorts, and the temperature of the aire well agreeth with ſo diuers trees; for there are an infinit company of Nut-trees, which of all trees eſpecially require a cold ſoile: there are alſo abundance of palmes, which deſire great heat: likewiſe great ſtore of figges and oliues, which require a temperate aire: ſo that one may iuſtly ſay, that through the bounty of nature, ſo different and oppoſit qualities are here in one vnited; and at one time, as it were, all difference of ſeaſons of the yeere conioyned for good purpoſe. And it doth not only nouriſh theſe fruits, but alſo conſerueth them for ten whole moneths: there grow figs and grapes, which two one may well call the kings of fruits, all other fruits continue all the yeere long. For beſide the temperature of the ayre, it is alſo watered by a fertile fountain called Capernaum, many think it to be an arme of Nilus, becauſe it hath fiſhes like a Corbe bred in a lake neere Alexandria. The length of this countrey along the lake bearing the ſame name, is thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty. And this is the nature of the lake Genezar, and the countrey about it.

The fountain of Iordan.

The deſcription of Genezar.

The fertilitie of Genezar.

The length and breadth of Genezar.

CHAP. XIX.

How the Taricheans were deſtroyed.

Veſpaſian hauing finiſhed his ſhips, and furniſht them with as many men as he thought ſufficed againſt them whom he was to purſue, he embarked vpon the lake, and himſelf alſo went againſt them. The Taricheans could not poſſibly make any eſcape by land, although they would, & they were not able to fight hand to hand with the Romans, for their ſmal pyrat boats were not able to withſtand their enemies great veſſels; and beſide that, they were not ſufficiently manned, ſo that they feared to encounter with the Romans who preſſed all together vpon them: yet notwithſtanding ſometime they came about the Roman ſhips, and caſt ſtones at the Romans afar off, and ſomtime alſo came neere, and skirmiſhed with them: yet they themſelues alwaies had more harme then the Romans; for their ſtones which they caſt did only rattle againſt the Romans armour, but hurt them not, and they were killed by the Romans arrowes: and if at any time they were ſo bold as to come neer the Romans, they were ſlain before that they could do them any harme, or elſe drowned with their boats. And as many as attempted to wound the Romans, were ſlain with Iauelins, and other with ſwords, the Romans leaping into their boats; and many were taken with their boats, the ſhips meeting one another. They that were in the water & did lift vp their heads to ſwim were preuented with arrowes, or

A fight by ſea againſt the Taricheans.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth 69.

ouertaken with Roman boats: and if in desperation they came swimming towards their enemies, their hands or heads were presently cut off. And thus some perished one way, some another, till at last they fled, & arriued vpon the shore, their ships being compassed round about. So the Romans kild many vpon the lake, and many vpon the land, and one might then haue seen all the lake stained with blood full of dead bodies, for not one escaped aliue. A few daies after in that countrey there was a very odious stinch, and a horrible spectacle: for the shores were all ful of boats that had suffered shipwracke, and dead bodies swollen in the water: and those dead bodies taking heat did putrefie and so corrupt the aire all about, that not only the whole countrey and inhabitants thought it a miserable affliction; but also the Romanes who were the authors thereof. And this was the end of that warre by water. And the number of them that were slaine here in the citie was 6500. The fight being ended, *Vespasian* sate in a tribunall seat, and separated the strangers from the inhabitants, for that they seemed to be the authors of that warre: yet hee deliberated with the captaines and gouernors, whether hee should likewise pardon them: but they told him that that their liues might endomage him; for said they, if thou send those men away and let them liue, they cannot liue peaceably because they want abiding places; and are able to disturbe and disquiet those to whom they shall fly. *Vespasian* for this cause iudged them vnworthy to liue; assuredly knowing that if they were let go, they would fight against them who pardoned their liues, yet he deliberated what death to put them to. But he thought with himself the inhabitants would not patiently abide so many to be massacred, who had fled vnto them for succor: wherefore he sought to vse no violence vnto them, because hee had promised them security. But at last hee was ouercome by the perswasion of his friends, who told him that all things against the Iewes were lawfull, and that profit was to be preferred before honesty, seeing both could not be had: so licence being granted vnto them to depart, they suspecting nothing, were commanded to take only that way that leadeth vnto Tiberias: and they fearing nothing, willingly obeyed that which was commanded them, not misdoubting the safety of their goods or mony: but the Romans had placed themselues on euery side the way euen vnto Tiberias, to the intent that none might escape, and so shut them all in the citie. Presently after came *Vespasian* and inclosed them all in an Amphitheater, and soe killed 1200. of them, who were all olde men or young, and vnable for seruice: of the rest that were all strong young men, he sent 6000. vnto *Nero* at Isthmos neere Corinth. The rest of the multitude he sold, in number 30400. beside others that he gaue vnto *Agrippa*: for he permitted him to do what he would with those sort that were of his kingdome: But *Agrippa* sold also those that were giuen him. The rest of them were fugitiues & seditious persons of Trachon, Gaulanitis, and Hippenis, and many of Gadara, whose contempt of peace iustly procured these warrs. They were taken the sixt of the Ides of September.

Vespasians victory in the lake of Genezar against the Taricheans.

The end of the battell by sea, in which there died 6500. men.

Vespasian consults with his chieftains about the Iewes.

The destruction and sale of the Iewes.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 4. Booke.

1 *How Gamala was besieged.*
2 *How* Placidus *tooke Itaburium.*
3 *How Gamala was destroyed.*
4 *How* Titus *tooke Giscala.*
5 *Of the beginning of the destruction of Ierusalem.*
6 *Of the comming of the Idumeans vnto Ierusalem, and of their deeds.*
7 *Of the massacre of the Iewes by the Idumeans.*

CHAP.

A

CHAP. I.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

How Gamala was beſieged.

AFter that Tarichea was conquered, all thoſe that from the time that Iotapata was ſurpriſed til this inſtant, had reuolted from the Romans, did now again vnite themſelues vnto them: ſo that the Romans had now gotten into their hands all Caſtles & townes, Giſcala onely excepted, & Itaburium, a mountaine ſo called. With theſe two rebelled Gamala, a towne ouer againſt Tarichea, and ſituate vpon the lake, belonging to the kingdome of *Agrippa*, and alſo Sogane and Seleucia: and theſe two laſt were both belonging to Gaulanitis, and Sogane appertained to the higher part called Gaulana, and Gamala vnto the lower, Seleucia vnto the lake Semechonitis, which is thirtie furlongs in breadth, and threeſcore large, whoſe mariſhes reach euen vnto Daphne, which country is very pleaſant of it ſelfe, and famous for that it entertaineth the ſtreame called little Iordane, and at the foot of the goulden mountaine doth deriue it into the great Iordane. *Agrippa*, in the beginning of the rebellion, vnited Sogane and Seleucia vnto himſelfe: but Gamala, by reaſon of the ſituation apt to reſiſt, did not yeeld vnto him, for it is farre ſtronger then Iotapata. For, from an exceeding high mountaine, there deſcendeth a hil very difficult for any to paſſe, riſing high in the midſt, & then deſcendeth lower and lower both before and behinde, ſo that it repreſenteth the figure of a Camell, which the Hebrewes call Gamal, and ſo thereof it took the name, though the inhabitants do not keepe that exact ſignification. Before it, and on either ſide there are deep vallies, into the which a man can hardly deſcend, onely it may bee taken and aſſaulted on that ſide where it ioineth vnto the mountaine, which alſo the inhabitants haue made inacceſſible, by cutting out there a deep ditch. In that place the city was very well inhabited on the deſcent of the hill, and towards the South part it ſtood on ſo ſteepe a hill, that it ſeemed as if it would haue fallen euery houre, and the South hill ſerued the inhabitants in ſteed of a caſtle, being vnwald: for it was an exceeding high rock, and reached downe euen to the bottome of the valley in the towne, and at the wals therof there was a fountaine. Although this city were of his owne nature inuincible, yet *Ioſeph* compaſſing it with a wal, and with ditches & mines, made it ſtronger. Wherefore the inhabitants of this place put farre more confidence in their wals then they of Iotapata did; yet were they fewer in number, and not ſo warlike people as they; but for the ſituation of the city, they eſteemd themſelues more then their enemies: for the city was full of men that fledde thither by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place: ſo that for ſeuen moneths they reſiſted them that were ſent by *Agrippa* to beſiege them. *Veſpaſian* departed from Ammaus, and pitched his tents before Tiberias, and ſo went vnto Gamala, (Ammaus is interpreted hote waters, for there is a fountaine of hot water which cureth many diſeaſes) & the city was ſo ſituate, that he could not beſiege it round about: wherefore he placed men to keep watch in ſuch places as it was paſſible, and obtaind the higheſt mountaine, where his ſouldiers pitching their tents, laſtly entrenched themſelues. On the Eaſt-part of the city in the moſt eminent place there was a caſtle, where the fifteenth and fift legions laboured againſt the towne, and the tenth legion filled vp the ditches and vallies. King *Agrippa* went vnto the wals, and ſpake vnto them that defended them, willing them to yeeld to the Romans: but one of them with a ſling ſtrook him on the right arme, and hurt him, and his familiar friends came about him to defend him. Then the Romans, for anger that the king was hurt, and for feare of ſuch miſchances to themſelues, now became earneſt to aſſault the town, perſwading themſelues that they would vſe ſtrangers & their enemies hardly, if it lay in their lot, ſeeing they had ſo euil entreated one of their own nation, for perſwading them vnto what was profitable for them.

B

C

D

E

The victory of the Romans againſt the Iewes.

Semechonitis a lake.

The fountaine of Iordan.

The ſituation of Gamala.

The city of Gamala inexpugnable and ſtrong.

Veſpaſian beſieg'd Gamala

One with a ſling wounded Agrippa.

Hauing quickly intrenched themſelues by reaſon of the multitude that laboured in that buſineſſe, and by reaſon that they were accuſtomed to ſuch like worke, they began to place the engines againſt the towne wals. *Chares* and *Ioſeph* were two of the moſt potent men in the towne: they therefore animated and armed their citizens, and brought them vnto the wals, who trembled for feare. And although they well perceiued that the city could not long hold out, ſeeing they wanted water, and many other things neceſſary to withſtand a ſiege; yet notwithſtanding, they exhorted the townſmen to be valiant, and ſo brought them vnto the wals, and a while they reſiſted, notwithſtanding the ſhot: but at laſt, they were therewith ſo terrified, that leauing the wals, they fled into the city. Then the Romans did batter the wals with Rams in three ſeue-

F

The Romans beſiege Gamala, and aſſault it.

rall

The yeare of the world,4031.after Christs birth 69.

rall places,and where the wall fel,there they issued in with trumpets and a great noise, and cries, G and fought with the townsmen,who in the first conflict so valiantly resisted them,that they permitted them not to enter any further into the towne. At last beeing ouercome both in strength and number,they al fled into the highest part of the city,and from thence they turned again vpon the Romans, who pursued them, and draue them downe into the vallies, and kild many, and diuers in that straight passage were troden to death by their fellowes. The Romans, seeing that they neither could flee, nor resist their enemies aboue their heads, fled into their houses, which adioined vnto the Plaine,and so filled them,that being ouercharged,they fell down,and lighted vpon other houses beneath them,which did beare them downe also,and they likewise others situated beneath them. Many of the Romans this way perished; for being amazed, and not knowing what to do,they fled into their houses, notwithstanding they did see them shake and totter: H aud many seeking to escape,were maimed by some part of the ruines that fel vpon their bodies, and many were choaked in the dust. The citizens of Gamala reioyced thereat,thinking that this aid was sent from God: and not regarding their priuate cõmodities,they ceased not to compell the Romans into their houses; and if any were in the narrow streets, them they slew with darts from aboue our of the high places. Thus the ruines afforded them stones enow,and their slaine enemies swords and armour,which they took from them, being now halfe dead, and vsed them against themselues: many died,who cast themselues headlong from off the houses being ready to fall,and those that sought to flee could not easily escape; for being ignorant of the waies, and there being such a dust that one could not see another, one of them killed another: and so with much ado finding passage, they went out of the city. I

Vespasian, who was alwaies among the midst of these hurlyburlies, was greatly moued to see the buildings fall so vpon his souldiers: and forgetting his owne safety, he secretly retired himselfe with onely a few into the higher part of the city, where he was left in great danger, hauing very few about him (for *Titus* his son was not there,being before this time sent vnto *Mutianus* in Syria) and now he could not flee safely, nor yet had it bin for his honour if he could. Wherefore remembring all that he had done euen from his child-hood, and his own vertue, he encouraged his men,and with them ioined armes,and couered themselues with their shields; and so as it were moued with some diuine motion,defended themselues from all darts, arrowes & stones, which were cast from aloft vpon them,and so remain'd there not terrified either by the number or might of his enemies, till at last,they wondring at his diuine vertue & courage,asswaged their K fury. And now perceiuing his enemies to assault him but faintly,he retired back,till at such time as he got without the city wals.

The Romans fall down with the ruines of the Iewes houses.

Many Romans slaine and spoiled.

Vespasiãs fortitude & warlike valour.

Vespasians fight with the Iewes.

Many Romans perished in that fight, and amongst the rest, *Ebutius* a Decadarch, who not onely in that fight shewed himselfe valiant,but also in many wars before,and had done the Iews much harme. Also in that fight a certain Centurion, named *Gallus*, accompanied with ten souldiers, hid himselfe in a house, and at supper time he heard the people of that house talk,what the citizens of Gamala were purposed to do against the Romans (this *Gallus* & they with him were Syrians) and in the night-time he slew them all,and after escaped safe vnto the Romans. *Vespasian* perceiued all his army sorrowfull for that mischance,and so much the more,for that they neuer as yet had so bad a breakfast and especially for that they had forsaken their General,and left L him in danger and distresse; wherefore he thought it good to comfort them, nothing speaking concerning himselfe, lest he should seem to find fault with some in the beginning of his speech. Wherefore he told them,that it behooued them patiently to abide that which was common to all men,affirming that there was no victory without bloudshed, and that fortune was mutable: and that he had already slaine many thousand Iewes,and now had paid a small bribe for his happy successe vnto aduerse fortune. And that as it did not become any but vaine-glorious people to boast in their prosperity,so it behooued none but cowards to feare and tremble in aduersity: For,said he, fortune is very mutable both to the good and bad,and he is a valiant man that is not moued by aduersity: for he,hauing all his wits about him, can euen in the midst of his troubles see where any fault is,and amend it. Yet(quoth he) this hath not befallen vs through the weak- M nes of our courage, or the valour and prowesse of the Iewes, but the difficulty of the place was the cause that they should ouercome vs, and we be ouercomne. Wherefore one may well reprehend the too much rashnesse of your spirits: for when you saw your enemies flee into the higher places, you should then haue held your hands, and not to haue pursued them with so manifest danger to your selues, as euery one might foresee in this pursuit; so you hauing gained the lower part of the city, you might in time haue drawne them to a sure and safe conflict:

Gallus with ten souldiers lieth hid in a certain house.

Vespasian cõforteth his souldiers.

The inconstancy & mutability of Fortune.

but

A but you, being eager of the victory, did not respect your own safety. It is not the manner of the Romans rashly & vnadui sedly to fight, who are wont to do all things orderly and aduisedly: for the other is fit for barbarous people, and as you see proper to the Iewes. Wherefore, let vs cal our owne vertues to minde, and rather be angry for this that hath hapned (and so incite our selues to reuenge) then sorrowfull. And let euery valiant souldier with his owne hand comfort himselfe; so shall we both reuenge the death of our friends, and be reueng'd of them by whom they were slain: and I my selfe (as also now I did) will expose my selfe to all dangers with you, and goe first to fight, & come last from fight. With these & such like speeches he comforted his souldiers.

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The Roman souldiers do al things with discretion.

The people of Gamala were of great courage, and much emboldned with their prosperous successe, which notwithstanding did not happen through their valour: but presently perceiuing
B that now all hope of pardon was taken away, & that there was no way to escape, they were very sorrowfull, and their hearts relented (for now victuals failed them) yet they omitted not to prouide for their owne safety wherin they could, for the most valiant among them kept the breach: and the rest, other strong places about the wals which were yet vnbattered. The Romans againe built mounts, and attẽpted to assault the city, and many of the citizens fled by the vallies where no guard was, and by secret vaults vnderneath the ground, & they who for feare lest they should bee taken remained in the city, perished for hunger: for all the victuals were reserued for them that fought. And they still continued in this calamity.

The Romans once more attẽpt the assault of Gamala.

C CHAP. II.

How Placidus *took the mountaine Itaburium.*

DVring this siege, *Vespasian* made another expedition against them that kept the mountain Itaburium, situate between the great field and Scythopolis, which is 30. furlongs high, and inaccessible on the north side. In the very top of this mountaine there is a Plaine 20. furlongs ouer, enclosed with a wall; all which wall being of so huge a compasse, *Ioseph* had built in 40. daies: they receiued all necessary prouision from beneath, for they had onely rain water. Vnto this place a huge multitude were gathered, and *Vespasian* sent *Placidus* against them with 600. horsemen, who could no waies get vpon the mountaine: wherefore he exhorted many of
D them to peace, putting them in hope of pardon: likewise many of the Iewes came downe vnto him, as it were to entrap him, and assault him at vnawares. *Placidus* for the nonce gaue them faire speeches, hoping to get them downe into the Plain: so they, as though they would haue obeied him followed him thither, meaning when they came there, suddenly to assault him: yet *Placidus* his deuice took place. For when the Iewes assaulted him, he fained himselfe to flee, and the Iewes hauing pursued him a great way from the mountaine, he turned againe vpon them, and wounded many on the backs as they fled, and killed some, and hindred the rest of the multitude from ascending the mountain: so the rest left Itaburium, and fled vnto Ierusalem, and the inhabitants (now water failing them) yeelded to *Placidus*, and deliuered the mountaine vnto him.

The height of the mountain Itaburium.

Fraud paid with fraud.

Placidus victory.

E CHAP. III.

How Gamala was destroied.

NOw the most presumptuous among the Gamalians fled and hid themselues, and the weaker sort did perish through famine: yet the most courageous that were left amõg them, defended the wall till the 27. day of October. Vpon which day, three souldiers of the fifteenth legion, towards breake of the day, vndermined the highest tower in their quarter, and entred into it; those that kept it, neither perceiuing them when they came in, nor when they went out, (for it was in the night time.) These souldiers beeing wary lest any
F noise should be made, remoued fiue of the greatest stones, and presently leapt away, and incontinently the tower fell with a hideous noise, and with the fall kild those that kept it, and many that kept watch in those quarters fled, being sore afraid: & they who sought to escape the Romans, were killed, amongst whom one *Ioseph* was strooken with a dart from a part of the wall that was fallen down, and there died. They who were within the city were terrified with the noise hereof, and ranne vp and downe as though all the enemies were already entred into it. And *Chares*, *Iosephs* companion, being sick, yeelded vp the ghost, feare encreasing his disease, and helping to shorten

The Romans vndermine a certain tower, and it falleth with a great noise.

The yeare of the world, 4031. after Christs Nativity, 69.

shorten his life. The Romans, remembring the bad successe at the last assault, did not enter the City til the 23. day of the foresaid moneth. G

Titus with 200. hundred horse besides chosen footmen, entereth Gamala.

Then *Titus*, as it were vexed at the misfortune of the Romans in his absence, accompanied with 200. horsemen, and certaine chosen footmen, entered the City, no man resisting him: and hee beeing passed into the same, the watchmen then first perceiuing it, cried to armes. Those within the city fearing that *Titus* was entred, some tooke their children, some their wiues, and fled into the castle with pitiful cries & weeping: others met *Titus*, and were all put to the sword: and they that could not get into the castle, not knowing what to do, fel among the Roman watchmen: then the skies were filled with the cries of men dying, and the lower places of the city flowed with bloud. *Vespasian* led his whole army against those that fled into the castle, which was of a huge height, and scarcely to be come vnto, being all of stone, and full of ditches and deep dens, H and compassed with steepy rocks: so the Iewes did driue downe the Romans that offred to com vp vnto them, partly with darts, partly with stones, which they rouled downe vpon them; and they were so high, that the Romans arrowes could not reach them. But at last, as it were by gods prouidence, who would haue it, a whirlewind arose, which caried the Romans arrowes amongst them into the castle, and the Iewes arrowes from the Romans, and the wind was so violent, that it was not possible for them to stand vpon those high places; and so not being able to stand, nor to see those that came against them, the Romans ascended and took the castle; some resisting for their defence, others yeelding themselues. The Romans now cald to minde their fellowes that perished in the first assault, and so became more cruell. Many despairing of their liues, cast their wiues, their children, and themselues headlong downe those high places, into the deep vallies I vnderneath. So that the cruelty that the Romans shewed against the people of Gamala, was not so great as that which they vsed against themselues: for there were only 4000. that perisht by the Romans sword; and the number of them who so cast themselues downe, was found to bee 5000: and not one escaped, but two women that were sisters, and daughters to *Philip*, who was son to *Ioachimus*, a worthy man, and gouernor ouer all *Agrippas* army vnder him; and these two were saued onely, because at such time as the city was taken, they hid themselues, for they spared not infants, but many took them & cast them downe from the castle. And thus was Gamala destroied the 23. day of October, which began to rebell the 21. day of September.

The top of the Castle of Gamala stony & hard to be climed.

The Romans victory by Gods prouidence.

9000. Iewes slaine in Gamala, and only two women escape.

CHAP. IIII. K

How Titus *took Giscala.*

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth 70.

NOw all the cities and strong places of Galilee were taken, Giscala onely excepted: the inhabitants whereof desired peace, for that they were husbandmen, and their riches consisted in the fruits of the earth; but there were many thieues in the city: to which vice also many of the citizens were addicted. These people were incited to rebell by one *Iohn* a witch, and a deceitfull person, son to one *Leuias*; who was of strange manners, & bold to presume any thing, and wonderfully atchieuing all he took in hand, and he was knowne to all men for one that desired war to make himselfe mighty. This man was ringleader of the seditious persons in Giscala: and for feare of them, the people, who perhaps otherwise would haue L sent Legates to the Romans to request peace, were hindered and forced to stay, till the Romans came to warre against them. Against these people *Vespasian* sent *Titus*, and with him a thousand horsemen, and the tenth legion toward Scythopolis: and hee with the rest went to Cæsarea to refresh them after their great labour, at the charge of the towns adioining; iudging it necessary to comfort their bodies, and encourage their mindes to sustaine manfully the wars that were to ensue: for he foresaw that he should haue much ado to win Ierusalem, both for that it was wont to be the kings seat, and also because it was the chiefe and head City of all the nation. And his care in this point was so much the more encreast for that he perceiued that many out of all parts fled thither; and that it was naturally strong, and also compassed with almost inuincible wals: and beside this, the boldnes and desperate courage of the inhabitants, who although that they M had no wals at all, yet had been scarcely to be conquered: and therefore he thought it necessary to comfort his souldiers before the fight, like champions who ought to enter the field and fight courageously.

Iohn a poisoner and a deceitfull man, inforceth the citizens of Giscala to rebell.

Vespasia foreseeth his no small trouble in the siege of Ierusalem.

Titus (coming on horseback vnto Giscala) perceiued that it might easily be taken: yet knowing that if it were taken by force, all the people should be destroied by the Romans (and now he was weary of bloudshed) he cõpassionating the wel disposed people, which were otherwise like

Titus his cõpassion towards those of Giscala.

to

A to periſh together with the wicked, attempted to take it by condition. Wherfore the wals being full of people, amongſt whom were many of the ſeditious, he told them that he maruailed what help they had or expected, or by whoſe aduice, al other cities being now taken, they alone wold abide the laſt brunt of the Roman forces, eſpecially when as they had already ſeen many towns, far ſtronger then theirs, ouerthrowne at the firſt aſſault: and contrariwiſe, thoſe who had yielded themſelues to the Romans, liued in peace, and peaceably enioied al that was theirs. Which offer (ſaid he) I now alſo make vnto you, and am not yet incenſed againſt you, becauſe that which you do is for your liberty: but if (quoth he) you do ſtill perſeuere in this impoſſible courſe, my diſ- » pleaſure ſhall be kindled againſt you. And if ſo be they refuſed this kind offer, they ſhould pre- » ſently perceiue the Roman ſword to be ſharpned for their deſtruction, and incontinently ſhould »
B find that their wals were but a mockery, and no waies able to reſiſt the Roman engines: where » contrariwiſe, if they yielded themſelues, and truſted to the fidelity of the Romans, they ſhould » be the moſt happy people of all Galilee. None of the townſmen were admitted to make any an- » ſwer, nor to come vnto the wals: for the theiues were maſters of them; and a guard was placed » at euery gate, leſt any one ſhould go forth to ſubmit themſelues, or any horſemen ſhould be re- » ceiued into the city. Then *Iohn* made anſwer, that he liked well of the conditions offered, and that he would either perſwade or compell the inhabitants to accept of them, yet hee requeſted, that that day might be granted vnto the Iewes: for it was the 7. day, wherein it was not lawfull for them to entreat of peace, nor make war. For as the Romans knew, the Iewes euery ſeuenth day ceaſt from all work: and which if they profaned, they who cauſed it to be ſo abuſed, though
C it were *Titus* himſelfe, were as great offenders as they who were forced to it. Moreouer, ſo ſhort time could not preiudice the Romans, to wit, one nights ſpace: for nothing hee could effect in that time to endamage them, except onely by fleeing out of the city (which *Titus* might preuent by placing a ſtrong guard and watch in euery place thereabout) & that he thought it a great priuiledge to be ſuffred to keepe the cuſtome of his countrey; and that it was his part, who offred peace and ſafety to them that expected it, alſo to keep their laws whoſe ſafety he granted. With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches *Iohn* ſought to delude *Titus*, being not ſo religious about the keeping of the Sabbath, as careful for his own ſafety: for he feard that the city would preſently be taken, & he left alone, and ſo he determined in that night to flee, as the onely way to ſaue his life. Truly God would haue it ſo, that *Iohn* ſhould then eſcape to be the ouerthrowe of Ieruſalem, and that
D *Titus* ſhould not onely grant him the time he requeſted to deliberate, but alſo that night ſhould pitch his tents neer Cydæſſa, by the higher part of the town, which is the ſtrongeſt village of all that are in the heart of the Tyrian ſoil, which the Galileans alwaies hated. In the night time *Iohn* perceiuing no Romans to keep watch about the towne, hauing now opportunity, fled not onely with the armed men about him, but alſo with many of the chiefe of the city, and whole families, whom he promiſed to conduct vnto Ieruſalem. But *Iohn* fearing captiuity, and carefull for his owne ſafety, hauing caried them twenty furlongs out of the city, forſook them: who being ſo left deſolate, began grieuouſly to lament. For euery one thought himſelfe as neer his enemies as he was far from the citie and his friends: and ſtill euery ſtep, they thought their enemies at hand ready to take them, and euer they lookt back, as though their enimies heard the noiſe they
E made as they went, and ſo came againſt them, inſomuch that many ruſhed forward on heaps, and many were killed in the way with the preaſe of them that followed; ſo that women and infants did periſh miſerably: or if they ſpake any thing, only it was entreating their parents or their kinſfolk to ſtay for them.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

Titus his mercifull oration to thoſe of Giſcala.

Iohns anſwer to Titus exhortation.

Iohn reſerued by Gods prouidence to be at the ſiege of Ieruſalem.

The feare of thoſe Iewes that fled with Iohn.

But *Iohns* exhortation took effect, wherein he cried vnto them to ſaue themſelues, and haſten vnto ſuch a place, where they might be ſafe, and reuenge themſelues of the Romans, for the outrages which they that remain'd behind were like to indure: and ſo the multitude that fled, euery one as he was able diſperſed themſelues. *Titus* early in the morning came vnto the wals to know whether they accepted of his offer. Then the people ſet open the gates, and with their wiues &
F children came to meet him, all crying that he was their ſafety, and worker of their welfare; and that he had deliuered their city out of captiuity: alſo they certified him how *Iohn* was fled, and beſought him to pardon them, and execute iuſtice vpon thoſe malefactors that remained in the city. And at their requeſt, he ſent certaine horſemen to purſue *Iohn*, but they could not take him; for before they came he had gotten into Ieruſalem: yet they ſlew almoſt two thouſand of them that fledde with him, and brought back againe three thouſand women and children. *Titus* was angry that he ſuffred *Iohns* deceit to eſcape vnpuniſhed: yet his anger was ſomething appeaſed, for that hee perceiued *Iohns* purpoſe preuented, in that ſo many of his companie were ſlaine,

The citizens of Giſcala entertaine Titus with all obedience.

and

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth 70.

and so many brought back for captiues. Thus he peaceably entred the city, commanding the souldiers to break down a little piece of the wall, as it were to take possession of it, and so punisht the seditious rather with threats then torments. For he thought that many were accused onely for priuate hatred, and so were in danger to suffer being innocent: and he thought it better to let the wicked liue in feare, then with them to destroy the guiltlesse. Thinking moreouer, that heerafter they would be more quiet, either for feare of punishment, or for shame of their former offence, for which they were pardon'd: and that if any man suffred vnworthily, he could not afterward complain. Then he placed there a garrison, both to repress the seditious, & also to confirm them that desired peace. And thus was Galilee conquered after it had much toiled the Romans.

Titus mercy to his enemies It is better to leaue an enemy in suspence through feare, then with the guilty to confound the innocent.

CHAP. V.

Of the beginning of the destruction of Ierusalem.

SO soone as *Iohn* was entered into Ierusalem, all the people flocked about him and those that came with him, enquiring what calamity had befallen them without the city. Some of them being yet out of breath, and not able to speake, by signes discouered their necessity: yet amidst these their miseries, they boasted that it was not the Roman power that forced them to flee, but that they of their own accord fled thither to warre against the Romans in a safer place, then that from whence they fled, was; for none but vnaduised and rash-headed men would fight for such a citie as Giscala & other places that were not able to resist, seeing that it behoued them all to reserue their vigour and strength to defend the Metropolitane citie. They also signified vnto them, how Giscala was taken by the Romanes, and that they departed in good sort away, though some reported that they fled. The people of Ierusalem, hearing what these men reported, and how many were captiues vnto the Romans, they fell into a great feare, as though that which they told did portend their ruine. But *Iohn*, nothing ashamed in that he had so shamefully forsaken them of Giscala who fled with him, went first to one, and then to another, inciting them all to warre vnder a vaine hope, alleaging the weakues of the Romans, and extolling their own puissance, deceiuing the simple people; & perswading them that though the Romãs sought to reuenge, yet could they neuer enter the wals of Ierusalem, who had so much ado, and endured such affliction in entring the little burges & villages of Galilee, against whose wals they had broken all their engines. These words of his incited many yong men to seditiõ: but all the wiser sort foresaw what was like to ensue, and euen now mourned their lost city. And in this case were they of Ierusalem: yet before this sedition in the citie, the countrey people began to be at discord among themselues. For *Titus* departed from Giscala vnto Cæsarea, & *Vespasian* went from Cæsarea to Iamnia & Azotus, and took them both: & leauing there garrisons, he returned to Cæsarea, bringing with him a huge company of them who had yielded vnto him. All cities were at ciuill wars among themselues; so that when the Romans did not war vpon them, one part of the Iewes in euery city fought against the other, and there was a great dissension between those that desir'd peace, & the seditious people: and at first this discord began only in priuat houses; but in the end, euery one ioining with them that were of their mind, they now began in companies to rebell openly. Thus euery place was troubled with ciuill discord: and euery where rash yong men, who desired wars, preuailed against wise & graue old men, who, foreseeing the calamity like to ensue, desired peace. At first, the inhabitants one by one robd and spoiled what they could; but at last, in whole troups they ioined together, and robbed openly, and wasted all the country about: & they in their robberies shewed such cruelty, that the harme and iniury they did vnto their owne countrimen, was altogether equall to the miseries which befel them by meanes of the Romans; and they, who by these miscreants were spoiled, wished rather to haue fallen into the Romans hands. But they who kept the city, either because they were loth to weary themselues, or else for that they hated the citizens or people, did nothing or very little succour them that fel into these thieues hands. At last the thieues assembled themselues together from al places, & ioining companies, they brake into Ierusalem. This city had no gouernor; & according to the custom of that country, receiued all that came thither that were their countrimen; and so much more willingly at that time, because they thought that they that came thither, came of good will to help them: which only was afterward the cause that the city was destroyd; setting aside the ciuil dissension. For a great multitude of people vnapt to fight being there, consum'd the victuals that wold haue suffised for the fighting men: & beside the wars, they brought vpon it famine & ciuill dissension. Then other thieues came out of the fields therabout, & ioining themselues with those that were within the city, omitted no kind of villanie; for not content to rob and spoile, they also attempted

The courage of Iohn and those that fled with him, stirs vp the Iewes to make war against the Romans.

Intestine discord in Iury.

The Iews turn their weapons against themselues.

The theeues trooping together in Ierusalem spoile the country.

A ted to commit murders, not onely priuily, or in the night vpon meane men, but euen in the day time they publikely set vpon the chiefest of the nobilitie. For first of all they took *Antipas*, who was borne of the bloud royall, a man so eminent amongst them, that the publike treasure was committed to his charge and custodie, and put him in prison: and after him they tooke *Sapha* a worthy man, and sonne to *Raguel* and *Lenia*, both of them of the kings houshold, and after them all that seemed to beare any sway, or were in authority amongst the people. Great fear fel vpon the Inhabitants, and euerie one prouid d to saue himselfe, as though the Citie were euen now surprised by the enemies. But these people were not content thus to haue imprisoned those potentates, neither did they thinke it safetie for themselues any longer to continue, for men alive: for many came dayly vnto them to visit them, and vnto their houses, who were able to reuenge
B their iniuries: and moreouer they feared that the people would make a head against them, being moued with their iniquitie. Wherefore they determined to kill them: and to effect their purpose they sent one *Iohn* a cruell murderer, who was the son of *Dorcas*: he accompanied with ten more all hauing swords went vnto the prison, and slew as many as they found there. To excuse this cruell fact of theirs, they alledged this, to wit that all they who were slaine in prison, had conference with the Romans concerning the betraying of the Citie into their hands, and that for this cause they had slaine them, being traytors to their Countrie: they also boasted that this fact of theirs had preserued the Citie, and that therefore they had well deserued of it. The people was brought vnto such slauerie and terror, that the chusing of the high Priest was in their hands to elect whom they pleased: so much was their insolence increased. Thus they not respecting the
C families, out of which it was onely lawfull to chuse the high Priest, they now elected strangers and base persons to that sacred dignitie, and such as would be partakers of their villanies and impieties: for they who not deseruing it, attained to such dignitie, were as it were bound vnto their will in all things, by whom they were so exalted. They also deuised many lies, to make those that were in authoritie one at variance with another, thereby as it were to hold them occupied who were able to resist their enterprises, till that being now satisfied with the bloud of the Citizens, they began to commit impietie against God himselfe, and with prophane and vnpure feete to enter into the sanctuarie. Then the people was incited against them by *Ananus* his meanes, who was one of the priests, and the most ancient and wisest of them all, who perhaps had saued the Citie, had he escaped the hands of these miscreants. But they vsed the Temple as a Castle & defence for themselues against the people, and made the Sanctuarie a place for them to exercise
D tyrannie in. And that which increased the sorrow of the citizens, was, that amidst these calamities, their religion was also contumeliously abused: for these theeues, to trie of what strength & courage the people were, and their owne forces, did elect by lot a high Priest contrarie to their law: which as we haue already said, requireth that the high Priest shall be chosen by succession. This deed of theirs they coloured with an ancient custome, alledging that in time past the high Priest was chosen by lot. But indeede this their fact was an abrogation of the most firme custom that was amongst the people, and was onely a deuice to get all gouernment into their hands by establishing magistrates at their pleasure.

Then calling one of the holy tribes named *Eniachin*, they cast lots, & it so fell out that the lot
E fel vpō one, whereby their iniquitie was discouered. This man whose lot it was to be high Priest was named *Phanes*, who was the sonne of *Samuel*, a man not onely vnworthy of that dignitie, but who had bin so rudely brought vp, that he neuer knew what the high Priest meant: thus *Phanes* was borne in a village called Aphthasis. Him, against his will they fetcht out of the field, and as it had beene in a stage-play they graced him with another mans person, and presently gaue him instructions how he should behaue himselfe, putting vpon him the sacred attire of the high Priest, as though that so great impietie had been but a sport. The rest of the priests, beholding a far off the holy lawes to be scorned, scarcely contained themselues from teares, & euen groaned for sorrow, that their sacred dignities were so abused. The people could no longer endure this their tyranny, but now euerie one addrest himselfe to depose these tyrants. And those that were
F most earnest herein, were *Gorion Iosephs* sonne, and *Simeon* the sonne of *Gamaliel*, who went about the City to euerie one in priuate, and then in a publike assembly exhorted the people to be reuenged vpon those tyrants, who tooke from them their libertie, and to addresse themselues to purge the holy Temple from such vile & vncleane persons. Likewise the best disposed amongst the priests, to wit, *Iesus* the sonne of *Gamala*, and *Ananus* the sonne of *Ananus*, often in publike Sermons reprehended the people, and vpbrayded them with their slouth, in that they made no more haste to destroy those Zelous people (for so those wretches tearmed themselues, as

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Rapines and spoyles committed by day time.

The nobilitie of the Citie are taken and slaine by the theeues.

The theeues at their pleasure make a high Priest.

A high Priest chosen by the contrarie to the ancient custome.

Phanes a countrie clowne made a high Priest.

The best Citizens exhort the people to reuenge.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 72.

though they had beene deuout followers of goodnesse, and not impious malefactors.) The people being all assembled together, euerie man grieued to see the holy place so kept for a denne of theeues, and of their robberies and murders which they committed; yet did they not goe about to reuenge, thinking themselues too weake to deale with these Zelous, as indeed they were. Then *Ananus* stood vp amongst the middest of them: and hauing often turned his eyes to the Temple, and beholden it till the teares ran downe his cheekes, Oh sayd he, how farre better were it for me to die, then to liue, to see the house of God thus filled with impietie, and the Sanctuarie wherein none should come but the high Priest, prophaned with the wicked feet of impious persons, being cloathed in Priests apparell, and beare the name of the most authoritie amongst all names: and doe I yet liue, and doe I saue my selfe, and to bee gray-headed, abstaine from dying a glorious death? Nay, rather I alone will goe against these murderers, and as though I were in a wildernesse where there were no man beside my selfe, I alone will goe and offer my soule for Gods sake. For what doth it auaile mee to liue amongst a people, that hath no feeling of their owne calamitie, & which seeketh not to redresse their own present miseries? for you being robbed and spoyled beare all patiently, and being beaten you hould your peace, and there is none amongst you that dare openly mourne for them that are most cruelly murdered. O tyrannous gouernment! But why should I exclaime against the tyrants? Did not you your selues make them great, and nourish their power and authoritie by your patience? Did not you, by despising those who before were in authoritie being but a few, make all these, who are many in number, tyrants ouer your selues? haue not you keeping your selues quiet, they being armed, turned their swords vpon your owne heads? and as then it behooued you to resist their enterprises, when first they iniured your kinred; you by suffering haue made them theeues; because at first you made no account, when they destroyed houses and whole families. And this was the cause that at last, the rulers and potentates themselues were set vpon, and none would succour them when they were drawne through the middest of the Citie, and these murderers butchered them in prison whom you thus betrayed. I will not recount what men they were, and of what birth: but I say they being neither accused nor condemned, hauing no man to heare them, they were most cruelly murdered, as we haue seene any: for they were before our faces led to bee slaine, as the fattest amongst the whole herd of beasts; all we beholding this: and yet no man opening his mouth nor lifting vp his hand. And will you also endure? will you suffer the holy Sanctuarie to bee prophaned before your eyes? & will you, hauing so embouldned these miscreants as yee see now, your selues stand in feare of them? assure your selues, they would, if they could deuise how, commit greater impietie then this is. They keep against you the strongest place in the whole Citie; called a Temple, but now indeed it is a fortresse or Castle of defence. What doe yee now thinke, such a tyranny being established ouer you, and your enemies being euen vpon you; what do you deliberate to doe? Doe you expect the Romans to come and helpe you, to saue the Temple and sacred mysteries? Our Citie is now at that stay, and we haue so behaued our selues, that our verie enemies pitie vs. O yee wretches! will you not arise, and as the verie brute beastes doe, will you not reuenge your selues vpon them that haue thus wounded you? Wil not euerie one of you call to minde the massacre of his friends, and what calamitie hee himselfe hath suffered, & so encourage your selues to be reuenged? For ought I can see, you haue all lost that sacred and sweet and naturall desire of libertie, and now we imbrace bondage, as though we had learned to be bondmen euen from our aunce stors. But they endured many and hard warres to liue in libertie, and yeelded neither to the power of the Aegyptians, nor Medes, because they would not bee at their commaund. What neede is it to recount vnto you the warres of our predecessors? To what end doe wee enterprise this war against the Romans (bee it commodious for vs, or to our disaduantage) if not to obtaine our libertie? And we, who cannot indure to bee subiect vnto the Lords of the whole world, abide our owne nation to tyrannize ouer vs. Some may account it aduerse fortune to be once ouercome by strangers: but to be slaues vnto the basest of our owne nation, it argueth that we haue no sparke of generositie in vs, & that we beare base & seruile minds. And seeing I haue made mention of the Romans, I will not sticke to declare vnto you that which now commeth to my mind, to wit, that if we be taken by them (which God forbid) yet shall we suffer no greater miserie at their hands, then now we do vnder these base tyrants. And how can you abstaine from teares, beholding this Temple, enriched by the gift of the Romanes, robbed & spoiled by them of our owne nation, this being our mother Citie? and to see those men murdered, whome the Romans (although they had conquered vs) would not haue touched? The Romans neuer durst presume to passe beyond the limites of prophane places, nor euer violated

The Zelous the most wretched occasion of these violéces.

Ananus sharp inuectiue against the Zelous.

Ananus twiteth the Iewes with their fear.

The crueltie of the thieues.

The Temple the strongest fortresse of the Citie.

Warres are intended for libertie.

The comparison of the Romans & Iewes and their properties.

G H I K L M

A lated they our ſacred lawes and cuſtomes, but alwaies reuerenced the ſanctuarie, beholding it onely afarre off: yet now ſome borne and brought vp amongſt vs who are called Iewes, tremble not to walke in the ſanctuarie, hauing their hands bathed in the bloud of their countrimen and brethren. Who will now feare forraine warres, ſeeing theſe ciuill broyles are ſuch? Much better were it for vs to fall into our enemies hand: yea, if you will call euerie thing by ſuch a name as it deſerueth, wee ſhall finde that the Romans haue not violated our lawes, but haue beene the confirmers thereof; and they within our walls are our enemies. True it is, that thoſe that haue thus tyrannized ouer vs, deſerue death, and that no puniſhment can be deuiſed great enough for their offence: and all of you were ſo perſwaded before I ſpake of it, and you were incited againſt them by that which you haue endured at their hands: but yet you feare the multitude of them & their B courage; and moreouer that they are in a higher place then you: yet as all this came by your negligence & ſuffering, ſo by your delaying they will grow ſtronger. For their number is dayly encreaſed, and euerie wicked perſon flieth vnto his like; and they are ſo much the more emboldened, for that as yet no man did once offer to reſiſt their enterpriſes: & be ſure that if they haue time they will make vſe of the higher place, and that to your domage. But (beleeue mee) if you would but once offer to go againſt them, their verie conſciences wold abate their hautie minds, and the remembrance of their miſdeedes would put them ſo farre out of tune, that they will not make any benefit of the higher place. Perhaps God in his vengeance will turne their owne darts againſt them for their impietie, and conſume them therewith. Let vs but onely ſhew our ſelues, and we ſhall diſmay them; yet it is an honour for vs, if need bee, to ſacrifice our liues for the de- C fence of the holy temple. My ſelfe will aſſiſt you with hand & aduice, and you ſhall ſee that you ſhall neither want counſell, nor that I will ſpare my one body to defend you from their treacheries.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

An anſwer to their contrary opinion who obiect the number and bouldneſſe of the enemie.

The Epilogue of Ananus Oration to the people.

Ananus thus exhorted the people againſt the Zelous, yet he knew well that it was great difficultie to ouercom them, being luſtie young men, manie in number, of great courage, and the more deſperate for the remorſe of conſcience of the horible crimes, & execrable deeds which they had committed, for they deſpaird of all hope of pardon for their miſdeeds. Yet *Ananus* thought it altogether intolerable, that the cõmon wealth ſhould be ſo ouerruled. After this exhortation the people cried out that they were readie to go againſt the theeues, and to doe as they were requeſted. Whileſt that *Ananus* ſelected out the moſt able men for warre, and ſet them in order, the Zelous came and iſſued out vpon him, and (hauing intelligence of all his intents and proceedings D by certaine ſpies which they had appointed vpon purpoſe) being inraged ſalied out, and in companies, ſometime all at once, other times in ambuſhes; ſparing none that they met with. *Ananus* quickly gatherd together the people, who were more in number then the theeues: yet were they not ſo well armed as they; but what they wanted in armes their courage did ſupply. For the Citizens were armed with furie, ſtronger then armour; & they which wer gone out of the temple, with a more deſperate boldnes, then all the multitude how great ſo euer it was. For the Citizens thought it no abiding for them in the Citie, except they could driue away the Zelous: and the Zelous thought that they could not eſcape torments and death it ſelf, except that they were victors. So at laſt they ioyned battell, each vnder their captaines and leaders, and firſt of all both E parties caſt ſtones one againſt another: and if any part fled, then the conquerors purſued them with drawne ſwords, and many were wounded and ſlaine on both parts. Thoſe townesmen that were wounded, were by their friends carried into their houſes; but the Zelous that were hurt went into the temple, and polluted the ſacred pauements with their bloud: ſo that their religion was prophaned by their bloud. Alwaies the theeues in making excurſions got the vpper hand. Heareat the Citizens being angrie, ſeeing their number euery day encreaſed, reprooued the cowards: ſo that if any of their company offered to flie from the Zelous, they made him ſtand & reſiſt whether he wold or no, not permitting him to paſſe away: And thus they bent all their forces againſt their enemies. At laſt, the theeues not able to make any longer reſiſtance, by little and little retired themſelues into the temple, and *Ananus* with his company entred the temple by F force with them, and brake the ranke of his enemies. Then they in the vtter temple were in great feare and fled into the inner temple; and ſhut the gates with all ſpeed. *Ananus* would not offer violence to the ſacred gates, & beſide that the enemies caſt darts from aloft: for hee thought it a great offence againſt God, although he might haue got the victorie, to introduce the people not being purified. Wherefore he elected ſix thouſand of the chiefe of all his men well armed, and appointed them to keepe the porches, & others to ſucceed in their places while they tooke reſt. And many of the better ſort of the Citizens being by the chiefe of the Citie placed to keep

Ananus diſpoſeth his ſouldiers againſt the Zelous.

The fight of the Citizens and Zelous in the temple.

watch there, hired other poore folke to watch in their ſteeds. But *Iohn*, who as before we haue G
The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.
tolde, fled from Giſcala, wrought the ruine of all theſe. This man being full of deceit, and aboue al meaſure deſirous of rule, long ago intended to ouerthrow the common wealth. This man from that time counterfeited himſelfe to bee againſt the theeues, and ſo day and night accompanied *Ananus* and the reſt, both in their conſultations, and when they went to viſit the watch; and hee diſcloſed all their ſecrets vnto the Zelous: and there was nothing decreed by the people, but he gaue the theeues intelligence therof before it was put in practice; yet he ſeemed to be verie dutifull vnto *Ananus*, and the reſt of the nobilitie, hereby hoping to conceale his treacherie. But it fell out contrarie to his expectation; for this his too much reuerence cauſed him to be ſuſpected, becauſe they noted him to play the paraſite: and for that vncalled he dayly intruded himſelf into their conſultations, he was miſdoubted to bewray their ſecrets. For *Ananus* perceiued that H
Iohn full of deceit, and a betraier of the citizens.
the enemies knew all their ſecrets, & *Iohns* deedes did carrie ſuſpicion of treaſon, yet could they not eaſily remoue him, his craft was ſuch: beſides this, he was boulſtered out by many noble men who were emploid in theſe affaires. Wherefore they thought it good to requeſt of him an oath of friendſhip; which he denied not, but added moreouer that he would be true vnto the people, and neither diſcloſe any deede or ſecret counſell of theirs vnto the enemies, & that he with hart and hand would truely endeuour to ſuppreſſe the rebels. So *Ananus* did no more miſtruſt him, becauſe of his oath, and admitted him afterwarde to all their counſels, nothing ſuſpecting him. Nay, they now truſted him ſo far, that they ſent him for an Embaſſadour vnto the Zelous, to perſwade them to peace: for they were verie carefull leaſt the temple through their deeds ſhould be I
Iohn ſweareth to be faithfull to the people.
Iohn contrary to his oath tuealeth their ſecrets to the Zelous.
defiled and prophaned, or that any of the Iewes ſhould there bee ſlaine. But hee as though hee had ſworne vnto the Zelous and not vnto the Citizens, entred bouldly amongſt them: and ſtanding in the midſt of them, he recounted vnto them that hee had often for their ſakes vndergone great danger in ſuffering none of the townesmens ſecrets to be concealed from them, but declared vnto them all that euer *Ananus* and his confederates determined againſt them; and that euen now he was like together with them to fall into extreame danger, except it pleaſed God as it were miraculouſly to aſſiſt them. For, ſaid he, now *Ananus* without delay will ſend vnto *Veſpaſian*, and he will ſend his army in all haſte and take the citie: and that he had appointed the next day following for purification to purifie the people, that ſo vnder pretence of pietie he might let them into the Citie, or els they might enter in by force: and that hee could not ſee how either K
Iohn ſtirreth vp the Zelous againſt the Citizens
they were able to endure a long ſiege or to encounter with ſo huge an armie: adding moreouer, that it was Gods prouidence that hee ſhould be ſent vnto them to make a peace, when *Ananus* purpoſed ſo ſoone as they were vnarmed to ſet vpon them. Wherefore if they had any care of themſelues they ſhould either intreat the watchmen that beſieged them to bee good vnto them, or elſe get ſome ſuccour from ſome place without the temple. For (ſaid he) he that amongſt you hopeth for pardon if you be ouercome, doth not remember what hath paſt, and what hee hath done; but let them perſwade themſelues, they that haue been iniured wil not forget and forgiue ſo ſoone, as he that iniured them is ſorie for his fact. Nay, many times the repentance of malefactors maketh them more hated then before, and the wrath of men that are iniured is increaſed by L
authoritie, and licence to doe what they pleaſe. And they might bee ſure that the friends and kinſfolks of them that were ſlaine, would alwaies lay waite to requit the iniuries; and that all the people were incenſed againſt them for breaking the lawes: ſo that although ſome few wold take pitie vpon them, yet the greater companie being moſt in number would preuaile. With theſe & ſuch like ſpeeches *Iohn* terrified the Zelous, yet durſt he not openly tell them what he meant by forraine help, notwithſtanding hee meant the Idumæans. And that hee might more enflame the theeues he went vnto the chiefeſt of them, and ſecretly told them that *Ananus* was cruelly bent againſt them, and breathed out many threatnings againſt them in particular.

CHAP. VI. M

How the Idumæans came vnto Ieruſalem, and vvhat they did there.

Eleazar one of the Zelous cauſeth the Idumæans to be ſent for.
AMongſt the Zelous there were two principall, *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Simon*, who aboue all the reſt was thought moſt fit to giue counſel, and to execute that which was conſulted vpon: and *Zacharias* the ſonne of *Amphicalus*, who both deſcended from the line of the prieſts. Theſe two, vnderſtanding, that beſide the generall threatnings their deaths were eſpcially vowed, and that the faction of *Ananus* to get him into authoritie, had ſent to call the Romans (for this, *Iohn* had fained) deliberated with themſelues what to doe, hauing ſo ſhort time

A time to prouide. For they ſuppoſed that preſently the people would aſſault them, and they bethought themſelues that now it was too late to ſeek for forraine helpe: for they might endure all calamitie, before they could giue notice hereof vnto any that would helpe them. Yet at laſt they determined to call the Idumæans to aide them, and ſo they wrote a briefe Epiſtle vnto them, letting them vnderſtand how *Ananus*, hauing ſeduced the people, meant to betray the mother Citie of their nation vnto the Romans; and that they fighting for their libertie, were by him beſieged in the Temple: that the time wherein they expected ſafetie was verie ſhort: and that if they did not preſently ſend ſuccour, they were like to fall into *Ananus* and their enemies hands, and the Citie to bee brought in ſubiection vnder the Romans: and alſo committed manie things to be ſpoken by word of mouth vnto the rulers of Idumæa. For which purpoſe were
B choſen two principall men eloquent and apt to perſwade; and that, which was in this caſe required, ſwift of foote: it was certaine that the Idumæans would preſently aide them, it being a clowniſh rude nation, and prone to ſedition and alteration, much reioycing therein; and by flatterie eaſily entreated to warres, making as much haſte to them as if they went to ſome feſtiuall ſolemnitie: ſo that there onely was required two ſpeedie meſſengers. Which two were readie and quicke men for ſuch an exploite, and were both called by the name of *Ananias*. Theſe preſently came vnto the gouernours of Idumæa: & they reading the Epiſtle, and hearing that which the meſſengers were to ſay vnto them, like mad men aſſembled all the people together in poſt haſte, and proclaimed wars; ſo the people in an inſtant gathred themſelues together, and were all armed to fight for the libertie of their mother citie: & twentie thouſand being aſſe-
C bled together vnder the gouernment of foure captains, came with all ſpeed to Ieruſalem: the names of them were theſe, *Iohn* and *Iames*, ſons of *Soſa*, and *Simon* the ſon of *Cathla*, and *Phineas* the ſonne of *Cluſoth*. *Ananus* and his watchmen knewe not of the going of thoſe two meſſengers, nor of the watches in the citie, but they vnderſtood of the Idumæans cõming, & ſo ſhut the gates & placed watchmen vpon the wals: yet they thought it not good to go out and fight with them, but firſt with peaceable words to perſwade them to concord and peace. Wherefore *Ieſus* the eldeſt of the prieſts next after *Ananus* ſtood in a tower oppoſite againſt them, and ſpake in this manner.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

The Zealous require helpe from the Idumæans.

The nature and manners of the Idumæans.

Twenty thouſand Idumæans come to Ieruſalem.

Ieſus oration & exhortatiõ to the Idumæans.

Though many and diuers tumults & troubles haue moleſted this citie, yet did I neuer ſo much admire any of them, as to come with ſuch furie and readines to help theſe wicked people, againſt all expectation: for (ſaid he) you are come againſt vs to helpe moſt vile perſons; & that ſo raſhly,
D as it behooued not you to haue done, if your Metropolitan city had requeſted your help againſt barbarous people. If I ſhould perceiue your maners like vnto theirs that haue requeſted your help, I would then think you had ſome reaſon to com, for nothing cauſeth firmer friendſhip then agreement or ſympathie in maners. But they if they were narrowlie ſought into, haue euerie one deſerued a thouſand deaths. For they are the baſeſt & the verie outcaſt of all the countrie people; who hauing ſpent their patrimonies riotouſly, and played the theeues in all places and cities about them, now at laſt haue got into this holy citie, moſt religious of all cities, and haue prophaned the holy place by their impietie: they tremble not to bee drunke euen in the holy temple,
E and there they conſume in banquetting the ſpoyles they haue gotten from them, whom they haue maſſacred. And you come to helpe theſe men with as great an army & prouiſion, as though that this your mother citie had by publike conſent requeſted your helpe againſt forraine enemies. Is not this the iniurie of fortune, that your whole nation hath conſpired and bent all their forces againſt vs to help theſe miſcreants? Til now I knew not what moued you ſo quickly and ſo ſodainly to arme your ſelues to aſſiſt theeues againſt your natiue countrimen. What? haue you bin informed of the Romans coming, and of the betraying of the citie? For euen now I heard ſome of you mutter, that you came to deliuer your mother citie. Is it not a wonder to ſee this deuice and inuention of theſe malefactors? But they could deuiſe no other way to incite other againſt vs (who euen naturally deſire libertie, & are ready for the ſame to ſpend our deereſt bloud in conflict with the enemy) but to fein vs to bee deſtroiers of libertie: But it behoueth you to
F conſider who are theſe calumniators, and againſt whome theſe calumniations are deuiſed; and then to gather the veritie of the matter, not from forged tales, fained at mens pleaſures, but from the thing it ſelfe. What ſhould moue vs now to yeeld vnto the Romans, hauing indured as yet nothing to conſtrain vs therunto? when if wee had liked to liue vnder their obedience, neither needed wee at firſt to haue rebelled; and beſide that, if wee had repented our ſelues wee might haue again ſubmitted our ſelues, and obtained their fauour before this time that all the country round about vs is deſtroyed. Nay if now we would yeeld, it is not eaſie for vs: for the ſpoyle of

The diſproofe of the Zealous fiction, who intended the ouerthrow of the citie, and obiected the betraying thereof.

The yeare of the world,4032. after Christs birth,70.

Galilee,which they hauing already conquered,hath made them proud,and that we in humbling our selues vnto them,being neere vnto vs,should incur an infamie worse then death it selfe. True it is,I thinke peace better then wars;yet being once prouoked to wars,and the fight being begun, I had rather die a glorious death then to liue in captiuitie. Doe they enforme you that we haue secretly sent the chiefe of our city to the Romans,or that by cõmon consent of al the people we haue done it? If they say that we did it secretly,let them then tell what friends of ours were sent, or what seruants of ours were ministers to effect this treason. Did they take any messenger of ours, and find letters about him? How can that be hid from all our citizens,with whom wee do euerie houre conuerse? And is it possible that a few, shut vp in the temple,who could not come out into the citie, should know our secrets, all the whole citie knowing nothing? or doe they now first know it when they are like to bee punished for their impietie? neuer suspecting any of vs to be traytors, so long as they were in no feare. If they say that it was done by common consent of all the people, why then all men were there when the speech was made vnto the people, to exhort them thereunto,and request their good wils, and so the newes thereof would quickly haue come vnto your eares: Or what need had we to send Embassadours, if wee had been now alreadie certaine to come to composition with the Romans? Let them tell you who was appointed for that Embassage. These are but deuices and excuses of them, who feare to haue a death according to their deserts,and a shift to escape punishment.

Peace is better then wars.

Iesus exhorteth the Idumæans,that since they are come,they should oppose themselues against the Zelous.

If fate had so decreed that our citie should be betrayed vnto the enemie,assure your selues that they, who doe thus accuse vs,would haue betrayed it themselues;who haue committed alreadie all sort of impieties,treason only excepted.It is your part, seeing you are come hither in armes, first(as reason & iustice requireth) to assist your mother Citie against them who tyrannize ouer vs,and violate our lawes: who treading downe our lawes make all that iustice, which they can effect with their sword. And first of all they tooke noble men and cast them in prison, drawing them from amidst the publike assemblie; and being neuer accused nor condemned, nothing respecting their intreaties,put them to death. If it please you to come in peaceable and not hostile maner into our citie,your selues shall plainly behold euident tokens of this that I speak vnto you: to wit,houses ruinated and made desolate by their robberies,the wiues and families of them that are slaine in mourning apparell,and howling and crying in euerie part of the Citie: For there is no one amongst vs that hath not tasted the persecution of these wretched men, who are gone so far,that not content to make this citie their refuge(which is the chief, & a spectacle to all others for sanctitie)after they had robbed and spoyled all the country and villages,& cities here about, now lastly they haue made the sacred Temple a refuge and place to carrie all their spoyles,which they haue impiously gotten in this Citie, vnto. This Temple they doe make their bulwarke to issue out, and to retire vnto; and from thence they make incursions vpon the citizens: and this is the place where they practise all their villanies against vs.And this sacred place, which all the world,euen the most barbarous & sauage people thereof do reuerence, is now defiled by the horrible robberies which one born amongst vs committed.And now being in desperation,they reioyce to see nation against nation, and citie against citie, and people against people, and our own countrimen to turn themselues against their owne bowels: when contrariwise, (as I haue already said) it had bin your parts and duties to ioyne with vs, and helpe vs to exterminate these malefactors, and be reuenged of them for this lie,in that they presumed to call you to help them whom they had iust reason to fear as reuengers of their impieties: yet if you make account of these mens praiers,vouchsafe(laying your weapons aside to come into our citie like friends,and bee your selues Iudges betweene vs and them whom you came to helpe. And consider what fauour we shew them,who permit them to plead their owne causes before you, they being guiltie of so hainous crimes, & hauing put to death persons of such account,neuer accused nor permitted to speake for themselues: yet this commoditie we will grant them for your sake. But if you continue in your anger against vs,and refuse this offer to bee our Iudges: then let vs intreat you that leauing both parts,you would neither imbrue your hands in our bloud, nor lend your aide vnto these miscreants against your mother citie. And if you suspect any of vs to bee confederates with the Romans,you may keepe all passages; and then seek to defend your Metropolis, when you haue proofe of any such matter as is alledged against vs; and punish the authors of that treason when you haue conuicted them.The enemies cannot preuent you being already planted so neere the City.If you like of none of these, maruel not that we shut our gates against you,cõming in armed and hostile manner. *Iesus* spake thus vnto them. But the Idumæans being angrie, were not moued hereby, and so much the more for that entrance into the citie was denied them,

Iesus requireth the Idumæans to iudge the differents betweene the Zealous and them.

The end of Iesus oration to the Idumæans.

and

A and their generals were exceedingly wroth, thinking it ſlauerie to lay downe their armes, eſpecially at the command of another. *The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.*

Then one of the captaines named *Simon*, the ſonne of *Cathla*, hauing with much adoe gotten his ſouldiers to be ſilent, he ſtood in a place where the prieſts might heare him, and ſaid, That he now did not wonder that thoſe who maintained libertie, were encloſed and beſieged in the Temple, ſeeing that they of the Citie now ſhut their gates againſt his followers, the citie being common and free for all men; and that perhaps they were readie to open the Citie gates for to receiue the Romans. And he ſpake vnto the Idumæans from a tower, and commanded them to caſt down their armes, which they took only for the liberty of the city, when they durſt not truſt their own nation to keep the ſame; yet would haue them iudges of the diſcord: & that accuſing B others for killing ſome not conuicted, they themſelues do condemne all the whole nation of ignominie; and that they had now ſhut the Citie gates againſt their own Countrimen, which was common for all ſtrangers to come vnto for religion ſake. Did we make haſt towards you, to fight againſt our owne nation, which came onely to preſerue your libertie? But this is as true, as that they whom you thus beſiege haue wronged you; and as the accuſation you forge againſt them. And you keeping in hold thoſe that are the defenders of the Commonwealth, do then ſhut the Citie gates againſt men of your owne bloud: laſtly, you impoſe vpon vs contumelious commands, and ſay that they do tyrannize ouer you, ouer whom indeed you do. Who can any longer endure this your mockerie, that perceiueth how vnpoſſible your allegations are? For who can iuſtly accuſe thoſe that yee keep ſhut vp in the Temple, becauſe that they preſumed to puniſh C traytors, whō you grace with the title of noble & innocent, becauſe they were your cōfederats? Onely in this they are blame worthy, that they did not begin with you, but left aliue ſuch members of that conſpiracie. Except alſo you will ſay, that the Idumæans ſhut you out of your Citie, you your ſelues not permitting vs to come & offer ſacrifices. But though they were too merciful yet we Idumæans will conſerue the houſe of God, and will fight for the common good of our Countrey, and will be reuenged both of the enemies that are without the Citie, and the traytors within. And here will we remaine before the Citie, till either the Romans come & deliuer you, or till you change your minds and bethinke your ſelues what a Iewell it is to haue libertie.

Simons anſwer to Ieſus oratiō

The Idumæās are diſpleaſed becauſe the Citie gates were lockt againſt them.

The reproches the Idumæans obiect againſt the high prieſt and Citizens

CHAP. VII.

Of the maſſacre of the Ievves by the Idumæans.

D ALL the whole multitude agreed with a loud crie vnto theſe ſpeeches of *Simon*. And *Ieſus* departed ſorrowfull, ſeeing that the Idumæans would agree to no reaſon, & that therby their Citie ſhould ſuffer double warres. For the Idumæans wrath was not yet aſſwaged, who tooke the matter in great diſdaine that they were not permitted to enter into the Citie, and alſo for that they thought the Zelous verie ſtrong, and they themſelues were aſhamed that they could not come to helpe them, ſo that manie repented that they were come thither. Yet would they not for ſhame returne, nothing being done by them: and ſo raſhly placing their Tabernacles neere vnto the Citie walles, they determined to ſtay there. But that E night there fell a moſt huge tempeſt: for there was a great ſtormie wind and an exceeding great raine mixt with fearefull thunder and horrible lightning, and the Earthquake with ſtrange noyſes: whereupon all men thought that this motion of the earth, did ſignifie the death of mankind, and portend ſome great matter. The Idumæans & towneſ-men were both of one minde: for they thought that God was angrie with them, for bearing armes againſt their Metropolis, and perſwaded themſelues that they could not eſcape death if they continued in their purpoſe. *Ananus* and his followers perſwaded themſelues that they had now ouercome them without warre, and that God had fought for them againſt the Idumæans. But they were falſe Prophets, and what they iudged was to befall their enemies, that fel vpon thēſelues. In the meane while the Idumæans lay as cloſe together as they could, & couered their heads with their ſhieldes, ſo that by this F meanes the raine did them not ſo much harme. The Zelous were penſiue for the Idumæans more then for thēſelues, and deuiſed which way they might ſuccour them. Then the boldeſt amongſt them aduiſed the reſt, by force to oppreſſe the watch men, and ſō to goe into the Citie, and open the gates to the Idumæans that came to helpe them, for it was eaſie to ſurpriſe the watchmen, by reaſon that many of them were vnarmed, and vnfit for warre, and the Citizens could not eaſily be aſſembled together, for euerie man becauſe of this tempeſt kept his houſe. And ſuppoſe that there were danger, yet were it better to endure all miſchiefes that might enſue, then to permit

The Idumæās pitch their tabernacles neer the walls.

A huge ſtorm.

The Zealous conſult to break open the gates to aſſaile the watch, and let in the Idumæans.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

mit ſuch an army ſhamefully to periſh, who came at their requeſt to helpe them. But the wiſer G
ſort diſſwaded the reſt from this, ſeeing both a ſtronger watch placed to keepe them in, and the
Citie wals diligently guarded becauſe of the Idumæans: and moreouer, perſwading themſelues
that *Ananus* ceaſed not, but went vp and downe, firſt from one watch, and then to another; yet
that night hee did not ſo, not for ſlouthfulneſſe, but becauſe that the deſtinies had ſo decreed
that thereby both hee and the watchmen ſhould periſh. For about midnight the ſtorm increa-
ſing, the watchmen fell into a ſound ſleepe.

The watchmen are oppreſſed with ſleepe.

Then the Zelous determined to file the barres and bolts of the gates in ſunder; to effect this,
they took the inſtruments which were conſecrated to the temple, & this attempt was much fur-
thered by the huge wind and thunder, which made ſuch a noyſe that they could not bee heard:
ſo iſſuing out of the Temple, they went priuily to the walles, and opened that gate neere vnto H
which the Idumæans lay; and ſuſpecting that *Ananus* would make ſome reſiſtance, they firſt of

The Idumæans by the means of the Zealous enter by night

all drew their ſwords, & then together with the Idumæans came in: and if at that time they had
aſſaulted the Citie, they had without any let or hinderance deſtroyed all the people therein: ſo
great was their rage at that time. But firſt of all they haſtned to aſſiſt their fellowes, whom they
left beſieged, and requeſted the Idumæans not to leaue them in danger, for whoſe ſuccour they
were come, nor permit them to incurre greater domage: for hauing firſt ſurpriſed the watchmē,
it would be more eaſie for them to aſſault the Citie: which if they did not, but firſt ſet vpon the
Citizens, they would preſently aſſemble together, and oppoſe themſelues againſt them, and not

The Idumæans ioyne themſelues with the Zelous in the Temple.

permit them to aſcend vp vnto the Temple. The Idumæans conſented vnto this, and ſo they I
paſſed thorough the Citie into the Temple. And the Zelous remaining in the Temple, carefully
expected their comming; at whoſe arriuall they tooke courage, and ioyning with the Idumæans,
came out of the inner Temple, and ſet vpon the watch: and ſome being ſlaine who were faſt a-
ſleepe, the reſt were awaked by the cries of others, and ſo betooke themſelues to their armes to
defend thēſelues, being yet amazed. And at firſt, thinking that they were onely the Zelous that
gaue the aſſault, hoped only by their multitude to ſuppreſſe them; but ſeeing others without the
Temple alſo aſſailing them, they perceiued the Idumæans were broken in: ſo the greater part
of them being diſmaide, laide downe their weapons and cried; and onely a few of them young
men well armed, and of good courage encountred with the Idumæans, and for a good ſpace de-
fended their idle fellowes: others went and aduertiſed the Inhabitants what was done, yet none K

The immanity of the Idumæans & Zelous againſt the Citizens of Ieruſalem.

durſt come to helpe them, becauſe they now knewe that the Idumæans were got in, but euerie
one lamented their hard fortune: and the women made great lamentation, when any of the
watchmem fell into danger. The Zelous alſo anſwered their cries with the like, and then the tem-
peſt and thunder made all more dreadfull. The Idumæans ſpared none, becauſe that they were
naturally cruell and fierce to ſhed bloud: and angrie that they were ſo beaten with the tempeſt,
they vſed them moſt cruelly, by whoſe meanes they were ſhut out of the Citie, ſparing neither
thoſe who requeſted fauour, nor them who made reſiſtance, for they ſlew many euen as they
were intreating them to remember that they were of their owne bloud, and requeſting them to
ſpare them for reuerence of their Temple. There was no way to fly, nor any hope of eſcape: be- L
ing driuen vp into a narrow roome, they hurt themſelues more then the enemies did, by crow-
ding & treading vpon one another, for there was no place to flie, nor their enemies ceaſed not to
kill them. Being in this deſperate eſtate; not knowing how to doe, they caſt themſelues head-
long downe into the Citie, and ſo died a more miſerable death (in my mind) then they that died
by the enemies ſword. The next day there was found ſlaine eight thouſand and fiue hundreth,
and all the vtter Temple flowed with bloud. Yet this maſſacre ſufficed not the Idumæans rage,
but turning themſelues againſt the Citie, they robbed and ſpoyled all houſes, and killed all they
met, making no account of the death of the reſt of the multitude. They made diligent ſearch

Ananus and Ieſus the high Prieſts executed.

for the Prieſts, and many laide violent hands vpon them, and killed them: and ſtanding vpon M
their dead corpſes, ſomtime they vpbrayded *Ananus* with the peoples fauour towards him, ſom-
time *Ieſus* with the words he ſpake vpon the wall vnto them, & were ſo impious as that they caſt
awaie their dead bodies vnburied, notwithſtanding that the Iewes in this point are ſo religious,

Ananus death the firſt cauſe of the deſtruction of the citie.

that after ſunne ſet they take downe the dead bodies of malefactors, who by ſentence haue bin
adiudged vnto the croſſe, and burie them.

The praiſe of Ananus the hie prieſt.

I thinke I doe not greatly miſſe the mark, if I affirme *Ananus* his death to haue beene the
deſtruction of the Citie, and from that time foorth the walles of Ieruſalem to haue beene ouer-
throwne, and the common wealth of the Iewes to haue periſhed in that day when they behelde
their prieſt and Gouernour ſlaine, euen in the middeſt of the Citie. He was a man that led a lau-

dable

A dable and moſt iuſt life: and being in great dignity, honour, and reputation; yet would hee not exalt himſelf aboue any one, were he neuer ſo baſe. He was a man who thirſted after liberty, and bare the rule and gouernment of the common-wealth. Hee continually preferred the publike commodity before his owne priuat gaine, being alwaies deſirous of peace; for he foreſaw that the Romans could not be withſtood; and that, if the Iewes did not quickly accord with them, their ruine was at hand: briefly I ſay, that had *Ananus* liued, they had yeelded with him vnto the Romans. For he was an eloquent Orator and could perſwade admirably: whereby he had now gained vnto his ſide thoſe that hindred him, and cauſed the wars; whom if they had had for their captaine againſt the Romans, it had not beene ſo eaſie for the Romanes to haue conquered them. With him was ioyned *Ieſus* inferiour to *Ananus*, yet excelling all the reſt. So that I thinke
B Almighty God hauing decreed the totall ruine of the Citie, being now violated and filled with iniquity, and meaning by fire as it were to purifie the holy temple which was now defiled and prophaned, hee firſt tooke away the defenders thereof, and thoſe that loued them moſt dearely. So they who a little before were clothed in ſacred apparell, and reuerenced of all thoſe that from the furtheſt parts of the world came to Ieruſalem, now lay murthered and naked in the open ſtreets, left as it were a prey to bee torne in peeces with dogges or wilde beaſts, who earſt were the authors of pietie and religion. I thinke that Vertue it ſelfe wept to ſee wickedneſſe ſo preuaile.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

C

THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

D

The Contents of the Chapters of the 5. Booke.

1 *Of another maſſacre, and of the returne of the Idumæans, and the crueltie of the Zelots.*
2 *Of the ciuill diſcord among ſt the Iewes.*
3 *Of the yeelding of Gadara, and the maſſacre there.*
4 *How certaine townes vvere taken, and the deſcription of Ieriche.*
5 *Of the lake called Aſphaltites.*
6 *How Geraſa vvas deſtroyed, and of the death of* Nero, *and of* Galba *and* Otho.
7 *Of* Simon *of Geraſa, Prince of a new conſpiracy.*
E 8 *Of* Galba, Otho, Vitellius *and* Veſpaſian.
9 *Of* Simons *actes againſt the Zelots.*
10 *How* Veſpaſian *vvas choſen Emperour.*
11 *The deſcription of Aegypt and Pharus.*
12 *How* Veſpaſian *red eemed* Ioſeph *from captiuitie.*
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14 *Hovv* Titus *vvas ſent againſt the Ievves by his father.*

F

CHAP.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

CHAP. I.

Of another massacre, and of the returne of the Idumæans, and the cruelties of the Zelous.

The cruelty of the Idumæans & the Zelous.

SVch was the end of *Ananus* and *Iesus*. After whose death the Idumæans and the Zelous massacred the people, as though they had beene a flocke of pernicious beasts, and euerie one was slaine whereſoeuer hee was found: and taking the nobilitie and younger sort of men, they kept them bound in prison, hoping that by deferring their deaths, some of them would become partakers with them. Yet none was thereby mooued, but euerie one desired H to die rather then impiously to conspire against their owne countrey: yet were they most cruelly whipped before they were put to death, their whole bodie being all as it were one sore place by whipping & stripes: and so when they could not indure these torments any longer, then were they killed. And whoso was taken on the day time was in the night carried to prison, and those that died in prison and torments, they then cast their dead bodies out, that they might haue place to imprison others in their roome. And the people were so terrified, that none durst weepe openly for his friend, nor burie the dead body of his kinsman; yea those that were in prison durst not openly weepe, but secretly, looking about them, least any of their enemies should espie them. For whosoeuer mourned for any that was afflicted, was presently I himselfe vsed in the same manner as he had been for whom he lamented; & somtime some in the night scraped vp a little earth with their hands, and therwithall couered the dead body of their friend; and some bolder then the rest, did the like in the day time. And in this generall slaughter were twelue thousand young noble men slaine by this meanes: and thus being hated for these massacres, they mocked and flouted the migistrates, and made no account of their iudgements. So that when they determined to put one *Zacharie* the sonne of *Baruch* to death, a noble man and one of the chiefe of the citie (for they perceiued that hee was an enemie to their wickednes, and loued the vertuous, and one that was rich, by whose death they hoped not onely to haue the spoyle of his goods, but also to be rid of such a one who might be able to resist their bad purposes) they called seuentie of the best amongst the common people together as it were in iudgmẽt, K yet they hauing no authoritie; and before them they accused *Zacharie* that hee had betrayed the common wealth vnto the Romans, and that for that intent he had sent vnto *Vespasian*: but neither shewed any euidence nor proofe thereof, but onely they affirmed it to be so; and therefore would haue credit giuen vnto their words. When *Zacharie* perceiued that vnder pretence of being called vnto iudgement, hee was deceitfully brought into prison; and hauing no hope of life, yet he spared not to speake liberally his minde: but began to scorne the rage and pretence of his enemies, and purged himselfe of the crimes whereof he was accused; and conuerting his speech against his accusers, hee laid open all their iniquities, and much lamented the miseries and troubles of the Citie.

Twelue thousand of the nobilitie executed.

Zacharie condemned to death by the Zelous.

L In the meane while the Zelous gnashed their teeth, and could scarcely containe themselues from drawing their swords, and were desirous that their pretended accusation and iudgement might be ended. Hee also requested them, who by these miscreants were appointed his iudges, to remember iustice, notwithstandiug those dangerous times. The seuentie iudges all pronounced that hee was to be absolued and freed as vnguiltie; and rather chose to die, then to cause his death who was innocent. This sentence being pronounced, the Zelous began to shoute and crie with a loud voice, & they all were angrie at the iudges, who did not vnderstand to what end that counterfeit authoritie was giuen them. Then two of the boldest amongst them sette vpon *Zacharie*, and killed him in the middest of the temple, & mocked him, saying; Thou hast now our M sentence and absolution, farre more certaine then the other was, and presently they cast him downe from the temple into the valley vnderneath: and then contumeliously with the hilts of their swords they did beat the Iudges out of the temple; yet they did not kill them, to the end that being dispersed through the whole city, they might tell the people as messengers frõ them, of their miserable captiuity. The Idumæans were now sorrowfull for their comming: for they mislikt these proceedings: who being assembled together, one of the Zelous secretly told them all that their faction had done from their beginning; and that the Idumæans had taken armes, because they were enformed, how that the Metropolitan citie was by the priests betraied vnto the Romans; but as they might perceiue there was no proofe nor signe of anie such matter: and that in

Seuentie iudges absolue and acquite Zacharie.

Zacharie slaine in the midst of the temple.

One of the Zelous discouereth their crueltie & barbarous dealing to the Idumæans

A in deed the Zelous who pretended themselues conseruers of the citie, were meer enemies; and exercised tyranny ouer the citizens euen from their beginning. And though they had associated themselues with such wicked persons, and made themselues partakers of such & so many murthers, yet thought now to cease from such wickednes, and not assist men so impious to destroy their country lawes & religion. For although they took it in bad part that the citie gates were shut vpon them; yet now they were sufficiently reuenged of those that were the cause thereof. Now was *Ananus* himself slain, and almost all the people in one night: whereof many of them ere long would repent, and that they might now themselues perceiue the cruelty of them, who requested their aid, to be more then barbarous: so that they blusht not to commit their villanies openly in the sight of them who had saued their liues; and their misdemeanour and impiety would be im-
B puted vnto the Idumæans, because they neither hindered their mischieuous practices, nor forsook their society. And that therefore it was their parts (seeing that it was now euident that the report of treason was only calumniation, & that no assault by the Romans was to be feared; likewise that an inuincible force was established against the citie) for to depart home, and by forsaking the society of the impious acquite themselues of their impietie, as being by them deceiued, and so against their wils made partakers therof. The Idumæans were hereby perswaded, and first of all they loosed them that were in prison, in number 2000. of the vulgar, and presently leauing the citie, they went vnto *Simon*; of whom we will speake hereafter, and so they departed home.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

The Idumæans depart out of Ierusalem.

Their departure was against the expectation of both parts: for the people, not knowing that
I the Idumæans were penitent for that they had done, reioyced as now deliuered from their ene-
C mies: and the Zelous grew more insolent and proud, as though they neuer had needed helpe; but now were deliuered from them, in reuerence of whom they abstained from villany. So now they vsed no delay to effect their impiety: for they spent not much time in taking aduice; but whatsoeuer seemed best vnto them, presently without any delay they put it in practice. But chiefly they murthered those men that were strong and valiant: for they enuied the nobility for their vertue: And they thought it a principall point first to be effected, not to leaue any one man of account aliue. Wherefore they slew amongst the rest *Gorion*, a noble man of great birth and dignity, one who loued the people, and was very bountifull and a louer of liberty: so that there was none amongst the Iewes like him, who for desire of liberty and his other vertues was put to death. But neither could *Niger Peraita* escape their hands, a man who in warres against the Ro-
D mans had shewed himselfe valiant: who although he often cried out and shewed the scars of his wounds receiued in defence of his country; yet they ceased not for all this most shamefully to draggè him through the citie: and being led out of the citie, despairing of life, he entreated that he might be buried. But the barbarous people denying his request slew him. Who at his death besought God that the Romans might come and reuenge it vpon them, and that plague and famine and ciuill discord might light vpon their citie. Whose prayers God heard, sending all vpon them which he did iustly require, and first of all they were plagued with ciuill warres among themselues. *Niger* being thus slaine; they were freed from the feare that they had of him, how that hee would resist their wickednes. There was no part of the common people, who were not by some forged tale or other put to death. For some were slaine; for that long since they had
E borne armes against their owne citizens; and they who were innocent in all points were put to death, for some occasion deuised in the time of peace: and they who did not conuerse with them were murthered, as such that contemned them: and they that freely and friendly conuersed with them were slaine, as men that sought to betray them: and the greatest offenders, and the least offenders were all punished alike, to wit, with death: for no man escaped except he was either poor or of very base condition.

Gorions death and Niger Peraita.

Nigers praiers took effect as the end testified.

CHAP. II.

The ciuill discord amongst the Iewes.

F

IN the meane while the Romans addressed all their courage against the Citie of Ierusalem; and seeing them at great variance among themselues, thought this to be for their great aduantage. Vpon this they incited *Vespasian* their Generall, affirming that it was Gods prouidence (who fought for them) that the Iewes should be at ciuill wars among themselues, and that therefore hee should not ouerslip so good an opportunity: for the Iewes would quickly be friends again one with another, either by the wearinesse of ciuill war, or else repenting them-

The souldiers incite Vespasian to resort to Ierusalem.

The yeare of the world,4032. after Christs birth,70.

themſelues of that which they had done. To whom *Veſpaſian* anſwered, that they were ignorant G what was to be done,being rather deſirous as it were in a theater to ſhew their forces & ſtrength, then with him to conſider what was profitable and expedient. For (ſaid he) if we preſently aſſault them,our comming will make concord amongſt our enemies, and ſo wee ſhall bring vpon our ſelues their forces yet firme and ſtrong: but by expecting a little while they ſhould haue leſs adooe to conquer them,their chiefeſt forces being deſtroied by their owne ciuil wars;And that God was more their friend then they were aware of, who without their labour & paine deliuered the Iewes into their hands, and will giue vs the victorie without indaungering of our army:

Veſpaſian expecteth victory by the ciuill diſſenſion of his enemies.

» And that therefore it was rather their parts to bee as it were beholders of that tragedie, then to
» fight againſt men deſirous of death,and troubled with the greateſt euill that poſſible could be,to
» wit,domeſticall ſedition,and ciuill wars. And if anie thinke that the victorie is not famous being H
» gotten without fight,let him know & conſider the vncertain euents of wars:and that it is better,
» if it be poſſible,to get a victory without bloudſhed,then therwith to hazard the victory.For they
» who by counſell & aduice do any worthy act, deſerue no leſſe praiſe then they, who by force of
» arms atchieue a victorie. Moreouer,in the meane time that the enemies one deſtroyed another,
» his ſouldiers might take reſt, & ſo be ſtronger & better able to fight when need ſhould require.
» Beſide that, it ſeemed not that there was ſo much haſte required to get the victorie: for the Iews
» neither prepared armes or engines of warre,nor leuied any forces,nor ſought for aide, and ſo by
» delay no domage could enſue:but that they would plague one another more by ciuill wars,then
» his army could by taking them and their citie. And therefore whether they conſidered it beſt to I
» abſtaine from aſſaulting them (who fought with one another) for ſecuritie ſake,or elſe for vaine
» glorie thought the honour of the victorie diminiſhed thereby:yet he held it not meet to fight a-
» gainſt them,who were at ciuill wars amongſt themſelues;for ſo it would be iuſtly ſaid,the victo-
» rie was not to be imputed to vs,but to their diſcord.

Many citizens to flie the Zealous reſorted to Veſpaſian.

The captaines all conſented, and thought this aduice of *Veſpaſians* beſt: And preſently it appeared how profitable his counſell was. For euerie day many fled vnto him to eſcape the hands of the Zealous:yet it was hard & dãgerous to fly,becauſe all the waies were garded with watchmen. And if anie man vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer were taken vpon the way, hee was preſently killed,as one who intended to haue fled vnto the Romans:yet he that fee'd the watchmen with money, eſcaped away ſafely; and hee that did not, was counted as a traytor: ſo that onely K rich men could eſcape,& the poore were left to the ſlaughter. The multitude of dead bodies that lay on heapes together was innumerable,& many of them who had fled vnto the Romans,returned againe into the citie,chuſing rather to die there:for the hope they had to bee buried in their natiue ſoile,made death there ſeeme more tolerable.But they became ſo cruell,that they neither permitted them who were ſlaine within,nor them without the citie, to bee buried. But like men that had now determined together, with their countrey lawes, to aboliſh the law of nature,yea and by their impietie to pollute the ſacred diuinity with iniuſtice, let the dead bodies rot aboue the ground: and whoſoeuer attempted to burie anie one of them that were ſlaine, whether hee were friend or kinſman, were preſently put to death, and left vnburied,as men forſaking their L citie,& flying to the enemie. To be breefe,nothing ſo much increaſed their calamitie as mercie: for the wicked people were herewith, as it were prouoked to wrath,whoſe diſpleaſure and crueltie was extended from the liuing vnto the dead,& frõ the dead vnto the liuing. And ſuch feare fell vpon the whole citie,that thoſe that were left aliue, deemed them happie, that being dead, were at reſt,and free from thoſe miſeries:and they that were in priſon,in reſpect of the torments they endured, thought themſelues vnhappier then they who lay vnburied. All humane iuſtice was by them peruerted, and they ſcorned and mocked at all diuine and holy things,and proudly derided the oracles of the prophets, eſteeming them as fables and ieſts. But hauing now contemned all lawes eſtabliſhed by their forefathers for the puniſhment of vice,& increaſing of ver- M tue,at laſt they found that true which by them was foretold,concerning the deſtruction of themſelues and their countrey. For there was an old prophecy, that when ſedition raigned amongſt them, and their owne hands had firſt violated the temple of God and holy things; that then
» their citie ſhould be deſtroyed by warre,& their holy places ſhould bee burned with fire,accor-
» dinge to the vſe and cuſtome of warre. And the Zealous giuing credit vnto this prophecie made
» themſelues the miniſters of this action.

The Zealous tyrannize both ouer the liuing and the dead.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. III.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

How Gadara was yeelded: and of the massacre there.

BVt *Iohn*, who long agoe desired to bee in chiefe authority, as tyrant ouer all the rest, thought it not sufficient to bee in as great reputation as his fellowes; wherefore by little and little ioyning vnto himselfe the most impious of all the Zealous, he diuided himselfe from their vnion and fellowship: So that now euery one perceiued (in that hee alwaies neglected what others commanded, and imperiously commanded what himselfe B thought good) that he affected principality; and many ioyned to him for feare, some for fauour (for hee had a smooth tongue, able to perswade them vnto what he would) many also followed him; thinking it better that all the impiety before committed were laid to one mans charge in particular, then vnto all men in generall. Moreouer; being a valiant man of his hands, and one able to giue politike counsell, he wanted not followers, notwithstanding that many of the contrary faction left him, enuying that hee, who before was their equall, should now be their Lord and commander. Feare also terrified them from liuing vnder the gouernment of one man; for they thought that if he once preuailed, he could not easily be ouercome: and againe, if he were deposed, that he would pick quarrels against them in the end, because that they resisted him in the beginning. So euery man determined rather to suffer all misery in war, then to submit him- C selfe, and perish like a slaue. Thus the sedition was diuided, and *Iohn* was chiefe of the faction against the Zealous: so between them they appointed garrisons in euery place; and if by chance they combated together, they did little or nothing hurt one another, but their chief contention was who should beare most sway amongst the people: and they did striue on both parts who should haue the greatest part of the spoile. Thus the citie at one time was vexed with three intolerable mischiefes and euils, to wit, warre, tyranny, and sedition: and yet warre seemed a lesse euill then the rest vnto the communalty. In brief; many leauing their natiue soile, fled vnto strangers for succor, and found among the Romans safety, who with their owne nation liued in continuall danger. There was also then begunne the fourth euill, which wrought the ruine of the whole nation. Not far from the Citie there was a Castle called Massada, builded by the ancient D Kings of Ierusalem, very strong to lay their treasure in, and their munition for war, and to retire themselues thereunto in time of need, for the safety of their persons. This Castle was taken and kept by that sort of theeues that were called Sicarij, who for feare durst robbe no more. These theeues seeing the Roman army now idle, and the Iewes in Ierusalem at ciuill wars & sedition among themselues, they took courage, and again fell to their villanies. And so on that day which is the feast of vnleauened bread (which the Iewes do keep holy, in memory of their deliuerance out of the Egyptian captiuity) deceiuing the watchmen, they seised vpon a Fort, called Engaddi: and before the towne-men could arme and vnite themselues together, they were by these persons driuen out of the towne, who also killed them that could not flie, to wit, women & children, to the number of more then seuen hundreth; and so sacking the houses, & taking the fruits E that were now ripe, they carried all vnto Massada: and so they wasted all the villages and whole countrey round about them, many wicked persons daily flocking vnto them and ioyning with them: and by their example other theeues that a while had been quiet, now robbed againe, and spoiled in euery part of Iudæa. And as in a body, if the principall member thereof be sicke, all other parts of it are afflicted: so Ierusalem being filled with tumults and discord, those that were without the Citie found licence to rob & spoile: and all they that had their towns destroied where they were wont to inhabit, went into the wildernes. Then they assembling and vniting themselues together, not so many as an army, yet more then a company of theeues, they brake into the townes & temples; and as in warre it commeth to passe, they purposed to assault them, by whom they had suffered such iniury: but they were preuented; for the theeues vnder- F standing of their comming, fled with the spoile they had gotten. And there was no part of Iudæa that did not perish together with Ierusalem their mother citie. Those that fled vnto the Romans certified *Vespasian* hereof: for although the seditious persons did keep and obserue all passages, and kill them that offered to flie, yet many secretly stole away from them, and besought *Vespasian* both to helpe the oppressed citie, and to take compassion vpon the reliques of their nation: affirming that many had been butchered for wishing well to the Romanes, and many being yet aliue, were yet in great danger. And *Vespasian* moued to compassionate their calamities

Iohns pride & ambition.

The greater part of the contrary faction fall from Iohn.

The tempest of three miseries assailed Ierusalem at once.

Of those desperate rebels that kept the Castle of Massada.

Slaughter and desolation thorow Iury.

A similitude.

The fugitiues beseech Vespasian to assist the Citie and reserue the rest of the people.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs Nativity, 70.

came with his army neerer Ieruſalem, as though he would haue beſieged it: but indeed his intent G
was to deliuer it from the ſiege, hoping in the meane time to conquer that part of the countrey
that was yet vntoucht, and ſo to leaue nothing to hinder him when hee ſhould begin the ſiege.
Wherefore comming vnto Gadara, the ſtrongeſt place and mother Citie of all the countrey be-
yond the riuer, he entred into it the fourth day of March: for the chiefeſt of the citie, vnknown
vnto the ſeditious people, had ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, partly deſiring peace, partly to ſaue
their goods and liues, and promiſed him to yeeld the towne into his hands: for there were many
rich men dwelling in Gadara: and their enemies knew not of their Embaſſage, til they ſaw *Veſpa-*
ſian at the citie gates. And ſo deſpairing that they were able to keep the citie, by reaſon they had
in the towne many enemies, more in number and ſtronger then themſelues; and moreouer, ſeeing
Veſpaſian euen now almoſt at the citie: and thinking it a ſhame to fly and not be reuenged of their H
enemies; they tooke *Doleſus* (who was both a noble man and chiefe of the citie, and alſo the au-
thor of that Embaſſage) and killed him, and for anger beating him after he was dead, they fled
out of the citie. Now the Romans army approching neere vnto the citie, the people of Gadara
went forth and receiued *Veſpaſian* ioyfully; who alſo confirmed a league betwixt them and him,
and left them a company of horſe and footmen to defend them againſt the incurſions of the fu-
gitiues their enemies: for they themſelues before the Romans requeſted it deſtroyed the citie
walls, that ſo they might ſhew themſelues to deſire peace, in that deſtroying their walls if after
they deſired to rebell they could not.

The Gadarenſians entertain Veſpaſian with ioy and acclamations.

Veſpaſian then ſent *Placidus* with fiue hundreth horſmen, and three thouſand footmen to pur-
ſue thoſe, that were fled out of Gadara, and hee with the reſt of his army returned to Cæſarea. I
But the fugitiues perceiuing themſelues to bee purſued by *Placidus*, before hee could ouertake
them, got into a towne called Bethenabris: and finding there many young men, partly for that
they were willing, partly by force they compelled them to arme themſelues, and ſo raſhly they
came againſt *Placidus*. *Placidus* and his army ſeemed a little to giue backe, to the intent to drawe
them further from the wall: and then hauing compaſſed them about in a fit place, they wounded
them afarre off with darts and arrowes. Then the Iewes ſeeking to flie, were preuented by the
horſemen: and they who offered to fight, were by the Roman footmen all put to the ſword, ne-
uer ſhewing any ſigne of valour. For the Iewes aſſaulting the Romanes being all inuironed and
quite couered with their ſhields as with a wall, and not being able to break into their battel, they
were ſlain by the Romans darts: but their darts could do the Romans no harm, and ſo like fierce K
and ſauage beaſts they wilfully ran vpon their enemies ſwords, and ſo were ſlain, ſome hauing all
their face cut with ſwords, ſome killed by the horſmen. For *Placidus* was carefull to intercept
their paſſage vnto the towne, and to hinder their recourſe vnto it, and brought thoſe back again
that fled towards it, vſing his darts, and killing thoſe that were next him; and thoſe who fled afar
off for feare, he cauſed to returne; till at laſt the ſtrongeſt amongſt them brake away, and got vn-
to the towne wals: And thoſe that were within the citie knew not what to doe, for they would
not ſhut the fugitiues of Gadara out of the citie, becauſe they deſired to let their owne citizens
in; and againe they perceiued that if they let them in, they thereby ſhould work the ouerthrow
of the citie, as it fell out indeed they did. For the gates being ſet open for them to come in, the
Roman horſemen almoſt brake into the towne with them, yet the gates were ſhut before they L
could get in. Then *Placidus* with all his ſouldiers aſſaulted the towne, and fighting a ſore fight
which continued euen vntill the Euening, at laſt he got the wals, and the town, and ſlew the wea-
ker ſort: for the ſtronger fled: ſo the ſoldiers ſacked the houſes and then fired the towne. They
who eſcaped thence incited the whole country to fly with them, reporting their calamities with
the moſt, and affirming that all the Roman army was at hand: and ſo they put all the inhabitants
there in great fear; and hauing aſſembled a great multitude, they fled vnto Iericho, which place
they put their confidence in, for that it was ſtrong and populous. *Placidus* hauing horſemen, and
being incouraged with his former victory purſued them vnto Iordan, and whomſoeuer he o-
uertooke he ſlew, and at the riuer he fought with all the multitude there gathered together; and
ſtaying, becauſe that the riuer being waxed deeper by abundance of raine, that had lately fallen, M
they could not paſſe ouer it.

Placidus taketh & burnes Bethenabris.

Placidus victory ouer the fugitiues.

Wherefore neceſſity forced them to fight becauſe they could not fly: and placing themſelues
along the banks of the riuer, they there receiued the horſemen, and warded their darts; yet ma-
ny for feare fell into the riuer; ſo the Romanes ſlew there thirteene thouſand, and the reſt not
able to reſiſt, caſt themſelues into the riuer; which were an infinite number: alſo the Romanes
tooke two thouſand and two hundreth men aliue, and a huge bootie of Sheep, Aſſes, Camels,
and

A and oxen. This maſſacre though it was no greater then the former, yet it ſeemed to the Iewes farre greater, becauſe that many all ouer the countrie flying were killed, and Iordan was ſo filled with dead carcaſſes, that none could paſſe ouer it: and alſo the lake Aſphaltites was full of dead bodies, brought thither out of diuers riuers. *Placidus* hauing ſo good ſucceſſe, went into the townes and villages adioyning, and took Abila, Iulias, Beſemoth, and all the townes euen vnto the lake Aſphaltites, and placed in them garriſons of them that fled vnto him: and afterward preparing ſhips and furniſhing them with ſouldiers, hee purſued them that were fled by water, and ouercame them: and ſo all the countrey beyond Iordan yeelded vnto the Romans, and euen vnto Machæron all places were by them conquered.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

Placidus maketh vſe of his good fortune againſt the Iewes.

B

CHAP. IIII.

How certaine townes were taken, and the deſcription of Iericho.

AT this time came newes of the troubles in Gallia, and how that *Vindex* together with the nobility of that countrey had reuolted from *Nero*, whereof we haue made mention in another place. This newes cauſed *Veſpaſian* to be more earneſt to end the wars of the Iewes: for euen then he foreſaw the ciuill wars that enſued, and the danger of the whole Empire: and he thought that if he could before the beginning of thoſe troubles end the warres in the Eaſt part of the world, that then Italy was not in ſo much danger. But winter hindring him, he in the meane time placed garriſons in all townes and villages about the whole countrey, and placed decurions in euery citie, and repaired many places which hee had before deſtroyed. And firſt of all he with his whole army that was at Cæſarea, went to Antipatris; and there hauing ſettled the eſtate of that citie, after his abode there two daies, the third day he departed, ſpoiling and burning all the countrie: as alſo all the countrey about Thamnia the Toparchy, and ſo went into Lydda and Iamnia. But ſeeing that thoſe two places ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, leauing there ſuch inhabitants as he thought good, hee went thence vnto Ammaus, and placing himſelfe in the way to their Metropolitane Citie he there entrenched his army, and then leauing the fift legion there, he with the reſt went into the Toparchy of Bethlepton, firing it and all places thereabout; as alſo the borders of Idumæa: but he reſerued there certaine Caſtles in fit places, and fortified them. And hauing taken two townes in the midſt of Idumæa, to wit, Begabri and Caphartopha, he ſlew there aboue ten thouſand men, and took almoſt a thouſand, and driuing out the reſt of the inhabitants, he left a great part of his army there, who made incurſions and waſted all the high places thereabout: and hee with the reſt returned to Iamnia; and from thence by Samaria and Neapolis, called by the inhabitants Mabortha, the ſecond day of Iune he came into Corea: and pitching his tents there, the next day he came to Iericho, where one of his captaines named *Traian* met him with the ſouldiers he brought from beyond Iordan, which place he had conquered. But the multitude, before the Romans came, fled from Iericho into the the high countrey ouer againſt Ieruſalem, and many that ſtaied behinde were there ſlain. So he found the citie deſolate, being ſituate in a Plaine vnder a great mountain that is barren, which is of a huge length: for it reacheth on the Northſide vnto the borders of Scythopolis, and on the South vnto the borders of Sodome and the lake of Aſphaltites. It is all rockie and not inhabited, becauſe it beareth no fruit. Ouer againſt this neere Iordan is ſituate a huge mountaine, beginning on the North ſide at Iulias, and reaching vnto Bacra on the South, which is the limits of Petra a citie of Arabia. In this place is that that is called the mountaine of Iron, reaching vnto the countrey of the Moabites.

Troubles in France.

Veſpaſian viſiteth all Iudæa

Veſpaſian cõmeth to Iericho.

C D E

The countrey between theſe two mountaines is called the great field, reaching from the village Gennabara vnto the lake Aſphaltites, being in length two hundreth and thirty furlongs, and in breadth a hundreth and twenty, and in the midſt it is diuided by the riuer Iordan. There are alſo two lakes of contrary natures, Aſphaltites and Tiberias; for one of them is ſalt and barren, but that of Tiberias ſweet and fertill. This Plaine in ſommer time is burned with the heat of the ſun, and the aire is infected in all places thereabouts, ſaue only about thoſe which adioine to Iordan: and this is the cauſe that the palme trees that grow about the riuer ſide do flouriſh moſt, and are more fertill then the reſt. Neere vnto Iericho there is a large great fountaine, which plentifully watereth the fields thereabout, and runneth with a great ſtream out of the ground neer vnto the old citie: which *Ioſue* the ſonne of *Nun* generall of the Hebrewes took by warre, the firſt of all that he took in the land of Canaan. It is reported that in the beginning the waters of this

The great field.

Two lakes Aſphaltites & the Tiberian lake.

A large fountaine neere Iericho.

F

The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth 70.

fountain did destroy all fruits of the earth, and also made women be deliuered before their time, G and to infect all places with diseases, and the plague; and afterward by *Helizæus* the successor of *Helias* was made sweet and fertill. Who, being once courteously entertained by the inhabitants of Iericho, did so reward them and all the countrey for that their kindnes: and going vnto the fountaine he cast a pitcher full of salt into the water, and hard by lifting vp his hands to heauen, and tempering with the fountain water certain sweet waters, he prayed God to qualifie the rage thereof, to make it flow with more sweet streames: and besought God to giue a better aire vnto the fountain, which both might cause plenty of fruits and also of children vnto the inhabitants: and that the water might haue the vertue to make women fertill, so long as they persist in piety. After these praiers, with his hands he altred the fountaine according to the knowledge hee had: and from that time this fountaine which before was the cause of famine and sterility, was now H the cause of plenty & fertility. And so it watereth the ground, that where a little of it commeth, it doth more good then all the other waters which lie long vpon it: and so they that water their grounds but a little with it receiue much fruits; and they that water their grounds with it much, do not receiue them in that measure: yet it watereth a greater compasse of ground then other fountaines: and in length it runneth through a Plaine seuenty furlongs long, and twenty broad. There are most pleasant & goodly Orchards, and many sorts of palme trees growing by brooks sides, which are diuers in the taste of their fruits; the fattest whereof being pressed, doe yeeld a iuice like hony, nothing inferiour to other hony; yet there is great store of hony in that countrey, and the iuice of balme, which is more precious then all fruits growing. There grow also Cypres trees and myrobalans: so that one may iustly call that part of the earth diuine, where I what fruit soeuer is most deare and precious is in most abundance. Also in all other fruits it surpasseth all countries in the world: for it multiplieth and increaseth all things sooner there. The cause hereof I iudge to be the pleasant waters and warme nourishing aire, which as it were inuiteth all things to spring vp, and then encreaseth them: and the moisture causeth all things to take firme root, and also defendeth them from drought in sommer time, when that country is vexed with such intolerable heats, that all things are as it were scorched, so that nothing then wil grow; yet if they be watered with water drawen before Sun rise, by the blowing of a milde and temperate winde they are refreshed, and it receiues a contrary nature: in winter time it is as it were lukewarme and temperate to them that goe into it. The ayre of that place is so temperate, that when it snoweth in other parts of Iudæa, and is extreame cold, the inhabitants in this place doe K only weare a linnen garment. This countrey is distant from Ierusalem a hundreth and fifty furlongs, and threescore from Iordan, and all the ground betwixt it and Ierusalem is desert & stony, and so likewise between it and Iordan and Asphaltites, though it be lower ground then the other. Thus we haue sufficiently declared the fertility of Iericho.

A miracle wrought by Helizæus.

Fruitfull and pleasant gardens about Iericho.

The cause why the ground about Iericho is fruitfull.

The ayre temperate and warme.

CHAP. V.

The description of the lake Asphaltites.

IT is worth the labour to describe the lake Asphaltites, which is salt & sterile; yet what- L euer is cast into it how weighty soeuer it bee, it swimmeth aboue the water: so that one though he would vpon purpose cannot scarcely sinke vnto the bottome. *Vespasian* comming thither to see it, caused some to be taken who could not swim, & their hands to be bound behind them, and cast into the midst therof, and all of them did swim aloft, being as it were borne vp by the power of some spirit. Moreouer it is admirable, how this lake thrice in euery day changeth colour, and shineth diuersly, according as the beames of the Sun do sundry waies fall vpon it. And in many places it casteth vp peeces of black bitumen, in greatnesse and shape like a bull without a head, and these float aboue the water. They that get their liuing vpon this water, finding this bitumen that is thus gathered together, draw it to their boats, and it is so tough and clammy, that hauing filled their boates heerewith, it is not easie for them to get M them away, but their boat is as it were fastned: so it hangeth vpon the rest of that masse of bituminous matter, till it be separated from it by the termes or vrine of a woman. This bituminous matter is good for to close the rifts of shipps, and also to cure many diseases. This lake is fiue hundreth and eighty furlongs long, beeing extended vnto Zoar which is in Arabia, and it is a hundreth and fifty furlongs broad. Neere vnto this lake is the land of Sodome and Gomorrah, sometime both fertill and rich: now all burnt, being (as it is reported) for the impiety of the inha-

An admirable property of the Asphaltite lake.

The land of Sodom is neer vnto the lake Asphaltites.

A inhabitants consumed with lightning and thunder. To be short, one may here behold as it were the signe and reliques of that fire, that by Gods appointment destroyed the place: for one may yet see as it were the fashion and tokens of fiue cities, and trees and fruits springing vp in the ashes: which fruit to the eye seemeth like vnto other fruits; but if you handle them they fall into ashes and smoake. And so the report of the land of Sodome is knowen to be true to them that behold it. *The yeare of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.* *Tertul. in Apologet. ca 39*

CHAP. VI.

How Gerasa was destroyed: of Neroes *death, and of* Galba *and* Otho.

B VEspasian desirous to besiege Ierusalem on euery side, builded castles at Ierico and Adida, and left there both the soldiers that came to assist him, and also Romans with them. And he sent *L. Annius* to Gerasa, giuing him many footmen, and part of his horsemen; who at the first assault tooke the citie, and slew a thousand yong men, who thought to haue fled, & led whole families captiue, giuing the soldiers the spoil of their goods: and so firing their houses, he went to other places adioining. They who were able fled, and the weaker sort who could not fly were slaine; and whatsoeuer came in their way they consumed it with fire. Thus all places both mountains and plaines being wasted and oppressed with warres, the inhabitants liuing at Ierusalem had not whither to goe, when they desired to fly from the C Zealous by whom they were kept in. And they who were against the Romans, were kept in themselues, the citie being on euery side inclosed and compassed with the army. *L. Annius taketh Gerasa.*

After that *Vespasian* was returned vnto Cæsarea, and with all his army purposing to goe to Ierusalem, newes was brought him that *Nero* was slaine, hauing reigned thirteen yeares and eight daies. Touching whom I will not recount how hee did dishonour the Empire, committing the whole sway of all the common-wealth vnto two most wicked men, to wit *Nymphidius* and *Tigillinus*, and of least worth amongst all the Libertines: and how he being taken by the treachery of these two men, was forsaken of all his Senators; and so fled onely with foure trusty Libertines into the suburbs, and there killed himselfe: and how that long time after, they that deposed him were punished for that offence: and how the wars ended in Gallia; and that *Galba* being created D Emperour, returned to Rome out of Spaine: and how he was accused by the souldiers, and by them killed in the market place, as one of base condition: and how *Otho* was declared Emperor, and led his souldiers against *Vitellius* his army: also *Vitellius* his broyles and his fight before the Capitoll: and how *Antonius Primus*, and *Mutianus* slew *Vitellius*, and so appeased the Germane troupes and ciuill warres: Of all these I haue refused to speake, because I hope that both the Greeks and Romans haue written these things at large, yet I haue briefely recapitulated all to continue my History. *Vespasian hath tidings of Neroes death.* *Galba.* *Otho. Vitellius.*

After *Vespasian* heard these newes of *Nero*, he deferred the siege of Ierusalem, expecting who should be created Emperour after him. And when he was certified that *Galba* raigned, he determined to doe nothing; but lie quiet till such time as he should write vnto him his minde, whe- E ther he would haue him proceed in those warres against the Iewes. And hee sent vnto him his sonne *Titus* both to salute him, and also to know his pleasure concerning the Iewes. Likewise King *Agrippa* went with *Titus* for the same cause vnto *Galba*. But as they were passing by Achaia with long ships in winter time, as the custom is, newes was brought that *Galba* was slaine, hauing raigned seuen moneths and seuen daies. After whom succeeded *Otho*, who gouerned the Empire three moneths. *Agrippa* not terrified with this alteration, still kept on his iourney to Rome. But *Titus* (as God would haue it) returnd from Achaia vnto Syria, and so to Cæsarea vnto his father. They both were as it were in suspence what would ensue, and who should bee Emperour, the Empire being so full of troubles: and so they neglected the wars against the Iewes, fearing their owne country, and therefore thinking it an vnfit time to assault strangers. *Vespasian deferreth his siege at Ierusalem.* *Galba is slain, and Otho gouerneth.*

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The yeare of the world, 4033. after Christs Nativity, 71.

CHAP. VII.

Of Simon *of Gerasa, author of a new conspiracie.*

FOr all this the war at Ierusalem was increased. For there was one *Simon* the son of *Giora* borne in Gerasa, young in yeares, and inferiour to *Iohn*, who now already had gotten the dominion ouer the citie; yet was he in strength & boldnes more excellent then *Iohn*. This *Simon* being for this cause also driuen out of the countrey of Acrabatena, where hee was gouernor by the means of *Ananus* the high Priest, he came to the theeues that seised vpon Massada. This *Simon*, at his first comming, was so suspected to the theeues, that they onely permitted him and the women that came with him to dwell in the lower part of the castle, and they themselues kept the higher part: yet afterwards his maners & behauior were such, that they put confidence in him: for he was their captaine alwaies when they went to spoile and rob any part of the country about Massada. So he feared not to perswade them to attempt greater matters: for being desirous of rule, after he heard that *Ananus* was dead, hee departed into the high places of the countrey, and with the voyce of a cryer promised and proclaimed, that all bondslaues that would follow him should haue their liberty, and all other should be richly rewarded; and so he gathered together all the wicked and desperate people in the countrie. And hauing now a large army, hee robbed and spoyled all the townes and villages thereabout; and his number daily encreasing, he also now presumed to come into the plain countries: so that now cities stood in awe of him, and many Potentates now feared him for his strength and prosperous successe. And his army did not only consist in theeues and slaues, but now many people of the countrie came vnto him, reuerencing him as their Prince and King. So they made excursions into the Toparchie of Acrabatena, and into the greater Idumæa. For hee had fortified a towne called Nain walled about, which he vsed for his defence like a castle. And in the valley called Pharan he made many caues, and found many already made, and in these caues he kept his treasure, and the booties he got: also all fruits of the earth that he robbed and stole, there he laid vp in store; as also munition for diuers companies. And now no man doubted, but that being thus furnished with men and munition, he would go to Ierusalem. The Zelous fearing this, & desirous to preuent him whom they euery day did see encrease his number, and to grow more potent against them; they armed many of their company, and went out to meet him. *Simon* was not daunted at this, but boldly incountred them, and gaue them so sharp a battell, that he slew many of them in fight; and forced the rest to retire themselues into the towne: yet hauing men sufficient he would not besiege the towne; but first of all he purposed to subdue Idumæa, and so accompanied with 20000. armed men, he hasted towards the borders thereof.

Simon of Gerasa resorteth to the theeues

Simon assembleth all robbers in the mountainous places.

The fight between Simon & the Zelous.

The Princes of Idumæa vnderstanding this, presently assembled fiue and twenty thousand armed men: and leauing at home sufficient garrisons to defend their country against the incursion of the Sicarij, which held the fortresse of Massada, they accompanied with this train, went out & expected *Simons* comming into the borders of their country, where hauing met him they ioined battel, and fought a whole day, yet neither party got the victory. Then *Simon* returned to Nain, and the Idumeans home. Not long after *Simon* with a greater army then before, assaulted the borders of their countrie, and pitching his tents in a village called Thecue, hee sent one of his companions named *Eleazar*, to them that kept the castle Herodium not farre from that place, to solicite them to yeeld it vnto him. The garrison there presently receiued him into the castle, not knowing the cause of his comming. But so soone as he began to perswade them to treason, they all pursued him with their drawn swords: and he not hauing any place to fly vnto, cast himselfe from off the castle wal into the valley vnderneath, and so presently he died. The Idumæans somthing fearing *Simons* forces, before they would offer him battell, thought it best to espy what number of men he had: to effect which businesse one *Iacob* a ruler amongst them offered himselfe, meaning indeed to betray his country to *Simon*. So departing from Olurus where the Idumæans forces were assembled, he went vnto *Simon*, & first of al promised him to betray his country vnto him, receiuing of him an oath, that for reward of this deed he should alwaies be next in dignity vnto *Simon* himselfe, and so hee presently promised to helpe to subdue all Idumæa. For this cause he was welcome to *Simon* and feasted liberally, and had great promises if hee performed that which he offered: and then returned vnto the Idumæans, and fained that *Simons* army was farre greater then indeed it was. And so at last terrifying the gouernors of his countrey, and the people, he by little & little perswaded them to receiue *Simon*, and without any more fight yeeld

Eleazar Simõs fellow casteth himself headlong into the trench and presently dieth.

Iames of Idumæa the betrayer of his countrey.

vnto

A vnto him the whole ſoueraignty ouer them. *Iacob*, ſtudying to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, priuily ſent meſſengers to *Simon*, willing him to come with his forces, and promiſing him to ſubdue the Idumæans for him, which alſo he did. For when *Simons* army drew neere, he firſt of all got vpon his horſe, and together with his aſſociates that were partakers of his treaſon, he fled to the enemy. Then feare fell on the Idumæans, and euery one without any more ado departed home. Thus *Simon* againſt his owne expectation entred Idumæa without bloudſhed: and firſt of all aſſaulting a little village called Chebron, vpon a ſudden hee tooke it, and in it an exceeding great booty, a great quantity of corne, and many fruits, all which he carried away. The inhabitants report, that this Chebron is not onely more ancient then all cities of that land, but alſo then Memphis in Egypt: for they affirme it to haue been built 2000. and 300. yeares ſince. They alſo ſay,
B that this was the place where *Abraham* the father of the Iewes dwelt, after he forſook Meſopotamia, and that his poſterity departed from hence to Egypt. And of this there are yet monuments in the city, richly wrought in fine Marble. Six furlongs from the towne there is an exceeding great Turpentine tree, which they affirme to haue endured euer ſince the creation of the world vntill this day.

The yeare of the world, 4033. after Chriſts birth, 71.

Simon beyond all expectation enters Idumæa without bloudſhed.

Hebron an ancient city where Abrahams houſe was.

A Turpentine tree that hath cõtinued ſince the creation of the world.

Simon hauing obtained this place, from hence he inuaded all Idumæa, and not onely robbed and ſpoiled all townes and cities thereof, but alſo he waſted and deſtroyed many territories: for beſides his army, there followed him 40000; ſo that he could not find victuals ſufficient for ſuch a multitude. Moreouer, beſides this calamity that he brought vpon Idumæa, he exerciſed great cruelty and outrage vpon the countrey, and ſo cauſed a greater ſpoile therein. And like as after
C locuſts the trees and woods where they haue bin are left without leaues: ſo whereſoeuer *Simon* had bin, all the country from whence he came he left deſolate. And either by fire, or ouerthrowing it by ruinating places where he came, or elſe by treading vpon it with the feet of his armie, or by deuouring ſuch as they found, they left nothing ſtanding nor growing either in field or towne: and onely by paſſing through fertile places, hee made the fields harder then barraine ground; and left no ſigne in places which he had deſtroied, that euer they had been tilled.

Simon ſpoiled all Idumea.

Heereat the Zelous were againe moued, yet durſt they not fight with him in open field: but placing ambuſhes in the way he was to paſſe, they tooke *Simons* wife, and many of her ſeruants, and ſo came againe into the city, reioycing as though they had taken *Simon* himſelfe. For they perſwaded themſelues, that *Simon* would preſently, laying arms apart, come in humble wiſe and
D intreat them to reſtore vnto him his wife. But *Simon* was not mooued with compaſſion for the loſſe of his wife, but with fury: and coming to the wals of Ieruſalem, like a cruell beaſt that had been wounded, and could not come to them that hurt him, he kild and ſlew all he met. And taking them that went out of the city to gather herbs and wood, he cauſed them to be whipped to death, whether they were young or old: and this cruelty ſeemed onely wanting in him, that he did not eat the fleſh of the dead bodies. Alſo hee took many and cut off their hands, and ſo ſent them into the city, thereby to terrifie his enemies, and to recall the people from the Zelous: and bad them tell the citizens, that except they preſently reſtored his wife vnto him, hee ſwore by God who gouerned all, that he would break downe their wals, and vſe all that hee found in the city after that faſhion, and that he would ſpare no age, nor reſpect the innocent more then the
E guilty. Theſe his threats did not onely terrifie the people, but alſo the Zelous, inſomuch that they ſent him his wife againe, and ſo his anger being ſomething aſſwaged, he ceaſed awhile from daily ſlaughter.

The Zelous take Simons wife.

Simons immanity and cruelty.

The Zelous ſend back Simons wife.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Galba, Otho, Vitellius *and* Veſpaſian.

NOt onely in Iudæa, but alſo in Italy at this time were ciuil wars: for *Galba* was ſlain in the midſt of the market, after whom *Otho* was created Emperour, and fought againſt *Vitellius*, who affected the Empire, whom the German legions had elected: So the
F battell being fought neere vnto Bebrias, a town in Gallia Ciſalpina, the firſt day *Otho* got the victory againſt *Valens* & *Cæcinna*, the generals of *Vitellius* his army. But the day following they ouercam *Otho*: & ſo many being ſlain on both parts, & newes being brought that *Vitellius* his army had gotten the victory, *Otho* being at Brixels ſlew himſelfe, when he had ruled the Empire three moneths and two daies. Then *Othoes* ſouldiers came vnto *Vitellius* his captains, and ioined with them, and ſo *Vitellius* came to Rome with his army. In the meane time *Veſpaſian* the fift day of Iune departed from Cæſarea, and went vnto thoſe parts of Iudæa which were yet vnconquered:

Sedition throrow the whole Roman Empire.

Veſpaſiã once more inuades Iudæa.

The yeare of the world, 4033. after Christs Nativity, 71.

conquered: and first of all he went into the high countries, & subdued the two Toparchies of A- G
crabatena and Gophnitis, and after them two townes called Bethel & Ephrem, and placed garri-
sons in them, and so went to Ierusalem, killing many that he found in the way, and he took ma-
ny captiues. And one of his captaines called *Cerealis*, with a part of his horse & footmen, walled
all the higher Idumæa, and in the way as he went he took Caphetra a castle, and burnt it, and be-
sieged another called Capharis, enclosed with a strong wal: for the which cause he deemed that
he should haue made long abode there: but contrary to his expectation, the inhabitants opened
the gates vnto him, and came and yeelded themselues, beseeching him to bee good vnto them.
When he had ouercome them, *Cerealis* went vnto Hebron an ancient citie, and set it on fire: this
Hebron as I haue alredy said, was situated vpon the mountains, not far from Ierusalem: & brea-
king into it by force, he slew all them that hee found there, and fired the citie. And hauing sub- H
dued all places, saue onely three castles, to wit, Herodium, Massada, and Macheron, which were
kept by the theeues, now onely Ierusalem remained to be conquered.

Capharis submits to Cerealis.

Cerealis burneth the ancient citie of Hebron.

CHAP. IX.

Of Simons *acts against the Zelous.*

WHen *Simon* had receiued againe his wife from the Zelous, hee went into Idumæa, to rob
and spoil that which he had left: & chasing the inhabitans vp and down, at last he forced
them to flie vnto Ierusalem, & he himself followed them thither; and besieging the wals,
he killed all the workmen he took, that returned out of the fields from their labor. Thus *Simon* I
without the citie, was more terrible to the people then the Romans; and the Zelous within the
citie crueller then them both, being incouraged and incited therto by the counsel of the Galile-
ans. For they had put *Iohn* in authority: and *Iohn* in reward therof permitted all things to be done
which they requested. There was no end of robbing & spoiling rich mens houses, and of slaugh-
tering both of men and women; and now to iniure any person was a pastime. And hauing with
bloodshed obtained their prey in security, and without all feare after they had gotten what they
liked, they now began to lust after women: yea, they became themselues effeminate through
luxuriousnes, dressing their haire, and clothing themselues in womens apparell; and they anoin-
ted themselues with sweet oyntments, that their beauty might bee pleasing, and alluring; their
eyes wanton-like, they now did not onely imitate the attire of women, but also their impudency, K
and became so shameless, that they now thirsted after vnnaturall pleasures, as though they had
kept a stewes, and so profaned the whole Citie with their execrable impurities. Yet though
they did effeminate their faces, their hands were prone to bloodshed; and although they liued in
ignominious maner, as people giuen ouer to pleasure, yet could they quickly become warriors,
and vnder the habits of women drawing their swords, they did kill whosoeuer they met. Who-
soeuer escaped *Iohns* hands, *Simon* crueller, murdered; and whosoeuer escaped the tyranny with-
in the citie, was slaine by the tyrant without. So now there was no way to fly vnto the Romans.
Furthermore, the army of *Iohn* began to be diuided, for all the Idumæans separated themselues
from the other people, and there began a mutiny against the tyrant, partly enuying his puissance,
partly hating his cruelty. And so assaulting him, they slew many of the Zelous, and compelled L
the rest to flie into the Kings house, builded by *Grapta*, father of *Izata*, King of Adiabena. The
Idumæans also brake in thither with them, and draue them from thence into the temple, and so
seized vpon *Iohns* treasure: for *Iohn* liued in that palace, and thither carried all his spoiles. Then
those Zelous that were dispersed in the citie, came vnto them that were in the temple, and *Iohn*
purposed to send them against the townesmen, and the Idumæans. But they feared not so much
their forces, although they knew them to be the better warriors, as they did fear that now being
desperate, they would steale out of the temple in the night, and so slay them, and fire the citie.
Wherfore assembling themselues, they deliberated with the Priests how to auoid their assaults:
but it pleased God to turn their own counsel to be their destruction, and that they should prouide
a remedy of safety, far worse then death it self. For to depose *Iohn*, they deuised to introduce *Si-* M
mon, and as it were to intreat yet another to tyrannize ouer them. So this counsell was thought
best: & *Matthias* the Priest, was sent vnto *Simon* (who before they stood in great fear of) now to
request him to come into the citie. With them also came such as had fled from Ierusalē, for feare
of the Zelous, intreating him in like maner, because they desired to return to their wiues & fami-
lies. So hee entred into the citie proudly, promising them to be their Lord, and all the people
cryed with loud voyces as hee came into the Citie, that he was their preseruer, and giuer of life

The way of flight was quite cut off.

The discord between the Zelous & the Idumæans.

The flight of the Zelous with the Idumæans into the temple.

Simon enters the citie with a great army.

and

A and liberty. Beeing now within the city, presently he deliberated with them about him to establish his dominion, thinking as wel them that called him into the city, as those against whom he was called, his enemies. Then *Iohn* and the Zelous with him, finding no way to come out of the temple, and hauing lost all that he had in the city (for *Simon* & his followers at his entrance took all that belonged vnto him) beganne now to despaire of his safety. And *Simon*, being assisted by the Citizens, assaulted the temple; and the Zelous placing themselues vpon the porches, and in towers of defence, made resistance, and hurt many of *Simons* followers. For the Zelous were vpon the higher ground on the right hand, and so had the vantage against *Simon*. And although by reason of the place wherein they were, they preuailed against *Simon*; yet they builded 4. high towers, that from thence they might shoot darts and arrowes against *Simons* army. One of these
B towers they built vpon the East side of the temple; another on the north, the third vpon a place opposite to the lower part of the towne; and the fourth tower they built vpon the toppe of the place called Pastophorij, where one of the priests do vse to stand before the sun set, and at break of day, to signifie vnto the people with the sound of the trumpet the beginning of the Sabbath, declaring thereby vnto them, somtime holy daies, and afterward that they might go about their businesse. In these towers they placed all kind of engines to cast stones, & men with slings. Then *Simon*, perceiuing many of his souldiers languish, was more remisse in his businesse: yet when his number increased, he came neerer: for a far off many of his men were slain with the shot of those engines.

The yeare of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

Simon assaults the temple wherein the Zealous kept.

The office of the priests, to signifie the beginning of the 7. day by the sound of a trumpet.

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CHAP. X.

How Vespasian *was elected Emperour.*

AT this time the Romans were in great danger: for *Vitellius* was now arriued out of Germany with his army, bringing beside them an infinit multitude with him; so that his army was so great, that the place appointed for souldiers could not contain it: insomuch that his army occupied all the whole city, and euery house was fild with armed men. And they beholding the Romans wealth greater then euer they saw any, and admiring their abundance of gold and siluer, not able to containe themselues, they began to robbe and kill whomsoeuer that sought to withstand them. And this was the estate of the affairs in Italy. *Vespasian* hauing wasted all about Ierusalem, returned vnto Cæsarea, and there he vnderstood of the troubles at Rome, &
D how *Vitellius* was Emperour. Heereat, though he knew as well to obey as to be obeyed, yet was he moued to indignation, and disdained to call him Lord, who had as it were inuaded and vsurped the Empire, beeing destitute of a Ruler. And much grieued hereat, he could not conceal his griefe, nor follow warres against strangers, his owne country being so endangered. But the distance betweene him and Rome did as much represse him, as anger incited him to seek reuenge: for he considered that fortune might cause many alterations before he could get to Rome, especially it being winter: and so he sought to bridle his wrath which daily encreased. But his captaines with the souldiers did now openly consult of a change, and with indignation did exclaim against the soldiers at Rome, who liued in pleasure, & neuer heard so much as the report of war;
E and that notwithstanding this, it was lawfull for them to create whom they pleased Emperour, and vnder hope of gaine, they disposed of the common-wealth at their owne pleasure: where they on the contrary side, hauing ouerpast so many labors and dangers, still continuing in armes till now, wexed old and gray-headed, and did suffer authority due vnto themselues, to be executed by others; when notwithstanding they had amongst them one who deserued the Empire, more then any one; and what recompence could they euer after make him? or what occasion could they find hereafter to shew themselues gratefull to him for the benefits by him receiued, if they did now omit this occasion?

Vitellius encamps his army in Rome.

Vespasiã knew both how to gouern, and how to obey.

The captains consult with the souldiers openly of a change.

And they thought that *Vespasian* was so much more worthy of the Empire then *Vitellius*, by how much they, who created *Vitellius* Emperor, were in very many respects much inferiour vnto them. For (said they) we haue endured no lesse toile then those that came out of Germanie:
F neither are we lesse valiant then they, who bring a tyrant with them out of Germany. And that no body would resist *Vespasian*: for the Senate and the people of Rome would not rather endure *Vitellius* his vnsatiable lust, then *Vespasians* chastity and temperance; nor a cruell Tyrant, rather then a good and curteous Emperor, nor the son should by them be elected Emperor before the father. For true valor in an Emperor is a great defence of peace. Therfore if the empire were due to aged experience, they had *Vespasian*; if to valiant youth, they had amongst them *Titus*: & that they might reap cõmodity by both their ages. And that they would not only assist him with the forces

Vespasians shamefastnes and modesty.

The yeare of the world,4033. after Christs birth 71.

forces of the Empire hauing there three legions, beside the help of the kings, but also al the East part of Europe was out of *Vitellius* his danger. Moreouer, they had in Italy some that would assist *Vespasian*, to wit, his brother & his son, whereof the one (they hoped) would get many yong men to follow him, and the other was now made prefect of the City, which was no small step to attaine vnto the Empire. Lastly, it might so fall out, that the Senate would declare him Emperor, whom now the souldiers, being as it were their conseruer, had neglected. G

The causes that moued the people to elect Vespasian Emperor.

This was first talked amongst the companies of the souldiers: at last, exhorting one another thereto, they came and saluted *Vespasian* by the name of Emperor, and requested him now to preserue the Empire, being in great danger to be lost. Albeit *Vespasian* had alwaies been carefull for the good of the common-wealth, yet he refused to be Emperour: deeming himselfe indeed to haue deserued it; yet he rather did chuse to liue a priuate life, wherein was security, then in the height of fortune and honour with perpetual danger. The captaines were more earnest because he refused it; and the souldiers flocked about him with drawne swords, threatning his death except he would consent to liue as he deserued: yet long time striuing to auert this their determination, being loth to be Emperour; at last, seeing he could not auoid it, he accepted their offer. H

The souldiers elect Vespasian Emperour.

CHAP. XI.

The description of Egypt and Pharus.

MVtianus and the rest of the captains that had incited him to the Empire, together with the whole army, cried aloud, willing *Vespasian* to lead them against their common enemy. But *Vespasian* thought it best, first to settle the estate of Alexandria, knowing that Egypt for the supply of corne was the greatest and best part of the Empire: which if he once were sure of, hee hoped that although *Vitellius* were stronger then he, yet he could bring him vnder perforce, because the people would not endure that for his sake the city should be famisht: which would haue come to passe, except they had supply of corne out of Egypt. I

Moreouer, he desired to ioine to himselfe those two legions that were at Alexandria. He also thought that that country might be a defence and refuge for him, if any aduerse fortune should betide him: for the country is not easiy to be entred by an army, and the sea-coasts haue no hauens nor harbors to receiue ships. On the West it bordereth vpon the dry & barren part of Lybia; on the South, vpon the frontiers which separate Syene from Æthiopia, and the streames of Nilus not nauigable; on the East it bordereth vpon the red sea, which extends it selfe euen vnto the city Copton; on the North it is defended with Syria, and the Egyptian sea, wherein there is no hauen. Thus Egypt is strong on euery side, and reacheth in length 2000. furlongs from Pelusium to Syene: and from Plinthine to Pelusium they saile 3000. and 600. furlongs. And Nilus is nauigable euen vnto the towne Elephantine. K

The bounds of Egypt.

The length & breadth of Egypt.

Further, by reason of the downfals of Nilus, also the hauen at Alexandria is dangerous to come vnto in time of peace: for the entrance into it is very straight; and beside that, the way goes not directly on, but is made crooked by great stony rocks, and the left side is compassed artificially, but on the right side is the Ile Pharus, hauing a tower vpō it exceeding great: so that the light in it is seen of the mariners 300. furlongs off, that long before they come neer it they may prouide to bring their ships in with safety. L

A most high tower in the Iland Pharos giuing light to those that saile 300 stounds off.

This Ile is inclosed with most huge wals made by art; against which the sea beating, and so returning back again, maketh the entrance into the hauen more dangerous. Yet this hauen within is very safe, and 30. furlongs long: so that whatsoeuer that countrey wants, it is brought them into that hauen, and whatsoeuer aboundeth amongst them which other nations need, is carried from thence all ouer the whole world. So that *Vespasian* did not vnaduisedly seek to establish the estate of Alexandria, and dispose thereof for his owne profit, being to begin his Empire. Wherfore presently he sent letters to *Tiberius Alexander*, who was gouernor of Alexandria and Egypt, and told him of the souldiers resolution: and how that he, seeing hee could not auoid it, but that he was forced to take vpon him the Empire, now requested him to help him in what hee could. *Alexander*, receiuing *Vespasians* letters, agreed willingly thereto, and presently caused his army and the people also to sweare vnto *Vespasian*: which both of them did willingly, vnderstanding *Vespasians* vertue by reason that he gouerned so neer them. And so he hauing now leaue, prepared all things to furnish himselfe like an Emperor, and to be receiued like a prince. M

Tiberius Alexander gouerns Alexandria & Egypt.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XII.

The yeare of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

How Vespasian *deliuered* Ioseph *out of captiuity.*

IT is incredible how quickly this newes was caried into al parts of the world, to wit, that *Vespasian* was declared Emperor in the East; and now al cities reioiced & made triumphs, and offred sacrifices for his fortunate successe. Moreouer, the legions in Mœsia and Panonia, who not long before were reuolted from *Vitellius* by reason of his cruelty, did now willingly sweare obedience to *Vespasian*. *Vespasian* returned by Berytum to Cæsarea: where many B Embassadors came vnto him, bringing him crowns, and applauding & reioicing at his good fortune, who came out of Syria, and all other places thereabout. There was also present *Mutianus*, gouernor of those parts, who brought tidings how ioyfully al the people receiued him for their Emperor, and how that they had all sworne obedience vnto him. So all things falling out prosperously on *Vespasians* side, and fortune for the most part inclining as he desired, hee beganne to think with himselfe that it was Gods prouidence that he was made Emperor, and that a iust destiny had brought him to that estate. And so he cald to minde all tokens and signes (as there had hapned many, which did foretel that he should be Emperor) and among the rest, he remembred that which *Ioseph* had told him; who, *Nero* being yet aliue, presumed to call him Emperor, and so he admired the man whom as yet he kept in hould. And calling *Mutianus* and the rest of his C friends together, first of all he told them how valiant *Ioseph* had been, and what ado he had to win Iotapata onely because of him; and then his prophecies, which at that time hee esteemed onely fables, fained vpon feare; yet now time and euent had proued them true. Affirming it an vndecent thing, that he, who had bin the foreteller of his exaltation, and had bin a messenger to him from God, should still continue in bonds like a captiue, and be left in aduersity. So calling for *Ioseph*, he commanded him to be let loose. This fact of his made the captaines vnder him hope for great reward at his hands, seeing he had bin so kind to a stranger. *Titus* being there present, said; It is meet, O father, that as you acquit *Ioseph* from captiuity, so you also take away the shame of that which he hath already endured. For if wee doe not onely vntie his chaines, but also breake them in sunder, he shall be as though he had neuer been in bondage: for this is the manner vsed D for redresse, when any one being guiltlesse is committed to bonds. *Vespasian* hereto agreed: and so one came with an axe, and hewed his chaines in peeces. Thus was *Ioseph* rewarded for his prophecy, and so hereafter he was esteemed worthy to be beleeued.

Vespasian by comon voice is created Emperor, and crowned.

Vespasian consults with his captaines about Iosephs liberty.

Ioseph discharged out of bonds and rewarded.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Vitellius *his death and manners.*

WHen *Vespasian* had answered the Embassadors, and iustly disposed of all the rulers of his army according to euery ones merit, he now came to Antiochia, and there did deliberate whither to go first, and it seemed best to him to go to Rome, rather then to Alexan- E dria: for he knew that Alexandria was quiet & firme, but Rome was troubled by *Vitellius*. Wherfore he sent *Mutianus* into Italy with many footmen and horsemen: who fearing to goe by Sea, went through Cappadocia and Phrygia, for it was winter time. Now *Antonius Primus*, who was gouernor of Mœsia, brought from thence the third legion remaining there, and came to war against *Vitellius*. *Vitellius* sent *Cæcinna* to meet him with a great army: who departing from Rome, presently met with *Antonius* at Cremona, a towne of Gallia, situate vpon the confines of Italy; and there beholding the discipline and multitude of the enimies, durst not fight with them: and thinking it very dangerous to flee, he plotted treason, and so calling vnto him the Centurions & Tribunes vnder his gouernment, he perswaded them to goe and ioine with *Antonius*, debasing *Vitellius* his power, and extolling *Vespasians*: affirming the first to haue onely the bare name of the F Emperor; and the last to haue also all vertues meet for an Emperor. Moreouer, that so it would be better for them to do that of their own accord, which otherwise they should bee compelled to; and seeing themselues already ouercom in number, so also now willingly preuent all danger. For *Vespasian* was able without their assistance to subdue all the rest: but *Vitellius* was not able with their help to keep that he had: speaking much to this effect, he perswaded them to all that which he would haue done. And so he with his whole army ioyned with *Antonius*.

Vespasian bethinks himself to returne to Rome.

Cæcinna perswades the souldiers to forsake Vitellius, & honour Vespasian.

The same night, the souldiers repenting themselues of that they had done, and also fearing that

The yeare of the world, 4033. after Christs Nativity, 71.

that *Vitellius* should get the vpper hand who sent them against *Antonius*, drew their swords, and would haue slaine *Cæcinna*. And had done it, had not the Tribunes come and entreated them to the contrary: wherefore they did not kill him, but kept him bound, meaning to send him to *Vitellius* as a traitor. *Primus Antonius* hearing this, came with his army & assaulted them who were reuolted from him, and they awhile resisted; yet at last, forced to retire, they fled to Cremona. And *Primus*, accompanied with horsmen, preuented their courses, and so slew most of them before the city; and afterward setting vpon the rest, gaue his souldiers the spoile of it, wherin many Merchants of other countries, and many townsmen were slain, and all *Vitellius* army, 30000. & 200. men: and *Antonius* lost in that battell 4000. and 500. of those whom he brought with him out of Mœsia. And deliuering *Cæcinna* from prison, he sent him to beare newes hereof to *Vespasian*: who coming vnto him, was praised for his fact, and greatly honored aboue his expectation, in reward of his treason.

Cæcinna is apprehended for treason.

Vespasian honors Cæcinna with vnexpected honors, & is acquited of treason.

Sabinus, who was at Rome, hearing that *Antonius* was at hand, greatly reioiced, and took courage: and gathering together the companies of the watchmen in the night time, hee tooke the Capitoll, and in the morning many of the nobles came and ioined with him: and *Domitianus* his brothers son, who was a great cause and help to obtaine the victory. *Vitellius* little esteemed *Primus*; but he was angry against *Sabinus* and those that had reuolted with him: and as it were naturally thirsting after the bloud of the nobility, hee set all the army hee brought out of Germanie with him, to assault the Capitoll, where many valiant deeds were shewed on both parts: and at last, the Germans, being most in number, got the Capitoll hill. And *Domitian* with many braue noble men, as it were by Gods prouidence, escaped safe, the rest of the multitude were there slaine. And *Sabinus* was carried to *Vitellius*, and there by his commandement put to death: the souldiers, taking away all the gifts and treasure in the Temple, set it on fire. The day after came *Antonius*, and *Vitellius* his souldiers met him: and fighting in three seuetall places of the city, they were all slaine. Then *Vitellius* came drunk out of his palace, and being full gorged with delicate meat, he was drawne through the midst of the people, and after many contumelies slaine, hauing raigned 8. moneths, and 5. daies: who if he had liued longer, I thinke verely the Empire had not bin sufficient to haue maintaind his gluttony. There were slaine aboue 50000. of other people. And this was done the 3. day of October. The day after, *Mutianus* with his army came & entred Rome, and represt the souldiers of *Antonius*, who still sought about in euery place for *Vitellius* souldiers, and many other of his fauorits, and slew whom they thought good, not examining any matter by reason of their fury: and bringing out *Domitian*, he declared to the people that he was to gouerne the city till his father came. The people being deliuered from feare, proclaimd *Vespasian* Emperour, and made feasts & triumphs both vnder one, for his establishing in the Empire, and for ioy that *Vitellius* was deposed.

Sabinus takes the Capitoll and leaues Vitellius.

Vitellius slaine

The people of Rome proclaime Vespasian Emperor.

CHAP. XIIII.

How Titus *was sent by his father against the Iewes.*

WHen *Vespasian* came vnto Alexandria, newes were brought vnto him what was done at Rome. And Embassadours came vnto him from all parts of the world to congratulate him. And although next after Rome this city was the greatest in the world, yet was it scarcely able to receiue the people that came thither vnto him. *Vespasian* now beeing established Emperor of all the world, and the common-wealth of the Romans being contrary to his expectation freed from troubles, he now began to think vpon the reliques of Iudæa. And so he himselfe, winter being ended, prepared to go to Rome, and in the mean time he hastned to dispose of all things at Alexandria. Moreouer, he sent his son *Titus* with certain chosen men to destroy Ierusalem. Who departed from Alexandria to Nicopolis by land, which is distant from it 20. furlongs, and there he did ship his men, and so saild along the riuer Nilus by Medensia to Thmuin, and there landing his men, he cam to the city cald Tanis. And the second place he rested in was the city Heraclea, & the third Pelusiū: and there resting, & refreshing his souldiers 2. daies space, the third day he past the borders of Pelusium, and hauing gone one daies iourney through the wildernes, he pitcht his tents at the temple of *Iupiter Cassian*, & the next day at Ostracine, where there is no water, but all that the inhabitants do vse, they bring from other places. After that, he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence in 4. daies he came to Raphia, where begin the borders of Syria, & the fift day he lodged at Gaza, & from thence to Ascalon, and so to Iamnia & Ioppe, from whence he went to Cæsarea, purposing to gather the rest of the souldiers there.

Titus repaires to Ierusalem.

Titus comes to Cæsarea, & gathers his forces there.

THE

A

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

B

The Contents of the Chapters of the 6. Booke.

1 *Of three ſeditions in Ieruſalem.*
2 *How* Titus *went vnto Ieruſalem to ſee their ſtrength, and how he was in danger.*
3 *How the Iewes did iſſue out vpon the Romans pitching their Tents.*
C 4 *Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feaſt of vnleauened bread.*
5 *Of the deceit the Iewes vſed againſt the Roman ſouldiers.*
6 *The deſcription of Ieruſalem.*
7 *The Iewes refuſe to yeeld, and aſſault the Romans.*
8 *Of the fall of the tower: and how two of the vvals were won.*
9 *How* Caſtor *the Iew did flout the Romans.*
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11 *Of the mounts raiſed againſt the third vvall, and a long Oration of* Ioſeph, *perſwading the Iewes to yeeld, and of the famine vvithin the Citie.*
12 *Of the Iewes that vvere crucified, and how the towers vvere burnt.*
D 13 *How the Romans in three daies ſpace built a vval about Ieruſalem.*
14 *Of the famine in Ieruſalem: and how they built another tower or mount.*
15 *Of the maſſacre of the Iewes, both within and without the Citie.*
16 *Of the ſacrilege about the Temple: and the dead bodies that were caſt out of the Citie: and of the famine.*

CHAP. I.

E

Of the three ſorts of ſedition in Ieruſalem.

TItus being thus come out of Egypt by the deſart into Syria, he departed from thence vnto Cæſarea: for there hee purpoſed to ſet his army in order. And whileſt yet hee was with his father *Veſpaſian* at Alexandria, diſpoſing of the Empire that God had giuen him, it happened that the ſedition at Ieruſalem was diuided into three parts, whereof one fought againſt another: and one may ſay, it was a good turne that they were ſo equally diuided. Wee haue already ſufficiently declared who were the Authors and beginners of the fac-

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

A threefold ſedition in Ieruſalem.

F tion of the Zelous, whoſe tyranny ouer the Citie was the ruine thereof: and one may well call this a ſedition raiſed out of a ſedition; which, like a cruell and ſauage beaſt in penury & want of others, turned his cruelty againſt his owne bowels. So *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Simon*, who was the firſt that in the Temple diuided the Zelous from the people, faining himſelfe to bee diſpleaſed with that which *Iohn* euery day did; yet in truth, for that he enuied that a more tyrant of later time then himſelfe ſhould be his ruler, deſirous to obtaine the principality, and make himſelf mighty, he reuolted from the reſt: and with him *Iudas* the ſonne of *Chelcias* and *Simon* the ſonne of *Ezron*, two of the moſt potent amongſt them. Beſides them, was alſo *Ezechias* the ſonne of

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

Chobarus a Nobleman, and all these had many of the Zelous following them: and getting in G
possession the inner part of the Temple, they set a guard in the entrance and in the sacred gates, trusting in their abundance of all necessaries: for there was great store of sacred prouision, and they thought it no impiety to vse it; yet fearing their small number, they permitted many of the company that were killed, to remaine in the places where they were slaine. *Iohn* was superior in multitude and number, but inferiour by the inequality of the place: and hauing his enemies aboue his head, he could not without danger make incursions; and yet for anger he would not cease to persecute his enemie: notwithstanding that therby his part had more harme then those of *Eleazars* side, yet he still assaulted them though to his owne cost: thus many assaults were continually made and many darts cast, and all the temple was profaned with murders. And *Simon* the son of *Giora* (whom the people being in despaire, inuited to be their leader, in hope that he H
would haue assisted them, hauing in his hands both the higher part of the Citie, and the greater part of the lower) did now more boldly then before assault *Iohn* and his followers, because they were assailed by those aboue them: yet he being as it were beneath *Iohn* and his adhærents, hee

The fight between Iohn and Eleazar.

sustained as much losse at their hands, as *Iohn* himselfe did at theirs aboue him. So *Iohn* had double wars: and *Eleazar* harmed him because of the higher place wherein he was, so likewise did

Simon & Iohn skirmish in the temple.

he domage *Simon* for the like cause; and easily without any labour repulsed all his assaults, which he made being on the lower ground, and terrified by engines those that cast darts at him from the top of the temple: for he vsed all engines to cast darts and stones, and killed many not only of his enemies, but also of them that were offering sacrifices. For although that they were carried headlong vnto all vice, yet they permitted those that would, to offer sacrifice, watching and dili- I
gently guarding them of their nation. For the strangers that came thither for deuotion were not mistrusted: yet afterward that they had entreated these wicked people to permit them to sacrifice, they when they had done were a prey for them, and consumed by this sedition. For darts and other shot with force of the engines came into the Temple and Altar, and slew the Priest at the Altar. And many who came from the vttermost parts of the world vnto that holy place, were

Great slaughter in the temple.

slaine euen as they offered sacrifice, and so imbrued the Altar with their blood, which all the Greeks and barbarous people did reuerence: and strangers and the Priests being now profaned, were forced to be amongst the dead bodies, and the place about the Altar stood full of blood of men that were slaine. O miserable Citie! what didst thou suffer at the Romans hands, to be compared vnto this, although they entred with fire to purge thee from iniquity? For now thou wast K
no longer the house of God, neither couldest thou endure being made a Sepulchre of thine inhabitants, and hauing by thy ciuill wars made the holy Temple a graue of dead bodies. Yet maiest thou once againe come into better estate, if first thou appease Gods wrath that hath made thee desolate. But I must not giue place vnto sorrow and write a lamentation of my miserable countrey, seeing I haue vndertaken to write a Historie of all things that past there. Wherefore I will recount the residue of the impietie of these seditious.

The seditious people being diuided into three companies; *Eleazar* and his followers, who had the keeping of the holy first fruites, and all the sacred oblations, came against *Iohn*, when they were drunke. And they who followed *Iohn* spoyling the people, assaulted *Simon*, and the

Iohn assaulted on both sides.

Citie did succour *Simon*. Wherefore when *Iohn* was assaulted on both sides, hee turned some of L
his souldiers against *Simon*, and the rest against *Eleazar*: and against *Simon* he vsed darts cast from the porches of the temple: and against *Eleazar* he vsed engines for shot. And alwaies so often as they aboue his head ceased (as they often did being either weary or drunken) hee freely assaulted *Simon* and his men. Also as farre as he draue them into the Citie, so farre did he fire all, and burne houses full of corne and other necessaries: and that which he left vnburned, *Simon* at his returne (when *Iohn* was gone into the temple) set on fire: as if vpon purpose, to the great aduantage of the Roman, they had consumed all that was prouided against the siege; so did they de-

They of Ierusalem had welnie burnt all their corne.

stroy their owne forces and strength. To be short, all was consumed with fire about the temple, and the citie was made a plaine ground to fight in, and all the corne was burnt that might haue sufficed the citie many yeares, and so they were taken by famine, which they could not haue M
felt, had they themselues not caused it. The citizens were in euery place a prey vnto those that were seditious on one side, and to them that besieged the citie on the other side, and like a great bodie torne in peeces between these two. The old men and women astonished with these calamities, prayed for the good successe of the Romans, and desired some forraine warre to deliuer them from their ciuill disagreement.

A wretched calamity in Ierusalem.

And

A And forthwith great feare and terror fell vpon them all: beſides, it was no time as now to take counſel to change their mindes, nor hope of agreement or of flight to them that deſired it. For all places were kept, and the rebels within, whomſoeuer they perceiued to wiſh peaceably to the Romans, or offer to flie vnto them, they preſently killed them as their common enemies. And all theſe wicked perſons agreed in this, to wit, to put the iuſt men to death, who beſt deſerued to liue. Day and night nothing could be heard ſaue onely the noiſe of them that fought one againſt another; yet the lamentable cries of them that liued in perpetuall feare was far more miſerable, who euery day had new cauſes and occaſions of ſorrow giuen them; yt durſt they not publikely lament, for feare; and ſo not daring to ſhew their griefe, they ſecretly ſorrowed, and now no man obſerued any reuerence to them that were aliue amongſt them, nor tooke any care to bury the B dead. The cauſe of both which was, that euery man deſpaired of himſelfe. For whoſoeuer were not ioyned with the ſeditious, grew to be careleſſe of all things, as making account preſently to die a thouſand deaths. But the ſeditious gathering the dead bodies vpon heapes, continued their fighting, and troad vpon them; and as it were encouraging themſelues by the dead vnder their feet, they became more cruell, ſtill deuiſing one pernicious practice or other, and preſently executing whatſoeuer they deuiſed without any commiſeration, omitting no way to murther, and leauing no tyranny vnattempted: ſo that *Iohn* abuſed the holy things of the temple to make engines of warre. For before time when the Prieſts and people had determined to vnderprop the temple and build it twenty cubits higher, King *Agrippa* with great coſt and charges brought them very goodly timber ſufficient for their purpoſe from moun Libanus. And this C worke being preuented by wars, *Iohn* took them, and ſeeing them fit for his purpoſe, he erected a tower to fight againſt thoſe that aſſaulted him from off the temple; which hee built along the wall ouer againſt the chapter houſe, that ſtandeth on the Weſt ſide of the temple: for he could build it in no other place, by reaſon that all other places were filled with ſtaires. And hauing thus impiouſly prouided engines, he hoped hereby to deſtroy his enemies. But God ſhewed his labour to be in vaine, and before he could preuaile againſt them, he brought the Romans againſt the Citie.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Lamentation and mourning in Ieruſalem.

The cruelty of the ſeditious in Ieruſalem.

Iohn made vſe of the wood that was kept for holy vſes to make engines of.

For after that *Titus* had now gathered together part of his army, and by writing appointed the reſt to meet him at Ieruſalem, hee departed from Cæſarea, hauing three legions that lately vnder the conduct of his father *Veſpaſian* had waſted all Iudæa, and the twelfth legion that ſome- D time vnder *Ceſtius* were ouercome, and put to flight by the Iewes: who though they were otherwiſe valiant enough, yet they deſired to fight againſt the Iewes to reuenge themſelues for that diſgrace. *Titus* commanded the fift legion to meet him at Ieruſalem, and goe by Emmaus, and that the tenth legion ſhould march by Iericho: the reſt he took with himſelf accompanied with the Kings forces that came to help him, hauing now more help then before, and many alſo out of Syria. *Titus* alſo brought men with him to ſupply the number that was wanting, being ſent by *Veſpaſian* with *Mutianus* into Italy: for hee brought 2000. choſen men from the legions at Alexandria, and 3000. followed him from Euphrates, together with *Tiberius Alexander* his chiefeſt friend, and one next him in moſt authority, who before was gouernour of Egypt, and as then E thought a fit man worthy to be gouernour of the army; for that he was the firſt that did entertaine the Emperour being new elected, who faithfully ioyned with *Veſpaſian*, though yet hee knew not what ſucceſſe he ſhould haue: and hee was preſent with him in all his affaires as his chiefeſt counſeller, renowmed both for his wiſdome and experience.

The order of Titus army.

CHAP. II.

How Titus *went to Ieruſalem to ſee their ſtrength, and how hee was in great danger.*

F *Titus* being now to go into the country of the enemy, cauſed all thoſe that came to helpe him to march in the foremoſt place: after whom followed they that were to mend the waies, and to pitch the tents: and after them they which carried the baggage of the rulers and gouernours of his army, and with them the armed ſouldiers. Next after theſe came *Titus* himſelfe accompanied with choſen men, and with him many that bare his colours: next, the horſmen going immediately before the engines. And the Prefects and Tribunes with certaine choſen men, & their companies followed. After them the Eagle with many other enſignes: and the trumpets went before them. And after them followed the army marching ſix in a rank: then the multitude of ſeruants that followed euery legion did driue their baggage before them: laſtly

Titus cometh to Iudæa.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth 72.

came the hirelings and those that were appointed to guard them. Marching in such comely and warlike maner, as the Romans are wont, he came by Samaria into Gophna, which place was already conquered by his father, & then also was vnder the custody of the Roman garrisons. And staying there one night, he departed from thence the next day: and after a daies iourney he pitched his tents in a place which in the Iewes language is called Acãthonaulona, that is, the valley of thorns, neere vnto a village named Gabath Saul, which signifieth the valley of Saul, which is almost 30. furlongs from Ierusalem. From thence accompanied with 600. chosen horsemen, he went to Ierusalem, to view how strong it was, and of what courage the Iewes were, to see if peraduenture at sight of him they would yeeld without any further war, for feare. For *Titus* vnderstood (& it was true) that the people desired peace, but they were oppressed by the seditious, and so durst not attempt any thing, being not able to encounter or resist the rebels. *Titus* riding along the high way that went straight to the wals, saw no man all the way: but turning aside towards the tower Psephinos with his horsmen, an infinite number presently issued out by the towers of women, at a gate opposite to *Helens* toombe; and brake his ranke of horsmen into two parts, and opposed themselues, hindring those horsmen that were yet in the high way, to come and ioine with the rest that had crost the way, and so did single out *Titus* accompanied only with a few men. So hee could go no further for the ditch of the towne wall on one side, and for the garden pales on the other side: and there was no hope for him to returne vnto his souldiers, the enemies being between him and home. And many of his souldiers not knowing their Generall to be in any danger, but supposing him to haue been amongst them still, fled away. *Titus* seeing that he had onely his owne valour to trust vnto, turned his horse against his enemies, and with a loud voyce exhorted his followers to do the like, and so hee brake violently into the midst of them, hasting to get vnto his company. It was euident at that time that God giueth the victory, and hath a particular care of Kings and Princes and Emperors. For notwithstanding that an infinit number of darts and arrowes were shot at *Titus*, and he had no armour at all (for as we haue already said, he came to espy & not to fight) yet had he not one wound, but all past him; as though purposely euery one had striuen to haue mist him. But *Titus* with his sword made way, and cut many vpon the face that opposed themselues against him, and so they falling downe he with his horse past ouer them. The Iewes seeing *Titus* his valour, cried and exhorted one another to set vpon him; but whithersoeuer he turned, the Iews fled, and would not abide by it: likewise those souldiers that were in the like danger with him, came of either side him & behinde him. For no man had any hope to saue his life, but onely by making themselues way with *Titus* before they were so enclosed & oppressed. So, of two of the most valiant amongst them one was slaine, and his horse likewise: the other was slaine, and his horse taken by the Iewes. And *Titus* with the rest of his followers came safe into the camp. And the Iewes getting the first victory, rashly took courage, & that encouragement being of moment, made them very confident a long time after.

Titus repaires to Ierusalem to sound the dispositions of the people.

Titus in danger.

Titus fighteth valiantly with his enemies.

Titus putteth his enemies to flight, and returnes in safety to his camp

CHAP. III.

How the Iewes did issue out vpon the Romans pitching their tents.

SO soone as the legion that was to passe by Ammaus, was ioyned to the rest of the armie that night, *Cæsar* presently the next morning remooued, and came to Scopos, where hee might perfectly view the Citie and the temple on the North part, where the ground adioyning vnto the Citie is very low, and is properly called Scopos, being distant seuen furlongs from the Citie: and there *Titus* commanded two legions to encamp themselues, and the fift legion to retire three furlongs off, to the intent that the souldiers who were wearied with trauailing all night, might entrench themselues without fear or danger. No sooner had they begun their worke, but presently the tenth legion came, who were to passe by Iericho, which *Vespasian* had already subdued, and had placed there a garrison. This legion was commanded to encampe six furlongs from Ierusalem, neer mount Oliuet, which is opposite to the East part of the Citie, and is enclosed with a deep valley called Cedron. This great and huge army so suddenly arriuing, presently staied the warres within the Citie: and these three sects of seditious people beholding with admiration the Romans campe, became friends, and made agreement amongst themselues. They beganne also to question one with another what fury caused them to suffer themselues to be enclosed with three wals, to their preiudice and losse of their liues; and seeing such preparation of wars towards, that they should be as it were beholders of that which was done

Titus campe was 7. stades off the citie.

The seditious agree among themselues.

A done, keeping themſelues quiet; and not prouiding to reſiſt the aſſaults of their enemies: and ſome cried, we are only valiant againſt our ſelues, and we by our ſedition maſſacring one another ſhall betray our citie into the Romans hands. *The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.*

Thus they being aſſembled together, exhorted one another: and preſently arming themſelues, they iſſued out of the citie, and aſſaulted the tenth legion, and with a huge cry ſet vpon the Romans that were entrenching themſelues in the valley. The Romans being euery one appointed to do ſome buſineſs for the furtherance of that work, and for that cauſe the moſt of them hauing laid down their weapons (for they thought the Iews durſt not haue made any excurſions, and although they would, that yet they were hindred being at variance among themſelues) they were troubled aboue meaſure, and preſently leauing the work, ſome fled; many arming themſelues to *The Citizens aſſaile the Romans.*

B fight, were ſlain before they were prepared to reſiſt. The multitude of the Iews was daily increaſed, becauſe that at the firſt they got the vpper hand, & notwithſtanding their number was ſmal, yet did they think themſelues many: and ſo did the Romans think them to be, becauſe of their good fortune. The Romans who were alwaies wont to obſerue military diſcipline and order, at that time by their ſudden aſſaulting, were ſo troubled, that they obſerued no order, and ſo fled: yet whenſoeuer they turned againe vpon them that followed them, they eaſily wounded the Iewes; partly becauſe that they were ſo earneſt, that they did not greatly ſeeke to defend themſelues, and alſo they did eaſily ſtay the Iewes from purſuing them. Yet the number of them that purſued them ſtil increaſing, they were alſo more troubled, & ſo at laſt forced to forſake the field, and leaue their tents: and the whole legion had bin in greater danger, had not *Titus* hauing pre- *The Iewes driue the Romans from their campe.*

C ſent newes hereof ſpeedily came & ſuccoured them, and vpbraiding their cowardlineſs recalled them from flight; who with them, and the choſen men hee brought, encountring the Iewes on one ſide, he ſlew many of them, and wounded diuers, and put the reſt to flight, & forced them into the valley. The Iewes being now in the lower ground, and hauing endured much at the Romans hands, ſince fortune frowned vpon them, turned again, & hauing the valley between them, they fought with the Romans. And thus the fight continued till the midſt of the day.

A little after midday *Titus* guarding the reſt with thoſe that he brought to ſuccour them, and placing others, to preuent the excurſions of the Iewes, hee commaunded the reſt to entrench themſelues in the top of the mountaine. The Iewes thought the Romanes had fled, and their ſentinell vpon their wals making a ſigne vnto them by ſhaking his garment vp and down, a great *The fight of the Iewes with the Romans.*

D multitude of them ran ſo violently vpon the Romans, as though they had been ſauage beaſts, ſo that none of their enemies were able to withſtand them; but as though they had beene ſtricken with ſome engine, ſo all of them were diuerſly ſcattered and forced to flie into the mountaine. But *Titus* in the midſt of the ſide of the mountaine remained alone, hauing but a few with him; notwithſtanding his friends, who for the loue they bare to their Emperour, ſtayed with him, and abode the danger, did earneſtly perſwade him to flie from the Iewes, who deſperately ranne vpon their owne deaths, and not to endanger himſelfe for them, who ought rather to abide it then he: And that he ſhold think vpon his own eſtate, who was not a ſoldier, but general of them all, and Lord of the whole world, and that he ſhould not abide when all others fled ſo faſt, and in *The Romans are diſperſed by the Iewes, and driuen to the mountain.*

E ſuch danger. But he made as though he heard them not, and oppoſed himſelfe againſt them that offered to aſſault him, ſtriking them vpon the faces, and killing them that made reſiſtance, and hee purſued them downe the hill, and ſo forced them to retire. The Iewes amazed at his valour, did not yet flie into the citie, but auoided him on both ſides, and fled into the valley: then againe purſuing them that fled from them, yet *Titus* croſſing them as they went hindered their purſuit. In the meane time thoſe that were encamping themſelues aboue, ſeeing them beneath put to flight, were diſcomfited, and all fled, thinking that they were not able to reſiſt the Iewes, and imagining that *Titus* was likewiſe fled: for had they thought that he had ſtaied by it, they neuer would haue forſaken their quarters; yet being now terrified they knew not wherefore, ſome fled one way, and ſome another without any order, till ſome ſeeing the Emperour in the midſt of *Titus valour againſt the Iewes.*

F the battell, and fearing the miſchance that might betide him, they with loud cries ſignified it vnto the whole legion. Then the Romans turning again for ſhame, and accuſing themſelues guilty of a great offence in forſaking their Emperour amidſt ſuch danger, came with all the violence they could vſe againſt the Iewes, and driuing them down the mountaine, forced them to retire; yet the Iewes fought flying, and ſeeing the Romans to haue the vpper hand of them, becauſe they were vpon higher ground, they departed into the valley. *Titus* aſſaulted them that were oppoſite againſt him, and ſo commanded the reſt to go and finiſh their trenches. And hee with thoſe that before were with him to defend the workmen, did now alſo keep the Iewes from mo- *Feare & trouble among the Romans.* *The Iewes fight in their retreat, & are driuen vnto the valley.*

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lesting them. So if I may speake without flatterie or enuy, *Cæsar* himselfe did twice preserue the whole legion from destruction, and gaue the souldiers opportunity to entrench themselues. G

CHAP. IIII.

Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feast of vnleauened bread.

DVring the intermission of the forraine wars, they fel to their former sedition again, which caused ciuill wars among them. And against the feast of vnleauened bread, which is the 14. day of Aprill (for vpon this day the Iewes say that they were deliuered out of the bondage of Egypt) *Eleazar* & his companions opened the gates, to the intent that all that would might come in to adore & do their deuotion. But *Iohn* vsed this festiuall day as a means to effect his deceit; and caused many of his company that were vnknown, to enter in among the people with weapons vnder their garments, giuing them charge when they were within, to get possession of the temple: and so soon as they were within, they cast off their garments, & shewed thē-selues to be in armour. Presently a great tumult arose within the temple: for all the people that were not of the sedition thought themselues betraied: and the Zelous thought this treason only practiced to preiudice them: and so leauing the gate which before they kept, and leaping down from the towers, they neuer offering to fight, fled into the vaults about the temple. And the people flocking about the altar, & others who were driuen into the temple, were killed with clubs and swords, and so troden vpon. And many were slain vpon priuate hatred, vnder pretence to be partakers with the enemies. And whosoeuer before time had offended any of those traitors, he was put to death, as though he had beene one of the Zelous. But they who had cruelly raged against the innocent, let the wicked haue leasure to escape out of those caues, whereby they had no harme: and hauing gotten the inner part of the temple, and all belonging therunto, they did now more confidently then before fight against *Simon*: and thus the sedition that was before diuided into three parts, was now brought only into two. *Titus* being desirous to bring his army neerer the citie, sent a certain number of horsmen & foot, which he thought sufficient to hinder all excursions of the Iewes from Scopos, and another company he sent to plaine all the grounds betwixt him and Ierusalem: who cutting down all hedges & pales, and fences, & wood (though they were fruit trees) filled the vallies and made it all plain ground: and hewing down all stones that standing vp made the ground vnequall, they plained all that ground from Scopos euen vnto *Herods* monument, which adioyned to the lake of Serpents called sometime Bethora:

Iohn entreth and seiseth the inward thmple and al the furniture thereof, putteth the Zelous to flight, and raiseth a mighty sedition.

A threefold sedition diuided into two parts.

Whatsoeuer about Ierusalē is hollow or troubled with vallies is filled vp.

H I K L

CHAP. V.

Of the deceit the Iewes vsed against the Roman souldiers.

ABout this time the Iewes deuised this stratagem against the Romans. The most courageous among the seditious people went out vnto the places called the womens towers, & counterfeited thēselues to be driuen thither by them within the citie that desired peace; and for that they feared the Romans, they were come thither to hide themselues one behind another: others standing on the wals, and counterfeiting themselues to be the citizens, with loud cries desired peace, and a league of friendship; promising to set the citie gates open, and inuiting the Romans to enter: and crying thus they also cast stones against their countrimen before spoken of, as though they did driue them from the gates; and they made as though they would by force break through the people, and come to the gates, partly by force, partly by entreating the people to permit them. And making many offers to go vnto the Romans, they turned again like men troubled in minde, and studying what to doe. The Roman souldiers did not perceiue their subtle meaning; who seeing the seditious ready to fal into their hands, that so they might punish them, and seeing the people (as they thought) ready to open the gates vnto them, would in post haste haue gone vnto the citie. But *Titus* suspected some deceit coloured with this kind inuiting him to enter, because he did not see any reason for it. For the day before hauing by *Ioseph* offered them a peace, hee vnderstood that their minds were farre from any peaceable cogitations: wherefore he now commanded the souldiers to keep their quarters and not to remooue; yet some of them, appointed to worke in the trenches, taking their weapons ran vnto the gates, and the Iewes who seemed to bee driuen out of the citie first fled; at last when they came vnto the

The alacrity of the soldiers among the Romans, contrary to Titus ordinance.

M

gates

A gates of the towers, they incloſed the Romans round about, and aſſaulted them vpō their backs: and they that were vpon the wals did caſt all kinde of darts and ſtones vpon them: ſo that they ſlew many, and wounded very many; for it was not eaſie to eſcape from the wals, others being behind them, and offering them violence. Moreouer, they were aſhamed that their captains had ſo offended, and in fear for their offence cōmitted, both which cauſed them ſtil to perſeuer in it. And after a long conflict receiuing many wounds, and giuing as many, at laſt they put them to flight that encloſed them, and ſo the Iewes departed, and followed them to *Herods* monument, purſuing them with darts. And then the Iewes returned reioycing in their good fortune; and deriding the Romans for beeing ſo deceiued, lifted vp their ſhields and bucklers, ſhouting and reioycing.

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The victory of the Iewes.

B The Roman ſouldiers were receiued of their Captaines with threatnings, and of *Cæſar* with this ſpeech: The Iewes led onely with deſperation do all things with aduice and counſel, deuiſing deceits; and fortune fauoureth their practices becauſe they are ordered, and truſty to one another. And now the Romans, whom for their obedience and diſcipline fortune was wont to fauour, do contrariwiſe offend herein, and for their raſh and vnaduiſed fighting are ouercome: & which is worſt of all, in *Cæſars* preſence offring to fight without their Captains. Truly the military law & diſcipline will be grieu'd hereat, and my father very ſorrowfull to heare of this. For he who from his infancy vnto old age, hath been trained vp in armes, yet did he neuer offend in this ſort; and what ſhall wee ſay to our law that puniſheth the leaſt offences againſt them committed with death, when our whole army doth diſobey their Emperors command? But (quoth C he) they who ſo arrogantly haue diſobeied our cōmand, ſhall preſently vnderſtand, that among the Romans, victory againſt the Generals command is an infamy. *Titus*, hauing thus ſpoken in anger to the Captaines, euidently declared to them what and how hee purpoſed to puniſh them. And they preſently deſpaired, as though by and by they were iuſtly condemned to dy. But all the other legions flocking about *Titus*, beſought him to pardon their fellow ſouldiers, and to remit the offence of the raſhnes of ſome few, for the obedience ſake of all the reſt: affirming that their future valor ſhould be a ſufficient recompence for this their offence. *Cæſar* was now pacified, partly thinking what was moſt profitable, partly for the intreaty of the reſt: for he purpos'd to puniſh one man only, and to rebuke the reſt, and ſignifie to them his diſpleaſure, and ſo he was reconciled to his ſouldiers, ſtraightly charging them to be wiſer hereafter: and after, he deuiſed D now to be reuenged on the Iewes for this deceit. When all the ground between the wals of Ieruſalem and his army was in 4. daies made plaine, *Titus* being deſirous ſafely to conduct the baggage and the reſt of the mulittude in ſafety, he placed the ſtrongeſt of all his ſouldiers euery one in his rank ſeuen by ſeuen, and cauſed them to march from the North part of the City vnto the Weſt, all along without the City wals, placing the footmen in the forefront, and in the laſt place the horſemen three in a rank, and between them both the Archers. So the Iewes not able now to make any excurſions, *Titus* ſouldiers being thus diſpoſed of, the baggage of the three legions and the multitude paſſed along without any danger. And *Titus* himſelfe being now within two furlongs of the City wals, pitched his tent againſt that corner of the wall that is called Pſephinos, where the compaſſe of the wall from the North bends into the Weſt: the other part of the ar- E my entrenched themſelues againſt that part of the wall that is cald Hippicos, diſtant in like maner two furlongs from the City. But the tenth legion remained ſtill in mount Oliuet where it was before.

Cæſars ſharp oration to his ſouldiers.

The Roman ſouldiers beſeech Titus for their fellowes in armes.

How and in what places Titus beſieg'd Ieruſalem.

CHAP. VI.

The deſcription of Ieruſalem.

F THE City was compaſſed with a threefould wall on euery ſide, ſaue onely on that part where it was incloſed with vallies inacceſſible: for on that ſide it had only one wal. It was built vpon two little hils, one of them beeing oppoſite vnto another, and ſeparated one from another with a vally, which was wonderfully repleniſhed with houſes. One of theſe hils whereon ſtandeth the vpper part of the city, is farre higher and ſteeper then the other, inſomuch that becauſe of the ſtrēgth of it, King *Dauid* in times paſt called it a Caſtle. (This *Dauid* was the father of king *Salomon*, who firſt builded the Temple in that place) but wee at this day cal it the high market place. The other hil cald Acra, is the place wher the lower part of the city ſtands. Oppoſite againſt this hill, there was alſo another lower then this Acra was, which was firſt diuided from it with a large vally, but afterward at ſuch time as the Aſmoneans raigned

The treble wal of Ieruſalem.

The Caſtle of Dauid.

Acra ſuſtaines the lower part of the City.

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raigned they did fill vp this vallie,to the intent they might ioyne the City vnto the Temple,and G
cut downe the top of Acra,and ſo made it lower,that it might not hide the temple. The valley,
by which we haue ſaid the two higher hils are ſeparated one from another,is called Tyropœon,
and reacheth vnto Siloa (which is a fountaine abounding with ſweet water.) Without the city
were two hils compaſſed with deep vallies:and being encloſed with high rockes, they were on
euery ſide inacceſſible. The moſt ancient of the three wals, by reaſon of the vallie about it, and
the hill whereupon it ſtood,could not eaſily be taken : and beſide the opportunity of the place,
it was very ſtrongly built,at the coſt and charges of *Dauid*,*Salomon* and other kings. This wall,
beginning at the tower called Hippicos,reacheth to that called Xyſtus,and afterward being ioi-
ned vnto the Palace,it endeth in the Weſt porch of the temple : on the other ſide towards the
Weſt it begins at the ſame tower; and paſſing by the place that is called Betiſo, it deſcends vnto H
the gate of the Eſſeans, and ſo into the South, and from thence againe it bendeth into the Eaſt,
where alſo is *Salomons* pond, and reacheth vnto the place called Ophlas, where it is ioined vnto
the Eaſt porch of the temple. The ſecond wall beginneth at the gate that is called Genath,which
is a gate of the former wall, and it onely compaſſeth the North part of the city, and reacheth to
Antonia, a Caſtle ſo called. The third wall beginneth at the tower Hippicos, from whence it
goeth into the North part, and from thence it commeth vnto the tower Pſephina, ouer againſt
the Sepulchre of *Helena* that was Queene of Adiabena, and mother of king *Izates*: and paſſing a-
long by the kings caues, it turneth towards the tower neere the monument of *Fullo*, and in the
vallie called Cedron it ioyneth with the old wall. *Agrippa* compaſſed that part of the Citie that
he built with this wal,it being before all open without defence. For the city grew ſo populous, I
that by little and little they were forced to inhabite ſome part without the wals : and this wall
reacheth a great way, being ioined vnto the hill next the city on the North ſide of the Temple.
There was alſo a fourth hill inhabited, named Bezetha, ſituate againſt Antonia, but ſeparated
from it with very deep ditches, which were made of purpoſe, leſt that the foundation of Anto-
nia being ioined vnto it, it might be eaſier to come vnto, and ſeeme lower : for the deepenes of
the ditch maketh the tower ſeeme much higher then otherwiſe it would. This place beeing ad-
ded vnto the City, is called in that countrey language Bezetha, which ſignifieth the new City.
And the Inhabitants deſiring that part to be fortified, *Agrippa*, father to this *Agrippa* that finiſht
the wal,did begin that wall afore mentioned : and fearing leſt *Claudius Cæſar*,hearing how ſump-
tuous a wall he built,ſhould miſtruſt that he purpoſed to reuolt, he onely laid the foundation of K
it, and ſo left it vnfiniſhed.

The ſecond wall.

The third wal.

Bezetha the fourth hil.

Agrippas coſt in building the wall.

For the city could neuer haue been taken by force, if he had finiſht that wall as he began it, it
being built with ſtones 20.cubits long,and 10.cubits broad,which could neither eaſily bee vn-
dermined,nor battered with engines : and this wall was built ten cubits high, and no doubt had
been raiſed higher,had not his liberality who began this building been hindered. Yet againe by
the Iewes induſtry the ſame wall was raiſed 20.cubits high,the battlements hereof were two cu-
bits high,and the tower 3.cubits,and in all it was 24.cubits high,as before. Vpon the wall were
three towers 20.cubits broad,and 20.cubits high,built foure-ſquare very ſtrongly,and was buil-
ded of as firme a foundation as the wal it ſelfe,which for the building and faire ſtone was not in-
feriour to the temple aboue. Within this ſtrong tower,which reached twenty cubits high,were L
roomes for men to dwell in,and ciſternes to receiue raine-water,and large turning ſtaires to goe
into euery place there : and this third wall had fourſcore and ten of theſe towers, and between
euery tower were two hundred cubites ſpace. The middle wall had fourteene towers, and the
old wall had threeſcore,and the compaſſe of the whole city was three and thirty furlongs. And
although the third wall was admirable , yet the tower of Pſephina,which was built vpon a cor-
ner of the wall, betweene the North and the Weſt part of the city, had a certaine excellencie of
more wonder, againſt which part *Titus* had encamped himſelfe : for it was ſeuenty cubits high,
ſo that from thence vpon a cleere Sunſhine day, one might diſcouer Arabia, and ſee the vtter-
moſt parts of all the dominions of the Hebrewes vnto the ſea,and it had eight corners. Iuſt op-
poſite to this was the tower Hippicos,and neere vnto it were other two,that king *Herod* builded M
vpon the ould wall,which in bigneſſe,beauty and ſtrength,did ſurpaſſe all others in the whole
world.

The third wall had 90 towers.

Pſephina was 70 cubites hie.

For king *Herod*, beſides his naturall liberality and deſire to adorne this City, did alſo for his
owne pleaſure ſo beautifie this building, that it might excell all other , and dedica ed them to
three moſt renownd perſonages, whoſe names they alſo did bear,to wit,to his brother,his friend
and to his wife,ſhe being(as is aforeſaid)put to death for iealouſie; the other two being ſlain in

Herod called three towers by the names of three his moſt deereſt friends.

warres

A warres after they had fought valiantly. The tower Hippicos cald by the name of his friend had foure corners, and euery one of them were fiue and twenty cubites broad, and as many in length, and thirty cubites in height, beeing in no place hollow: and aboue the high places and stone-worke there was a well to receiue raine-water, twenty cubites deepe: and aloft of it were houses with double roofes twenty fiue cubites high, and diuided into many roomes: and aboue them were batlements two cubits high, and turrets three cubites high: so that the whole height was accounted to be fourscore and fiue cubits. The second tower that by his brothers name he called Phasaelus, was in breadth and length forty cubits, and so many cubites high, in figure of a square pillar, all which height was solid, and not hollow within: and aboue this a porch tenne cubites high, decked with turrets and pinnacles. Ouer the midst of this porch he built another
B tower distinguished into goodly roomes & sumptuous bathes, that it should not want any thing necessary for a prince: on the toppe it was beautified with turrets and pinnacles; so that all his height was almost fourscore and ten cubits: And it resembled the tower Pharus at Alexandria, wherein continuall light is kept to guide the seamen that sail thither, sauing that it had a greater compasse then it. And in this house now at this time did *Simon* lodge, who tyrannized ouer the people. The third tower was, according to the Queenes name, called *Mariamme*, the wife of *Herod*, twenty cubites high, all solid, and other twenty cubites broad, hauing more magnificent and beautifull houses and lodgings then the rest. For the king so thought it meet, that the tower called by his wiues name, should be more beautifull then they who only bare the names of other men, like as they were stronger then this that bare the name of a woman. This tower was in all
C 55. cubits high.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

Hippicos 85. cubits high.

Phasaelus 90. cubits high.

Mariamme a goodly tower 55. cubits high

Notwithstanding these three towers were of such height, yet by reason of their situation they seemed far higher: for the ould wall whereupon they were built was placed vpon high ground, and the toppe of the hill whereupon they stood was aboue thirty cubites high, whereby their height was much increased. The greatnesse also was admirable; for it was not ordinary stone which men might beare, but all white marble, whereof euery stone was twenty cubits long, and ten cubites broad, and fiue cubites thicke: and they were so coupled one to another, that euery stone by it selfe seemed a tower; and so cunningly conioyned by workemens hands, that euery tower seemed one stone. And these were placed on the North side of the City; and adioining to them within the City, was situated the kings palace, surpassing all that can bee spoken of it:
D which for greatnes and excellent worke may be compared to all that were in the world. It was compassed about with a wall thirty cubits high, and adorned with goodly towers round about, euery one of like distance from other; beautified with dwelling houses and lodgings for a hundreth of the Nobility. The variety of the marble it was built withall, was admirable, all sorts being there vsed that were neuer so rare to be found: and the tops of these houses for the length of the beames and the beauty thereof passed all credit; and the multitude of roomes and diuersity of buildings, all filled and adorned with housholde stuffe and furniture. And in euery roome there were many vessels of gold and siluer, and many porches round about, one answerable vnto another, and pillars in euery one. And there were many pleasant walkes repleniſhed with diuers
E trees, and many walking places or allies, all beset with conduits that spouted vp water on high, and cisternes full of brazen images, from which ran out water: and about the water many doue-houses full of tame pigeons. But it is impossible sufficiently to declare the riches and beauty of the kings palace; and a griefe to thinke what goodly things, and how rich the theeues did there set on fire: for these things were not burnt by the Romans, but by the seditious theeues (as is before said) at the beginning of this rebellion, who consumed all with fire, euen from the Castle Antonia from whence the fire came, and destroied the kings palace, and the couers and tops of the three towers. The temple was, as is before said, built vpon a hard mountaine, and at the first the Plaine vpon the toppe thereof was scarcely bigge enough to contain it and the temple yard, the hill beeing very steep. But when king *Salomon*, who also built the temple, had compassed
F the East part thereof with a wall, he also placed a porch vpon the rampire, and so for many ages
M after, it lay vnfenst on other parts: wherfore the people euery day bringing earth thither, at last made it plaine and large enough: and breaking down the North wal, they took in all that space which the temple hath continually occupied euen vntill now: and the hill being now enclosed with a threefold wall, it was a worke passing all expectation in building. To the effecting whereof many ages were spent, and all the holy treasure offred to God, euen from all parts of the world, was employed therein, as well in the buildings of the higher as of the lower part of the temple, the foundations whereof were laid three hundreth cubites deep, and in many places more: yet could

The kings palace.

The kings palace burnt by the theeues & rebels.

The temple built vpon a most strong hill.

All the sacred treasures spent in the building of the temple.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth 72.

could not all the height of the foundations be seen, being now buried in vallies that were filled vp to make them equall with the straight streets of the City. The stones of this building were of forty cubits: for the abundance of treasure and liberality of the people did effect that which was scarcely possible: and that which all men thought could neuer haue come to passe, in time and by industry came to perfection. G

The porches were built of white marble stone sustaind by pillars.

The building was answerable vnto these foundations. For all the porches were double, and euery one was supported by pillars, each of them being fiue and twenty cubits high, and all of one piece and of white marble: the top wherof was all of Cedar, whose naturall beauty for the good conioyning of this wood & polishing thereof, did astonish all that beheld it, being adorned neither with painting nor carued workes. These porches were thirty cubites broad: and the compasse of them altogether, with the fort of Antonia, was 6. furlongs. All the ground whereon stood no building was curiously wrought & paued with al sorts of stones. The way to the secõd temple was all enclosed with stones of lattice work, which were three cubits high, & most beautifully wrought along: in which place also were placed certain pillars equally distant one from another, to shew the law of purification; some being written vpon in Latine letters, other some in Greek, forbidding all strangers to enter into the holy place: for the second temple is called the holy place. To go vnto the second from the first, one must passe vp fourteene staires, and it was foursquare aloft, and enclosed with a wal by it selfe; whose outside being forty cubits high, was all couered with staires to ascend vp into it; and within, it was fiue and twenty cubits high: for all the part of the inner side was vnseen, because it was built on the descent of a hil. After the fourteene staires there was a Plaine made leuell with the wall of three hundreth cubites: from thence passed on fiue other staires which lead vnto the gates, whereof on the North side and the South there were eight, foure on each side, and two on the East. For it was necessary that there should be a peculiar place for womẽ to exercise their deuotion in, which also was inclosed with a wal. And so it was necessary there should be two doors: and against the first gate there was opposite vnto it one gate on the North side, & another on the South, both separated from the rest, wherby one entred the place allotted for women; for it was not lawfull for any to passe by any other gate vnto the women, neither could they go beyond their own door, because of the wall: for that place was common both to the women of that nation, and also to all strange women that came for religion sake. There was no gate on the West part, but a wall that reached all along in that place. Between the gates were porches opposite one against another, reaching from the wall vnto the treasure house, supported with great and goodly pillars, being as plain and fully as bigge as they belowe. The gates were couered with gold and siluer, as also the posts and foreparts thereof were, one onely excepted that was couered with Corinthian brasse, far surpassing in beauty the other that were couered with siluer and gold. In euery gate there were two doores, each one thirty cubites high, and fifteene cubites broad: and after the entrance where they were made larger, euery one had on each side seats thirty cubites long, and large like a tower, and forty cubites high, each one supported with two pillars twelue cubites thick. And all other gates were of like greatnes; but that which was couerd with Corinthian brasse, which was the entrance into the place allotted for the women, & opened into the East gate of the temple, doubtlesse was bigger then the rest: for it was fifty cubites high (the gates whereof were forty cubits) and was more richly adorned then the rest: for the couer of gold & siluer was thicker then it was in the rest, which *Alexander Tiberius* his father had melted, to couer all the nine gates. And there were fifteene staires, that went from the wall that separated the women, vnto the great gate of the temple: for these staires were shorter by fiue degrees, then those that went to other gates. The temple it selfe was situated in the midst of all, to wit, the holy Sanctuarie, and had twelue staires to goe vnto it. The forepart whereof was in height and breadth a hundreth cubits: and behinde, it was forty cubits outright: and before, it was as it were two shoulders on each side rising vp in height twenty cubits. The first gate hereof was seuenty cubits high, and twenty fiue wide, and had no doore: for it signified that heauen was spred all ouer & might be seen in euery place: and all the foreparts were gilded with gold, and all the first building did appeare and might be seene without, and all that was within and about the gate glistered with gold. The inner part thereof was diuided into two rooms, whereof onely the first roome might bee seene, which was in height fourescore and ten cubites, and in length forty, and in breadth twenty. The inner gate was (as is already said) all gilded with gold, and all the wall about it, and aboue it: it had a golden vine, whereon were hanging clusters of grapes all of gold, euery cluster beeing as long as a man is high. And because the height was seeled aboue, the inner

A peculiar place destinated for women for religion sake.

Some of the gates were of gold, some of siluer, and one of Corinthian brasse.

The sacred Sanctuary.

H I K L M

temple

A temple did ſeeme to be lower then it was without, and it had golden gates 55. cubites high, and 16. cubits broad. *The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.*

It had hangings alſo of the ſame length, which was a Babylonian vail, all wrought with violet and purple ſilk and ſcarlet, admirable to behold: the permixtion of which colours had a myſtical meaning, bearing as it were the ſignification of the whole world. For the ſcarlet doth ſeem to expreſſe the fire, the ſilk ſignifieth the earth, the violet ſheweth the aire, and the purple declares the ſea, partly in their colors reſembling them, partly alſo as hauing their beginning from them: for the purple is ingendred in the ſea, and the ſilk is produced by the earth. In this tapeſtry work was curiouſly wrought and deciphered all the ſpeculations of the heauens, onely the celeſtiall ſignes excepted. Being entred within, you com into a lower place of the tẽple, which was three- *The Babylonian vaile of admirable workmanſhip. The ſignification of the vail*

B ſcore cubits high, and as many in length, and twenty in breadth. Againe, this place was diuided into two, whereof the firſt part contained forty cubits, hauing in it three moſt admirable things, and famous throughout the world, to wit, a candleſtick, a table, and the altar of incenſe: vpon the candleſticke ſeuen lampes were placed, which ſignified the ſeuen planets (for ſo many did there come all out of one ſtemme of the candleſticke) vpon the table were ſtanding twelue loaues of bread, ſignifying the twelue celeſtiall ſignes, and reuolution of the yeare. By the altar of incenſe, out of which proceeded thirteen odours, coming partly from the ſea which is vnhabitable, and partly from the earth which is inhabited, is ſignified that all things are in the hands of God, and ſubiect to yield him obedience. The inner part of the temple contained 20. cubites, which alſo was ſeparated from the other part by a vail, & nothing was within it: and this place was the ho- *Three admirable works: The candleſtick, the table and cenſer.*

C ly of holies, and no man might enter, looke into it, nor violate the ſame. On each ſide of the lower temple, there were many lodgings and doores to paſſe into, euery one of them hauing three roofes one aboue another: and there was a gate which led vnto both ſides of the temple, and vnto theſe roomes: but the higher part of the temple had not the like roomes on each ſide, and therefore it was made ſo much narrower then the other, yet was it higher then it by 40. cubits, neither was it ſo gorgeous as the lower. For the whole height was 100. cubites, and the ground thereof ſixty. The vttermoſt part was ſo curious and richly wrought, that it was vnpoſſible for any one to imagine any workmanſhip that it wanted: for it was all couerd with a maſſiue plate of pure gold, which ſhined far brighter then the morning ſunne, ſo that it dazled the eies *The outward court of the temple couered with many plates of gold.*

D of the beholders, as doth the ſun when it is gazed vpon. And a far off it ſeemd vnto ſtrangers that came thither like a white mountaine: for where the temple was not gilded with gold, there was it milk white. The top hereof was al ſet ful of rods of gold, very ſharp at the vpper end like pikes, leſt the birds ſhould come and ſit thereon, and ſo defile it: many ſtones wherewithall it was built, were fiue and forty cubites large, fiue cubits in length, and ſix cubites broad. Before the temple there ſtood an Altar fifteene cubites high, being forty cubits broad, and as many long, and foure ſquare, hauing corners made like hornes. The way to this Altar was on the South ſide, where it by little and little mounted from belowe euen vnto the Altar. This Altar was builded without yron, and neuer iron did touch it. The Temple and the Altar were encloſed with ſtone-worke, beautifull to behold, which was a cubit high ſeparating the people from the prieſts. Thoſe that were troubled with a fluxe of their ſeed, and lepers were expulſed out of the city; and women

E alſo hauing their monthly courſes, and thoſe that were not vncleane might paſſe this foreſaid limit. Likewiſe men that were not purified were not permitted to come within the inner temple; and thoſe that were, might not come among the prieſts: thoſe alſo that deſcended from the line of the prieſts, and for blindnes did not adminiſter their function, were notwithſtanding admitted into the place appointed for the reſt of the prieſts that were ſound, and had a ſhare as they had; yet did they goe attired as laymen, for onely hee that did ſacrifice might weare prieſtly attire.

The prieſts that came vnto the altar and temple had no infirmitie, and they were clothed in a fine linnen garment, and abſtained from wine, and liued in abſtinence for reuerence of religion, leſt they ſhould ſinne whilſt they offred ſacrifices. The high prieſt alſo aſcended with the prieſts *The Prieſts in the old teſtament abſtained from wine & were ſober.*

F into the temple; yet not alwaies, but euery ſeuenth day, and in the Calends of euery moneth, or on a feſtiuall celebrated according to the cuſtome of their country, or wherein all the people were preſent. And then he ſacrificed being girded with a vaile, which couered his thighes euen vnto his priuities, vnder which hee wore a linnen garment hanging downe vnto his feet, and aboue it a round violet garment all fringed at the skirts, and hanged full of goulden belles, and pomgranates of gold, firſt one & then another: the bels ſignified thunder, and the pomgranates lightning. Vpon his breaſt he wore a veſture of fiue colours; to wit, gold, purple, ſcarlet, ſilk and violet, *The hy prieſts garment.*

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

violet, which also (as we haue said) the vails of the temple were wrought withal. He had likewise G
a rotchet of the same, wherin was more gold, and in shape it was like the garment he wore on his
body down to the thighes: it was also buttoned with two golden buttons, made in the form of
Aspes, wherin was inclosed the greatest & most precious Sardonych stones that could be found,
bearing the names of the twelue tribes of Israell engrauen in them. On the other side did hang
The precious stones in the high priests garment. 12. precious stones, three and three in a rank, diuided into foure rowes. In the first was the Ruby,
the Topaze & the Emeraud: in the secõd the Carbuncle, the Iasper and the Saphire: in the third
the Agate, the Amethyst and the Diamond: in the last the Onyx, the Beryl and Chrysolite; in e-
uery one of which one name of the twelue tribes was written. Vpon his head he wore a miter
of silke, which was crowned with Hyacinth: and aloft of it was another crowne of gold, wher-
in was engrauen sacred letters, to wit, the 4. vowels. He did not alwaies vse this garment, but an H
other most commonly not so gorgeous: this he vsed when he entred into the Sanctuary, which
he did onely once euery yeere alone, none else going with him, vpon which day all the nation
was wont to fast. But wee will hereafter speak more at large of the city and temple, the lawes
and customes, the ordinances & obseruations; for these things cannot be briefly declared. The
The descriptiõ of Antonia. castle Antonia was situate in a corner of the two porches of the first temple, which looked vn-
to the West and the North: and it was built vpon a rock of stone 50. cubits high, which on eue-
ry side was inaccessible: this first was built by king *Herod*, to shew the greatnes and magnificence
of his minde. For first of all the rocke at the foot thereof was all couered with thin and slender
stones like slates, which did both adorne it, and would also easily slide downe if any one walked
vpon them. Before the battlements of the fort there was a wall 3. cubits high, within which the I
castle Antonia was built 40. cubits high, being within all furnished and contriued like the palace
of a king, hauing all kinde of houses of office, and other necessary roomes. For there were por-
ches, baths and large hals to place tents in: so that for all conuenient rooms and places it seemd
Antonia not much vnlike à city. to be a city, and for the magnificence thereof a kings palace. In outward fashion it was built like
a tower, and inuironed about with 4. other towers, at euery corne one, whereof they that were
on the South and East side were 70. cubits high, the other two were onely 50. So out of these 2.
highest one might haue a perfect view of the whole temple. Where it ioined to the porches of
the temple, there was on either side of it a paire of staires for the souldiers to come downe out of
it into the temple. For alwaies the Roman souldiers lodged there, and guarded the temple in
armour vpon festiuall daies, lest the people should attempt any rebellion or sedition. For the K
temple was as a castle to keep the town in awe, and the castle Antonia to ouerthrow the temple:
there also were placed the souldiers: likewise in *Herods* palace, which serued for a castle ouer the
higher part of the city. The hill Bezetha was diuided from the city, as is before mentioned:
which being the highest of all, was ioined to part of the new city, which did obscure the view
of the temple on the North side. And thus I haue here spoken sufficiently of the city & the wall
in this place, because we meane hereafter to describe them more at large.

CHAP. VII.

How the Iewes refused to yeeld, and how they assaulted the Romans. L

15000. follow Simõ. THe most warlike of all the people ioined with *Simon*, being in number ten thousand, be-
side the Idumæans: and those ten thousand had 50. captaines of their own fellowes, yet
all subiect vnto *Simon*. The Idumæans that tooke his part were fiue thousand, and had
ten captaines, the chiefe of whom were *Iacob*, the son of *Sosas*, and *Simon*, the sonne of *Cathla*.
And *Iohn*, who kept the temple, had sixe thousand armed men, ouer whom were twentie cap-
taines: and then there came vnto him two thousand of the Zelous, and foure hundreth, who
before had followed *Eleazar* and *Simon*, the sonne of *Iairus*. So these warring one against ano-
ther, the people was their booty, and the multitude that were not seditious as they were, was
Simons camp against Iohn. their prey. *Simon* kept the higher part of the City, and the greater wall euen vnto Cedron,
and all that part of the ould wall which is betweene Siloa and the palace of *Monobazus*, who M
was king of Adiabena, that lieth beyond the riuer Euphrates: hee also kept all the hill Acra
(which is the lower part of the city) vnto *Helenas* palace, who was *Monobazus* his mother.
But *Iohn* kept all the temple & the space about it, Ophla, and the vallie Cedron: and that which
was between these two places which *Simon* and *Iohn* kept, was all consumed with fire, and made
a place to fight in. For although the Romans tents were pitched neer vnto the wals of the citie,
yet did not this sedition cease; but hauing recouered some security a while at the Romans first
coming,

A comming presently they returned vnto their former wont. And diuiding themselues againe, euerie man fought for his owne part, doing all that the Romanes could wish to be done. For the Romanes did them no more harme then they did themselues: for after them the Citie suffered no newe calamitie, but indured farre more miserie before it was taken & destroyed by the Romans, then it did at that time. For the Romans in destroying it did rather end their misery, then bring them into it. For the seditious did take the citie, and the Romanes did ouercome and take the seditious, which was farre stronger then the walles: so that one may ascribe all their miseries to their owne nation, and equitie and iustice vnto the Romans, as euery one shall cleerely see by that which ensued.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

The seditious tooke the city & the Romans ouercame and tooke the seditious.

The citie being in the estate beforesaid, *Titus* with chosen horsemen went vp and down with-
B out it, to espy where he might most easily assault the wals. And being in doubt a long time what to doe, for that where the vallie was, footemen could not possibly get vp to it: and where it was walled, they seemed to be impossible to be battered downe with engines: At last he determined to assault it on that part, where was the monument of *Iohn* the high priest: for onely in this place the first wall was lower then in other places, and it was not compast here with the second wall, for this place was not fortified, because that those parts of the new citie were not much inhabited. So that from this place the wall might easily be assaulted: wherby *Titus* was perswaded that the higher citie, and the Temple, and Antonia, might easily be taken. As he was thus viewing the place, one of his friends called *Nicanor*, came vnto him: who was shot in the left shoulder with an arrow, because hee desired to come neere *Ioseph*, who went thither of purpose to perswade the
C Iewes which were vpon the wall to yeelde: for *Nicanor* was very eloquent. *Cæsar* perceiuing their minds, & that they would not abstaine from him, who perswaded them to that which was most expedient for them, was now moued, and began earnestly to besiege them: and so he permitted his souldiers to waste all the suburbes, and to gather all the rubbish, stones, wood, & other matter together, and made therewith a mount. And diuiding his army into three parts, hee disposed of euery one what he should do, & in the midst of all vpon the mounts he placed archers, and before them engines for shot, wherewithall he hindered the incursions of his enemies, least they should annoy the worke, & also did beate those off from the wall, who made any resistance
D from thence. And presently all trees being cut downe, the suburbes appeared naked. Whilst the Romans, hauing gathered the wood together, were busied in their worke, the Iewes were not idle: and then the people, who were troubled with murders & robberies, did hope to haue an end of their miserie, the seditious people being busied against their enemies: & they now hoped that if the Romans did ouercome, they might be reuenged vpon them. *Iohn* still kept where hee was, fearing *Simon*; yet were his followers very earnest to assault the Romans. But *Simon* beeing next vnto the siege, did not rest, but placed all along that part of the wall, men with darts, which before were taken from *Sestius* Gouernour of the Romans, and found in the Castle of Antonia. But the darts did the Iewes small pleasure, by reason that few of them knew how to vse them: onelie some who were taught by certaine that fled from the Romanes, could vse them a little. Yet did they assault the Roman souldiers that were building the mounts, vvith arrowes and stones; and also made incursions vpon them by companies, and fought with them. But the Romane worke-
E mē were defended by hurdles that were of purpose set before them: & euery legion had strange and admirable engines against the excursions of their enemies, & especially the engines that the tenth legion had to cast darts, and others that cast stones; which did not onely repulse them, by whom they were assaulted, but also those that stood vpon the wall: for euery stone was a talent vveight, and vvere shot more then a furlong, and slew not only those that they did first strike, but also many that were striken with the rebound. But the Iews alwaies espied the stones before they came (for they were white) and so auoided them: and they were not onely descried by the noyse they made in flying, but they might easily bee perceiued: and by this meanes the watchmen in the towers gaue warning alwaies when these engines vvere shotte off, & vvhen the stones came, crying in their countrie language, *The stone commeth*: so the Iewes vpon the vvalles knowing
F vvhat they meant, auoided the stones, and so receiued no harme. Then the Romans deuised to blacke the stones with inke, and so they could not bee seene as they flew, but at one stroke slew many. But the Iews were not herewith so terrified, that they permitted the Romanes peaceably to build the mount, but night and day they hindered them vvith stratagemes and valour. Now when the Romanes had finished their vvorke, the Carpenters measured the space betweene the mounts and the walles with a plummet fastned vnto a line, which they cast from one place vnto another: for they could not measure it otherwise, because of the darts cast from the walles; and

Titus circuiting the wall, seeketh which way he should attempt his batterie.

Nicanor is wounded with an arrow in the left shoulder.

The darts did the Iews little good because they were not expert in vsing them.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

finding that they had Rammes long enough, they set them vp, and *Titus* commaunded the wall to be battered in three places, to the end that the batterie might not bee hindred. The noyse that these rams did make, was heard round about the citie; and the citizens cried mainely out, & the seditious persons were also sore afraid. And seeing themselues all in like danger, they now determined to ioine all together in resisting the Romans: and the seditious cried one vnto another, saying, that they rather assisted the enemies, then resisted them: & therfore exhorted one another at least for that time to become friends, if not for euer, onely to resist the Romanes. And *Simon* sent a crier vnto the temple, licensing al such as would to come vnto the wals: which also *Iohn* did permit, notwithstanding he mistrusted *Simon*: so they forgetting their old quarrel, ioined all together, and resisted the Romans, and guarding the walles round they cast much fire vpon the engines of the Romans, and against those that did rule them; & threw darts against them without intermission; and the boldest amongst them in great companies leapt down, and destroyed that wherewith the engines were couered, and assaulted those that stood to defend them; and so did the Romans much harme, by reason of their desperate boldnes, more then by their skill.

Titus comandeth the wall to be battered in three places

The seditious forgetting their hatred and discords ioine in one.

Titus was still at hand to succour them that stood in neede: & placing horsemen & Archers about the engines, he repulsed the Iewes who came to cast fire, and represſed them that cast darts, and shot arrowes from the towers, & so gaue the rams time & opportunity to beat the wals. Yet for all this the wall was not shaken with rams, saue onely that the ram of the fift legion did shake the corner of a tower; but yet the wall stoode firme, and was not harmed by the shaking of the tower: for it was far higher then the wall, and so could not draw downe any part of the wall as it fell. So soone as they had a while ceased from excursions, they perceiued that all the Romanes were busied in one labour or other, and so dispersed all ouer the camp, thinking that the Iews for feare durst come no more. The Iewes al secretly issued out of the gate by the tower Hippicos, & cast fire vpon the works, & courageously made incursion vpon the Romans euen vnto the rampire of their campe. The Romans seeing what daunger might ensue, presently assembled themselues, both they that were neere, & those that were far off. The discipline of the Romans ouercame the furie of the Iewes: and putting those to flight that first met them, they assaulted those that opposed themselues against them afterward. So there began a grieuous battell about the engines; the Iewes striuing to fire them, and the Romans fighting to hinder them: and a doubtfull cry was raised on both parts, & many in the forefront were slaine on both sides. But the Iews audacitie got them the vpper hand; & their fire did something touch the engines: and all had been cõsumed quite with fire, had not the chosen souldiers that came frõ *Alexandria* hindred it, who for the opinion that they had of themselues did fight stoutly: for they were accounted to haue beene the most valiant of all in this battell; till such time as the Emperour with certaine selected horsemen came and set violently vpon the enemies: and he himself slew twelue men that did resist him; for whose deaths the rest fearing fled, and were forced to retire themselues into the Citie, and so saued the engines from being fired. It chanced that one of the Iewes was in this fight taken aliue, and *Titus* commanded that hee should be crucified before the wall, that perhaps the rest being herewithall terrified might yeelde. After *Cæsar* was retired, *Iohn* the Captaine of the Idumæans talking vpon the wall with one of his friends, being striken in the breast with an arrow by an Arabian soldier, presently died: which caused great lamentation among the Iewes, and sorrow amongst the seditious, for he was valiant of his hands, and very wise and of good aduice.

The Ramme shaketh a corner of a tower.

Titus putteth the Iewes to flight and drieth them into the citie.

Iohn Captaine of the Idumæans by the shot of an arrow that wounds him in the breast dieth.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the fall of the tower: and how the two walles were taken.

THe night following, there was a great tumult amongst the Romans. For *Titus* the Emperour had commanded to be builded three towers, fiftie cubits high a peece, each one vpon a seuerall mount, that from thence hee might the more easily beate the enemies from off the wals: but one of these towers in the middest of the night fell downe wihtout any assault. And making a great noyse with the fall, feare fell vpon the whole army; who suspecting that it came to passe by some stratagem wrought by the Iewes, euery one ranne and armed himselfe, and so there was a great tumult in the armie: and for that no man could tel what the matter was, a long time, they stoode as it were all amazed, euery one asking his fellow what had happened. And seeing no enemies come, they beganne to feare some treason amongst themselues; and so were in a great feare they knew not wherefore, til such time as *Titus* vnderstanding the

A the matter, cauſed the truth thereof to be preſently proclaimed throughout the campe; and ſo the tumult (although vvith much adoe) vvas appeaſed. *The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.*

The Iewes valiantly bearing and induring all other dangers, were ſore troubled by reaſon of theſe towers vvhich *Titus* had erected; for they were ſlaine and wounded from thence with ſinal engine ſhot, darts and arrowes; neither could they build themſelues any ſo high, nor was there any hope to deſtroy them: for neither could they be throwne downe for their vvaight, nor fired becauſe they were couered vvith yron: and ſo they flying out of the reach of the ſhot, did not ſeeke to hinder the ram frō battering their wals; which neuer ceaſing, at laſt preuailed ſomwhat. So the great ramme, which the Iewes called Nicon, becauſe it ouercame all, at laſt battered the wal; and the Iews being weary with fighting, for that they had watched all the night before, for B ſloth, or elſe becauſe they perſwaded themſelues that the wall was ſuperfluous, they hauing two more beſide it, they all forſooke their quarters, and retired themſelues vnto the ſecond vvall; and the Romans entred the firſt, that the ram called Nicon had battered. Then the Romans that had paſſed and entred the firſt wall, went and opened the gates and let in the whole army. Hauing thus gotten the wall the ſeuenth day of May, they deſtroied the greateſt part thereof; and alſo the North ſide of the citie which before *Ceſtius* had waſted.

Nicon that is to ſay Victor, the Romans great ramme.

The Romans get the firſt wall.

Titus remooued his campe from thence, and vvent vnto the place called the Aſſyrians campe, and ſeiſed vpon all betweene that and Cedron; and beeing without the ſhotte of an arrow from the ſecond wall, he began againe to aſſault it. Then the Iewes diuiding the wall betwixt them to defend each others part, they reſiſted moſt valiantly. And *Iohn* and his partakers defended all C Antonia, and the North part of the Temple from *Alexanders* toombe: and *Simon* defended all from *Iohns* toombe vnto the gate by the tower Hippicos. And many times iſſuing out at the gates they fought hand to hand with the enemy, being alwaies repulſed by the diſcipline of the Romanes, only for want of knowledge in warlike affaires; and ſtill in all fights vpon the wal they got the beſt: for the Romans were aſſiſted by fortune and knowledge, and the Iews with deſperate boldnes which came of feare; for they are of ſtout courage in aduerſitie. Moreouer, the Iewes vvere mooued to fight in hope that way to ſaue their owne liues: and the Romanes to get a ſpeedy conqueſt. Neither partie vvas vvearie, neither did they euer ceaſe from aſſaulting one another: all the day long the Iewes in whole companies made excurſions againſt the Romanes, and they omitted no kinde of fight, beginning at ſunne riſe, and continuing all night long, farre D more terrible to them both then in all the day before: the Iewes feared leaſt that the Romans ſhould get the wall; & the Romans likewiſe miſdreaded that the Iews ſhould inuade their camp. Thus ſtill all night long beeing armed, early in the morning they vvere prepared again to fight. The Iewes did one ſtriue with another who ſhould vndergoe the moſt danger, and ſo deſeruehis captaines fauour. *Simons* followers did greatly reuerence & feare him, inſomuch as if hee ſhould haue commanded any of them to haue killed himſelfe, hee vvould preſently haue done it. The Romanes vvere encouraged to fight, by their wont and cuſtome in getting the victorie, and that they were not vvont to bee ouercome: againe, their frequent and daily vvarres & continuall exerciſes, and large dominions gaue the like courage, and eſpecially *Titus* their Generall ſtil preſent in all their affaires greatly ſtirred them forwarde: for euerie one thought it a hainous crime to E be a coward in the preſence of ſuch a captaine as *Cæſar* vvas. *Cæſar* himſelfe behoulding and looking on, vvho alſo vvas a vvitneſſe of their deedes that behaued themſelues valiantly, would reward euery man for his valour: beſide that, it was aduantage to be eaſily knowne vnto the prince for a valiant man: ſo that many of them ſhewed that their alacritie vvas farre greater then their ſtrength. At this time *Longinus* one of the horſemen comming out of the Roman armie, preaſed into the midſt of the Iews forces, & caſting them downe that ſtood in his way, by this violence he ſlew two of the ſtrongeſt of the enemies amongſt them, ſtriking one of them ouer the face, & ſlaying the other with his owne dart he tooke from him: vvho for this deed was greatly honoured, hauing broken thorow a ſtrong army of the Iewes, that were placed before the wals, and caſt darts at him on either ſide. Many of the Romanes by this his example were entiſed to F doe the like. The Iewes now regarded not what they ſuffered, but onely deuiſed which way to harme their enemy; nothing eſteeming death, ſo that they might kill ſome one of the Romanes. But *Titus* had as much care to preſerue his ſouldiers, as he had to get the victory; affirming theſe raſh aſſaults to proceed of deſperation: and that onely was to be accounted for vertue, when one did warilie not indaunger himſelfe to atchieue any worthy action, and willed them rather to ſhew themſelues men where there was no danger.

The Iewes conflict with the Romans. The Iewes boldneſſe.

The cuſtome of the Romans to conquer.

Longinus breaketh into the midſt of the Iewes armie, and diſturbeth it.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

CHAP. IX.

How Castor the Iew derided the Romans.

WHen *Titus* commanded the ramme to be set vp against the tower on the North part of the citie, wherein a craftie and politike Iew accompanied with ten men had hid himselfe, all the rest being fled: this Iew was named *Castor*. These men hauing lien still a while there in their armour, at last being afraid and the tower beginning to shake, they start vp: and *Castor* stretching foorth his hand, did as it were humbly craue fauour at *Cæsars* hands, and with a lamentable voice besought him to spare him. *Titus* seeing the mans simplicity, as he thought, and perswading himselfe that the Iews did now repent them of their enterprise, he caused the ram to cease from battery, and the archers to hold their hands; and withall permitted *Castor* to speake his pleasure. *Castor* said, that he desired to come & make a league of peace. And *Titus* answered, that he would grant it, if so be all the rest would doe so likewise; & that he would presently confirme a league of peace betweene him and the city. Fiue of *Castors* fellowes seemed to bee willing, and to request the like; but the other fiue counterfaited to withstand them, crying out aloud, that they would neuer bee slaues vnto the Romans, seeing they might die in libertie. Whilest *Castor* and his fellowes were debating the matter, the batterie ceased. In the meane time *Castor* priuily sent worde vnto *Simon*, willing him whilest the batterie ceased to deliberate what was expedient to be done in this necessitie: for he a while would deceiue the Roman Emperour, and hold him in suspence. And in the meane time hee seemed to exhort his companions that denied to embrace the kind offer of *Titus*: & they as it were angry hereat, drew their swods and strooke vpon their corslets; and they so striken seemed to fall down, as though they had bin slaine. *Titus* & his souldiers were amazed at this their obstinacie; for beeing on the lower ground they could not well perceiue what was done: and so they wondred at their desperation, & also pitied their calamity. At this time one strooke *Castor* in the buttock with a dart, & *Castor* pulling it out of his flesh, shewed it vnto the Emperour; & complained of it, as being iniured. *Titus* presently with sharp words corrected him that shot it, and forthwith would haue sent *Ioseph* to promise *Castor* pardon and peace. But *Ioseph* denied to goe, affirming that *Castor* only dissembled, and so hindred his friends that would haue gone. At last one *Aeneas*, who had fled vnto the Romans, offered himselfe to go. *Castor* inuited him, as though hee would giue him some thing in token of his true meaning. Then *Aeneas* opened the skirt of his garment, thinking *Castor* would haue cast him downe something of worth: and when he came vnderneath the tower, *Castor* tooke a great stone and threw it downe vpon him; yet hurt him not, because hee was aware of it, & auoided the stone; but it wounded another souldier standing by. Then *Cæsar* considering this deceit, began to thinke that pietie & mercie in warres was hurtfull, & that cruelty was not so easily deceiued; and so being very angry at this deceit, hee caused the wall to bee beaten with the ramme more then before. *Castor* and his fellowes perceiuing the tower to shake, they set it on fire, and so passed through the flame, and conueied themselues into a mine of the tower; so that again the Romans admired their courage, thinking that they had burned themselues.

Castor a subtil and politike Iewe.

Mercy in wars hurtfull.

Titus assaulting the wall on this part, took it fiue daies after that he had taken the first; and causing the Iewes to fly frō thence, he accompanied with a thousand chosen men about him, entred in where the woolmen, & copperſmiths, & marchant-tailors dwelt, which place was the new citie, hauing only narrow & straight waies to go vnto the wall. And had he presently beaten down a great part of the wall, or according to the lawes of armes destroied what hee had gotten, hee had obtained the victory without any losse on his side. Yet now hoping the Iewes would yeeld, seeing that if he pleased he might take them by force, he gaue the more ample & easie passage to retire: for he did not thinke that they whose good he sought, would haue bin traitors vnto him.

Titus taketh the second wall.

CHAP. X.

How the Romanes did twice take the second wall.

WHen *Titus* was entred the citie, hee suffred none of them that were taken, to be slaine, nor the houses to bee burned, but permitted the seditious (if they were so minded) to fight, and that without the preiudice of the people: & also promised the people to restore vnto them all their goods. For many besought him to spare the citie for them; and the temple for the

A the citie. The people were glad hereof: and many of the warlike Iewes thought the humanity of *Titus* to proceed from cowardize; and iudged that *Titus*, for that he despaired to winne the rest of the citie, did now cowardlike propound these conditions. They likewise threatned all the people, that whosoeuer should speake one worde concerning peace and yeelding vnto the Romans, should presently die: & some of them did resist the Romans from out of their houses, and others in the narrow waies: and others going out at the higher gates, began a battell, wherewith the watchmen being troubled, fled from the wall, and forsaking the towers, they retired themselues into their campe. The Roman souldiers within the city cryed out, because they were enclosed with enemies, the gates being shut, & assaulted without by those who apprehended their cõpanions to be in great danger. The number of the Iewes encreasing, and preuailing, for that they
B knew the waies and turnings of the streets, many of the Romans were slaine, and violently born downe, when they offered to resist in that necessitie; for a multitude togither could not flie, by reason of the narrownes of the streets, that went vnto the wall; and all that entered into the city had been slaine, had not *Titus* succoured them. For placing at the beginning of euery streete archers, and himselfe being where most need was, he so did driue away the Iewes with darts and arrowes: and with him *Domitius Sabinus*, who in that fight was proued a stout warriour; who so long continued beating the Iewes with arrowes, till all the souldiers were escaped away.

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They interpret warlike Titus humanitie for cowardize.

The Romans are driue out by the Iewes.

Thus the Romans hauing got the second wall were beaten from it againe: And the citizens fit for war were hereat encouraged, & were drunken with this good fortune, thinking that now the Romans durst no more offer to come into the citie, and that they could not be ouercom if they
C did arme themselues to fight. For God, because of their iniquity had darkned their vnderstanding, so that they neuer considered that the Romane forces were far greater then they that were ouercome, nor the famine that presently ensued; for as yet they liued vpon the destruction of the people, and dranke the bloud of the citie: but the good did euen now suffer famine, and many of them had alreadie perished for want of foode: yet the seditious did reioice at the death of the citizens, as though thereby they were eased of a great burthen, only desiring their liues that bare rebellious minds, & would ioyne with them against the Romans, reioicing at the death of the rest, as freed frõ a heauy clogge: & this was the affection they bare vnto their Citizens. And so they armed themselues, and resisted the Romans, who now againe did attempt to enter the breach: and they threw down stones and part of the wall vpon them as they came vp, and so
D draue them backe againe, and valiantly resisted them for three daies. But the fourth day they were not able to withstand *Titus* his assault, but were forced to retire, as before: and hee hauing gotten the wall, destroied all the North part thereof, and placed a garrison in the towers and fortresses of the South part.

The Iewes courage encreaseth.

The people in want, & many die for hunger

Titus once more getteth the second wall.

CHAP. XI.

Of the mounts raised to batter the third wall: and a long Oration of Iosephs *to perswade the people to yeelde: and of the famine in the Citie.*

E

Titus now determined to batter the third wall, and he thought to continue that siege but a short time: and that it was conuenient to giue the seditious some time to bethink themselues, to see if that either by the taking of the second wall, or terrified with famine, they would repent. For now there was no mo preies for them left in the city, & he lay before the wals thereof, euen as he desired. And the time being come, that euery souldier should receiue victuals and prouision for himselfe, *Titus* caused them to bee led euery one in order into a place, where the Iewes in the city might perfectly behold them, & caused his captaines to distribute money to euery one: and the souldiers (as their custome is) all armed, and drawing their swords out of
F their sheathes, marched along, the horsemen leading their horses gallantly adorned, and a great part of the suburbes glistered with gold & siluer. This spectacle was gratefull to their own souldiers, and terrible to the Iewes: for all the old walles, and the North part of the citie, and many houses were filled with the multitude of them, who came to view this sight: & there was no part of the city that was not filled with people to see & behould it. And feare came vpõ the very boldest amongst all the Iewes, seeing both the Romans armour & their order: and perhaps that shew would haue caused the seditious people to haue relented, had they not despaired to haue found mercy and pardon at the Romans hands for their offences committed; and so they thought it

Titus surceasing the siege commandeth money to be distributed to al his souldiers

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better to bee preſently ſlaine in warres, then to be put to death ſhamefully, if they deſiſted from fight. Deſtiny alſo hindred this, whereby it was decreed that the innocent ſhould periſh with the wicked, and the citie with the ſeditious, and for foure daies ſpace they diſtributing neceſſaries vnto the ſouldiers; and on the fift day *Titus* perceiuing that for ought he could do, the Iewes were ſtill obſtinate, he diuided his armie into two parts, and about *Iohns* tomb hee began to raiſe mounts, and againſt Antonia, hoping that waies to take the higher part of the citie, and by Antonia to ſeiſe the temple; which except hee could effect, hee could not ſafely take the citie: and againſt either of theſe places hee raiſed two mounts, euery legion making one. The Iewes and *Simons* followers did hinder the work that was begunne before *Iohns* tomb, and *Iohn* likewiſe with a great number of the Zelous hindred them that made the mounts ouer againſt Antonia: who not onely did fight with the aduantage of the higher ground, but alſo had now learned the vſe of engines: for continuall vſe by little and little made them skilful, and they had 300. engines called Baliſtaes: and 40. engines to caſt ſtones, wherewith they greatly annoied the Romans, and hindred them from their work.

Deſtinie had decreed that the innocent ſhould periſh with the nocent, and the citie with the ſeditious.

The Romans in their labour are hindred by the Iewes.

Titus, foreknowing that fortune would fauour him, and that the city was like to periſh, haſted to take it, neuer ceaſing to perſwade the Iewes to yield: & with his deeds he ioined counſel. For he knew that many times words preuaile more then violence of armes, & exhorted them to ſaue themſelues, & yield the city vnto him: & told them of *Ioſeph*, how that he ſhould make a ſpeech vnto them in their owne language, for he hoped that they would heare their owne countriman. Then *Ioſeph*, going about the City without the danger of ſhot, cried vnto them to ſpare themſelues, the City, the Temple, the people, and not become more hard-hearted againſt them then ſtrangers were. For the Romans did reuerence the holy places, notwithſtanding they had no ſociety or portion in them; and how euen till this day they had abſtained from violating them: and they who were nouriſht with them, and might onely ſaue them, did wilfully cauſe their deſtruction: and bad them conſider that their ſtrongeſt wals were battered down; and onely now the weaker remaining vnbattered, he willed them to conſider, how they were not able to withſtand the Romans forces. And that it was no newes to the Iewes, nor ſtrange, to be ſubiect vnto the Romans. For although it be a good and commendable thing, to fight for liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: for hee that was once ſubiect, and would rebell, hauing a long time liued vnder the obedience of the Romans, ſeemd rather to be deſirous of a ſhamefull death then a louer of liberty. Moreouer, that they ſhould diſdaine to be ſubiect vnto baſe people, and not vnto them whom the whole world obeyed. For (ſaid he) what place haue not the Romanes that may be inhabited? Nay themſelues might perceiue how fortune did ſtill fauour them: And that God who guided the Empire to be placed in all parts, was now in Italy. Alſo that euen by the law of nature, aſwell by the example of beaſtes as of men, wee are taught to giue place vnto them that are ſtronger then our ſelues, and be contented that they ſhould get the victory that are valianteſt in armes. And this (quoth he) was the cauſe that your anceſtors who were far more ſtrong and politike then you, and had better meanes to reſiſt; yet did they ſubmit themſelues vnto the Romans: which if God had not beene pleaſed withall, hee would neuer haue permitted them to haue done. And how could they hope to reſiſt, ſeeing the citie was as it were already taken? And that the citizens ſuppoſing their walles were whole, yet were they all deſtroied. For the Romans well knew what famine was amongſt them, and how it did euery day waſte the people, and would alſo in ſhort time deſtroy the warriours amongſt them. For ſuppoſe that the Romans would ceaſe, and not beſiege the citie, nor offer with drawne ſwords to aſſault it: yet is there a ciuill warre within the Citie, which the Iewes cannot ouercome or auert, it euery daie increaſing: except they would alſo fight againſt hunger, and they alone ouercome aduerſe fortune. Further, he added, that it was beſt, before intolerable calamities befell them, to chaunge their opinion, and whileſt they haue time to be counſelled by good aduice. And that the Romans would not puniſh them for that which was alreadie paſt, except they perſiſted obſtinate euen vn to the ende. For they are (quoth he) kind, courteous, and gentle to their ſubiects, and doe prefer their commoditie before reuenge. And they thought it aduantage to haue the citie, & the country inhabited; therefore the Emperours would make a league of peace with them: but if he tooke the citie by force, he would not ſpare one, eſpecially ſeeing that they were willed by him to ſaue themſelues, and yet in their greateſt neceſſitie refuſed to obey him. Likewiſe he tould them that the third wall would alſo be taken very ſhortly, as well they might perceiue by the two walles: and ſuppoſe that the city was inexpugnable, yet the famine would cauſe it to be yeelded into the Romans hands in deſpite of them.

Titus bounty towards the Iewes.

Ioſephs Oration to the Iews

Fortune and God for the Romans.

Famine in the Citie.

As

A As *Ioseph* did thus aduise them, many standing vpon the wals did raile against him, many vp- braided him,& others shot at him. *Ioseph* seeing he could not avert them frō their imminent ca- lamites,recounted vnto them al their owne Histories making for his purpose. Owretches(quoth he)and vngrateful to them that help you: you fight against the Romans, and bear armes against them,as though this way you had conquered some others that came, as they now doe, against you. When doth God the maker of all things denie help vnto vs if wee bee oppressed? Will ye not remember your selues? For what cause did you enterprise these warres,& how great a friend and assister of yours doe you daily offend? Do ye not remember the miraculous works of your ancestors, and this holy place; & how in times past it was by the enemies destroied? But I quake and tremble to recount the works of God to such vnworthy hearers: yet harken, that you may B know that you do not only resist the Romans,but also God himselfe. *Nechus* at that time king of Egypt,who also was called *Pharao*,came,& with an infinite army tooke away Queene *Sara*, the mother of our nation. And what did our first father *Abraham* in this case? Did he with weapons and armes reuenge this iniurie? hauing vnder his command three hundreth and 18 captaines, & vnder them an infinite multitude? Or did he rather desist from warre, perceiuing God not to ac- company him? wherefore lifting vp pure and vndefiled hands towards this holy place, which now you haue defiled and prophaned,he chose God an inuincible helper to aide him. And was not the Queene the second night after sent homeagaine vnto him vntouched? And the Egyptian adoring this holy place, which ye haue polluted with murders of your own nation,& trembling at the visions he saw in the night time fled,rewarding the Hebrewes with gold and siluer,whom C he perceiued to be so beloued of God. Shall I recount vnto you the going of our ancestors into Egypt? who hauing for foure hundreth yeeres been slaues vnto the Egyptian tyrants & kings,& able to haue reuenged themselues by force of armes, yet did they rather expect and stay Gods leasure. Who knoweth not,that then Egypt in reuenge of the Hebrewes,was filled with al kinds of serpents,and infected with all diseases,and the earth became so barren,that Nilus wexed dry, and the tenne plagues followed one another without ceasing; wherby our ancestors were safely deliuered without any bloudshed: for God conducted them, as willing to reserue them for his Priests.

When the Assyrians had taken away from vs the holy Arke, did not *Palestina* and *Dagon* re- pent that fact? did not all the nation of them that tooke it, weepe & lament therefore? For their D priuie parts being putrefied, their bowels and the meat they did eat ran out there; and so with vncleane hands they were forced to bring it back againe, with cymbals and trumpets: therby to make satisfaction for their offence. It was God that did this for our aunce stors, because that they laying their armes aside,wholly resigned themselues to his pleasure. Was *Senacherib* king of As- syria, comming with all his power out of Asia, and incamping himselfe before this citie, ouer- come by humane force? Did not our ancestors leauing armes,flie to prayers, and by an Angell God in one night destroyed an infinite army? And the next day the Assyrian rising,found a hū- dreth fourscore & fiue thousand of his men dead; and so fledde with the rest from the Hebrews being vnarmed,& not pursuing him? You knowe also, that in the captiuitie of Babylon, where the people liued the space of 70 yeers,they got not their libertie till such time as God put in *Cy- E rus* hart, to suffer them to goe into their owne countrey. Who still assisting them, they againe as the Priests in old time were wont,did serue and reuerence their helper. In briefe, our ancestors did neuer atchieue any great matter by force of armes, neither did they leaue any thing vndon, wherein they expected Gods helpe,but still remaining quiet at home, they ouercame their ene- mies through his prouidence: & whenthey did fight after their own wils,they alwaies failed of their expectation. For when *Zedechias* our king, contrary to the admonition of the prophet *Iere- nie*, did go forth,and fight with the king of Babylon then besieging the city,both hee and all his were taken,& this city destroied. Yet consider how far your captains are inferior vnto that king, and your selues vnto the people of those times. For *Ieremy* crying vp & downe the citie, and say- ing that God was offended at their iniquitie,& that except they did yeeld the same, it should be F taken by force; yet did not the king nor any of the people lay hands vpon him. And you (that I may omit your iniquity done within the city, which though I would I could not sufficiently dis- cipher)do attept to kil me,& vse railing speeches against me, who once gaue you wholsom cou- sell for your good; only for that I put you in mind of your sins,you not enduring to hear of that which you daily commit. This same betided also when *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes* besieged the Citie,GOD beeing highly displeased at our ancestors, who going out in armes against him were all slaine,the towne spoiled,and this holy place for three yeeres and sixe moneths made de- solate,

The yeare of the world,4034. after Christs birth,72.

The Emperor striueth to be at peace with the Romans.

Ioseph rippeth vp the ancient Histories, and some forrain.

Nechias,a king of Egypt.

The hebrewes vnder the ty- rannie of E- gypt 4 hun- dreth yeeres.

The sacred Arke taken a- way by the Assyrians and restored to the Iewes.

Senacherib king of Assur.

The captiui- ty of Babylon.

The destructi- on of Ieru sa- lem by the king of Baby- lon.

Iosephs bitter inuective a- gainst them.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth. 72.

solate. What should I shew vnto you any more examples? Who first incited the Romans themselues against the Iewes? Was it not the impietie of our owne countrimen that did it? Whence began our bondage at that time? Did it not proceed from the sedition of our ancestors, when the furie of *Aristobulus* and *Hircanus* brought *Pompey* into our citie: and so God subdued them vnto the Romans, being now vnworthy of liberty? And at length hauing for three months space endured a siege, being not so great offenders as you are, and better able to abide the siege then you, yet did they yeeld themselues. Are we ignorant of the end of *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, who inuading the kingdome, brought our nation againe into subiection; God so laying this bondage vpon them, for that he was moued at the iniquitie of our nation? And *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*, brought *Sosius* and the Romane armie, and besieged the citie round six moneths space: & at last, for the greatnesse of their iniquitie was taken and punished for their offences, & the citie sacked by the enemies. So you euidently see that our nation did neuer preuaile by force of armes. And assure your selues that the Citie will be taken by this siege. It is meet therfore that you who keep this holy place, wholly commit your selues to Gods will & pleasure, & then feare not the forces of the enemies, when by reason of your pietie, you are assured of Gods helpe and succour. But what one parcell of Gods law haue you obserued? Nay, what mischiefe haue you left vndone, that he detesteth not? How farre greater is your impietie then theirs, that did suddainely perish for their sinnes? For you making small account of secret sinnes, to wit, stealing, deceit, and adulteries, do violently take away mens goods by open force, and murder whom yee please; and haue deuised new waies to sinne. Moreouer, you haue made the holy Temple a place of all these your impieties; and the seate that the Romans did adore, is by our owne nation polluted: much derogating from the honour of our religion by your impious facts. Last of all, you hope of his help whom you haue so hainously offended. Truely you are very iust people & obedient, and with pure hands you aske help of God. Did our king thus pray vnto God, when he obtained that in one night so many of the Assyrians should be destroied? Or doe the Romans cõmit such impietie as the Assyrians did, that you may hope of the like reuenge against them? for he hauing receiued a peece of money to saue the citie, did, not regarding his oath, seek to destroy the same. The Romans doe onely reqneſt the tribute that our auncestors were wont to pay vnto them: which if they haue, they will neuer destroy the citie, nor touch our holy things. They will also permit you to enioy freely your families and possessions, and suffer our lawes to remaine inuiolate. It is altogether madnesse for you to hope that God will so punish iust men, as he did sinners and impious persons, who knoweth to punish at his pleasure. To be short, hee destroied the Assyrians the first night, that they encamped before the citie. And if he purposed also to deliuer you, and punish the Romans, he would then haue done it, when *Pompey* and *Sosius* came against the citie, or when *Vespasian* wasted Galilee, or lastly now, when *Titus* came to assault it. But neither *Pompey* nor *Sosius* suffered any harme, yet both of them tooke the citie. *Vespasian* so gained by warring against vs, that he hath hereby got the whole Empire. And the fountaines which before gaue you no water, yeeld it to *Titus* in great aboundance. You know that before his comming, the fountains without the citie and Siloa were so dried vp, that water was sold by measure: yet now they flow so plentifully, that they do not only serue all the army, & their cattell also, but besides that, do water all the gardens about. What this wonder foretelleth, you haue already experience, when the king of Babylon came with his army and destroied the city: who tooke it & fired it & the temple, notwithstanding that (as I am perswaded) the Iewes of that time were nothing so wicked as you are. Wherfore I thinke that God hath forsaken this holy place, & is now gone to them that do besiege you. Wil not a good man flie a wicked house, and hate the impious that dwel therein? And do you then thinke that God wil abide your impiety, who beholdeth al secrets, & knoweth all things that are hid? But what is secret amongst you? Or what do you seeke to hide? Nay, what do you that your enemies doe not know? All your iniquities are disclosed to all men: & you euery day striue one with another who shall bee most impious. And you doe as greatly labour to shew your selues vicious, as others do to shew themselues vertuous. Yet for all this, there is time to amend, and Gods wrath will be appeased, if ye acknowledge your sins, & be penitent for your offences. Cease frõ armes, be ashamed of your countrey now ruined through your owne meanes. Turne your eyes & behould the beautie of the place, whose ruine you seek. How braue a City, how gorgeous a Temple, how rich with the gifts of all nations? Who would fire these? Who would desire the ruine of these? Or what is there in the world that better deserueth to be preserued then these? O hard harted people, and more blockish then stones. If you doe not pittie these, yet let your families moue you; euery one of you look vpon your children, wiues,

The Iewes sinnes against the lawes.

The Romans vse the same maner of ouerthrow against the Iewes, as the Assyrians did.

God knoweth when to reuenge.

The fountains that before time were dry now flowe to Titus.

God is wont to shew mercy to those who confesse and be penitent.

G H I K L M

A wiues and parents, who ſhall al preſently be conſumed, either with ſword or famine. I know that togither with you ſhall periſh my family, and wife & houſe, which ſometime were of no ſmall account: And perhaps ſome of you do think me therfore to ſpeake this vnto you; but kill them, and take my bloud for recompence of your welfare and liues: I my ſelfe am alſo prepared to die, if after my death you would remember your ſelues. *The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.*

Ioſeph crying thus vnto them with teares trickling downe his cheeks, the ſeditious were nothing moued, but told him that it was not ſafety for them to yeeld. But the people were perſwaded to flie: and ſome ſelling their poſſeſſions & that they had for ſmall prices, they did ſwallow downe the gold, for feare the theeues ſhould take it from them. And ſo when they had eſcaped vnto the Romans, they emptying their bellies found it againe, & ſo had money to buy them neB ceſſaries. *Titus* alſo permitted many to go away whither ſoeuer they pleaſed: which thing cauſed diuers to flie, ſeeing that therby they were deliuered out of their calamitie, which in the cittie they aboade, and were not forced to ſerue the Romans. But *Iohn* & *Simon* were as diligent to ſtop the waies, leaſt the Citizens ſhould eſcape, as they did hinder the Romans from entring into the Citie: ſo that whoſoeuer did but giue any ſuſpicion of flight, hee was preſently by them put to death. The richer ſort, whether they ſtaied or fled, were ſlaine for their wealth and poſſeſſions. The famine of the citie, and the deſperation of the thieues both increaſed alike, euery day more & more; ſo that now there was no more corne found. Wherfore the ſeditious perſons brake into the houſes, and ſearched euery corner for to find corne; and if after their ſearch they found any, then they did beat the owners for denying it at the firſt: & if they found none, they tortured the C houſholders, as hauing more cunningly hidden it. And whoſoeuer was yet ſtrong of body, and well liking, him they preſently kild; for hereby they deemed him to haue ſtore of food, or elſe he ſhould not haue bin in ſo good plight of body as he was. And they that were pined with famine were by theſe barbarous ſeditious people ſlaine, who eſteemed it no offence to kill them, who wold ſhortly after die though they were left aliue. Many both rich & poore ſecretly exchanged all that they had for one buſhell of corne, and preſently ſhutting themſelues in the ſecret'ſt roome of their houſe, ſome of them did eate the corne as it was, vnground: others made bread thereof as neceſſitie and feare required. No man in the whole citie ſate down to eate his meat on D a table, but greedily taking it not boiled from the fire, they euen raw as it was did eate it.

Ioſephs loue and conſtancie towards his countrey.

The people flie with their money.

A wonderfull famine in the citie.

The argumẽt of ſtore of meate.

Moſt miſerable was this manner of liuing, and a ſpectacle which none without teares was able to behold; for the ſtrongeſt ſtill got the moſt, & the weakeſt bewailed their miſery: for now famine was the greateſt calamitie they endured. And nothing doth arme men more then ſhame: for during this famine, no reuerence was had towards any man: for wiues tooke the meate euen out of their husbands mouthes, and children from their parents, and mothers euen from their infants, which was the moſt lamentable thing of all. No body had now any compaſſion, neither did they ſpare their deereſt infants, but ſuffered them to periſh euen in their armes, taking from them the very drops of life. Yet could they not eat thus in ſuch ſecrecy, but preſently ſome came to take away from them that whereon they fed. For if in any place they ſaw any doore ſhut, preſently heereupon they coniectured that they in the houſe were eating meat, and forth-with breaking downe the doores, they came in; and taking them by the throat, they tooke the meat alreaE die chewed, and ready to be ſwallowed downe. The old men were driuen away, and not permitted to keep and defend their food from beeing taken from them: the women were drawne vp & downe by the haire of the head, for that they hid between their hands ſome part of their meate, and would not forgoe it. No pitie was now remaining, neither to ould age nor infancie, but they tooke young babes eating, their mouth full of meate, & not permitting it to be taken out of their mouthes, and threw them againſt the ground. Now if any one had preuented theſe thieues, and eaten their meate before they could come at them, then they were more cruell; and the other ſo much more tyrannouſly handled, as hauing committed ſome greater offence againſt them. They alſo deuiſed moſt barbarous and cruell torments to extort foode from others: for they thruſt ſticks or ſuch like into the cauitie of mens yards, and ſharpe thornie rods into their fundaF ments: and it is abhominable to heare what the people endured to make them confeſſe one loafe of bread, or one handfull of corne which they had hidden.

A miſerable kind of liuing, and a ſpectacle of great compaſsion.

The ſouldiers enter the houſes, and take the meat vnchewed out of the Citizens mouthes.

Theſe miſcreants did not yet for all this feele either hunger or thirſt: for then theſe their impieties had been more tolerable; but they did it onelie to exerciſe their crueltie, preparing ſix daies food for themſelues aforehand. Wherfore meeting ſuch as had eſcaped the Roman watch in the night, and gone into the fields to gather weeds or herbs, when they againe came into the Citie; and thought they had now eſcaped the danger of their enemies; they there tooke from them the

hearbs

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

herbs they had gotten with hazard of their liues, denying to giue them any ſmall part of that for G
which they had vndergone ſuch danger: & they required them for Gods ſake to do it; yea they
thought it a benefit, if beeing thus robbed and ſpoiled, they did not alſo periſh by the ſwords of
theſe miſcreants. Theſe calamities the baſer ſort of people endured at the hands of the common
ſouldiers: but the nobles & chiefe men of the citie were led vnto the tyrants, and accuſed before
them of betraying the citie vnto the Romans; and ſo by ſome forged treaſon or other put to
death. And many times their ſuborned accuſers vvould teſtifie againſt them, that they purpoſed
to flie vnto the Romans. And thoſe that *Simon* robbed, he ſent vnto *Iohn*; and thoſe that *Iohn* ſpoi-
led, he ſent vnto *Simon*: & ſo they did as it were one drink vnto another the bloud of the people,
and diuide their dead carcaſes between them; inſomuch that they diſagreed onely for their de-
ſire of rule and domination: but both conſpired to doe miſchiefe and commit iniquitie. For he H
that did not giue to the other part of that which by crueltie he had extorted from the miſerable
citizens, was accounted impious: and hee that receiued not part, did now grieue as ſuſtaining
loſſe, in not hauing a ſhare in crueltie and impietie.

The honorable & rich are drawn before the tyrants.

The diſſenſion between Iohn and Simon was for rule, their concord was in wickedneſſe.

I am not able to recount all their iniquities: but briefely, I thinke that neuer any citie endu-
red the like, nor neuer any people ſince the memory of men were ſo cruell and barbarous: and fi-
nally, to the intent that their impietie vnto ſtrangers might ſeeme the leſſe, they ſpake euill of the
nation of the Hebrewes, and curſed them, & openly confeſſed themſelues to be ſlaues, people of
diuers countries, vnited together in wickedneſſe, baſtards and abortiues of their nation. They
ouerthrew the citie, and forced the Romans (though againſt their wils) to accept of this ſorow-
full and heauie victory; and almoſt drew the fire into the Temple, as though it ſtaied from it too I
long. Neither did they vveepe or lament when they ſaw the higher part of the citie on fire; but
many amongſt the Romans did vvith ſorrow behould that ſight: which we will ſpeake of heere-
after, vvhere vve vvill deſcribe the euent of that buſineſſe.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Iewes that were crucified, and the Rampiers burnt.

THe mounts and rampiers that *Titus* built did greatly aduantage him: and although his
ſouldiers endured ſome loſſe by the Iewes who vvere vpon the wall, yet he ſent part of
his horſemen, & commanded them to lay vvait for the Iewes that came out of the ci- K
tie into the vallies to fetch food: and amongſt them vvere alſo ſome fighting men. For
now that which they could rob & take frō the citizens was not ſufficient for al of them: yet the
greater part of them vvere poore people, vvho durſt not flie vnto the Romans for feare that ſome
harme ſhould thereupon betide their deereſt friends, not induring to leaue them behind to bee
murthered by the theeues. Famine did now embolden them to goe forth of the citie; and now it
onely remained for them to goe forth priuily, & be taken by the enemies. And being taken, ne-
ceſſitie forced them to fight for feare of torments; for they now thought it too late to requeſt
mercie: after the fight they were beaten & tortured all waies poſſible, and then crucified before
the citie wals. *Titus* deemed this calamitie moſt miſerable: for euery day 500 Iews & ſometime
more were taken; and yet did he not thinke it expedient to diſmiſſe ſo great a multitude, nor to L
keep them who would be as a guard of guards. But the principall point for which hee did not
hinder this, was, that by this ſpectacle he might terrifie the Iewes and make them fear to ſuffer
the like, except they did quickly render themſelues and the citie vnto him. Wherefore the
ſouldiers for a hatred which they conceiued againſt our nation, crucified al they tooke, one after
one faſhion, and another after another in deriſion. And the multitude of the captiues was now ſo
great, that there remained no more ſpace to ſet croſſes in, nor any more croſſes to crucifie bodies
vpon. But the ſeditious Iewes within the citie were ſo far from relenting by this maſſacre, that
rather their harts were heereby more hardned; ſo that heerewith they terrified the reſt of the
multitude: for they caried the kinred of them that had fled vnto the Romans to the wals, & bad M
them behold how thoſe were vſed that fled vnto the Romans: the ſame ſight they alſo ſhewed
vnto them that deſired peace; affirming that they whom the Romans had ſo vſed, were thoſe
that fled vnto them for ſuccour, & not captiues by them taken. This terrified many who deſired
to flie vnto the Romans, from effecting their deſire; till ſuch time as the truth herof was known.
Yet ſome preſently went boldly vnto the Romans, as it were intending to ſuffer death and tor-
ment at their hands, accounting that death comming vnto them by their enemies hands, was far
more tolerable then the famine they endured.

The poore peoples miſerie.

Titus crucifieth many Iews before the walles.

The Iewes caried the kinred of thoſe that were fled out of the citie to the Romans, and ſhewed them the tortures they ſuffered.

Here-

A Heereupon *Titus* cut off many of the captiues hands, and ſo ſent them into the citie vnto *Simon* and *Iohn*, that their calamitie might teſtifie them to bee captiues, and not ſuch as had fledde and yielded vnto the Romans, willing to admoniſh them at leaſt now to yield, and not compell him to deſtroy the citie: telling that in ſo doing, euen now at the laſt they ſhould ſaue their owne liues, countrey, and temple, which had not the like in all the world: and hee continually went about the rampiers haſtening the workmen in their buſineſs, as though he preſently meant to effect that in deeds which in words he had ſpoken. The Iewes that ſtood vpō the wals, curſed both him and his father, reuiling them, and affirming that they contemned death; and that they did chuſe rather to die then to become bondſlaues: & that whil'ſt life laſted, they would as much as lay in them harme the Romans, neither hauing care of themſelues nor of their countrey; which
B *Cæſar* ſent them word were both preſently to periſh. Moreouer, they ſaid, that the whole world was a temple dedicated to God, farre more excellent then that of theirs, which notwithſtanding ſhould be conſerued by him that dwelt in it; whoſe helpe they alſo enioying, would deride al his threatnings, which could not come to paſſe, God being the end of all. And thus opprobriouſlie they exclaimed againſt the Romans.

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The Iewes both curſe Cæſar & his father.

At this time arriued alſo *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and with him many armed men; and beſide them, guarded with a company called the Macedonians, who were all of like age, and little older then young men, in their youth all trained vp in armes, and armed after the Macedonian manner, whereof alſo they tooke their name: yet for the moſt part not able to anſwere the expectation that men had of the Macedonians. For the king of Comagene was the moſt fortunate & hap-
C pie of all kings, that were ſubiect vnto the Romane Empire, till ſuch time as he felt the frown of Fortune: who in his aged yeres ſhewed that none ought to be accounted happy afore his death: he yet flouriſhing, his ſonne (ſaid he) maruailed that the Romans did delay ſo long to aſſault the citie, and enter the battered walles (for this young man was a fine warriour, and of exceeding ſtrength, to the which he truſted too much, ſo that he did many things raſhly. *Titus* heereat ſmiled, & anſwered, that that was a labour not onely for the Romans, but for all in common. After he had ſaid thus, preſently this young man *Antiochus*, as he was accompanied with his Macedo- *The inſolence of Antiochus and the ſouldiers.*
nians, aſſaulted the wall, and himſelfe with his ſtrength and dexteritie auoided the darts of the Iewes, and caſt his darts at them: but all his young men (onely a few excepted) were there ſlain: for aſhamed of their boaſting ſpeeches, they continued longer in fight then it was expedient for
D them: at laſt, many beeing wounded retired themſelues, now perceiuing that the Macedonians to win a victorie had need of *Alexanders* fortune. The Romans the 12 day of May beganne to build their rampiers: & labouring ful ſeauenteen whole daies, with much adoe they ended them *The Romans in 17 dayes build foure huge bulwarks.*
the nine and twentith day of the ſaid moneth. For they builded foure moſt huge rampiers, one of them ouer againſt Antonia, which was builded by the fift legion oppoſite to the midſt of the Struthian waters: another was builded by the twefth legion, 20 cubits diſtant from the other. But the tenth legion, which was of more account then the two former, erected a mount oppoſite to the pond called Amygdalon on the North ſide: and the fifteenth legion made the fourth, thirtie cubits diſtant from the other, ouer againſt the monument of the high prieſt *Iohn*.

The mounts beeing thus finiſhed, *Iohn* vndermined that which was ouer againſt Antonia, and
E vnderpropped it with poſts of wood, and filling the mine with wood, bitumen and pitch, hee fired it: ſo the poſts that held it vp beeing burnt, the mine fell, and the mount alſo with a hideous noiſe fell into it: and firſt of all there aroſe a great ſmoake and duſt, for the mines did couer the flame; at laſt the fire hauing cōſumed the matter that couered it, the flame cleerly appeared. The Romans at this ſuddaine and vnexpected exploit were amazed, being grieued at it: ſo that thereby thoſe who before made account of the victorie, as though it had bin theirs already, began to deſpaire. Two daies after, *Simon* and his aſſociates did ſette vpon the other rampiers: for thereon were planted rams, whewith the Romanes began to beat the wals. Amongſt the reſt, a certaine *Three valiant Iewes.*
man named *Tephæus* of Garſus a citie of Galilee, and *Megaſſarus*, one of Queene *Mariammes* ſeruants, and with them one of Adiabena the ſonne of *Nabateus*, who for his fortune was named
F *Agiras*, which ſignifieth lame: theſe three taking fire brands ran vnto the engines, and there was none found in all the Roman armie more valiant then theſe men, nor more terrible: for they ran amidſt the throng of their enemies ſo boldly, as though they had gone amongſt their friends, and *The Romans inuironed with fire, loſe the mounts they had built.*
neuer made any ſtay, but breaking through the midſt of their enemies, they fired their engines: and notwithſtanding that on euery ſide they were aſſaulted with darts and arrowes; yet did they not giue backe, nor ſeeke to auoide the danger, till ſuch time as the fire had taken hold of the engines. The flame mounting on high, the Romans now came running out of their campe

to

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

to succour their fellowes: and the Iewes vpon the vvall vvith darts and arrowes hindered them, G
fighting with them that sought to quench the flame, nothing sparing their own bodies. The Romans beganne to draw away the Rammes, their shelters beeing fired. And the Iewes amidst the flames sought to keep them there: yet for all this the Romans saued their Rammes. From thence the fire caught hould of the rampiers, & those that would haue preuented it vvere burned: & the fire so increased, that it could not be extinguished; so the Romans now enuironed with a flame, and despairing to rescue their vvorks, retired themselues into their campe, and left them on fire. But the Iewes vvere so much the more earnest, their number still increasing by new supply comming out of the citie: and so encouraged by this their victory, they rashly aduentured vnto the

A most bitter law among the Romans against those that forsooke their places.

Romans campe, & assaulted the guard there. Which guard, was a company placed round about before the campe in armour; and there vvas a law made, that vvhosoeuer of them forsooke his H
place, he should lose his life: so that they esteeming rather to die a glorious death, then ignominiously to suffer a penall punishment, resisted very valiantly: so that many that had fled, retired themselues back againe to fight, both for shame that they had forsaken their place, & for fear of punishment therefore; and placing engines vpon the rampire of their campe, they hindred the Iewes from issuing out of the citie any more: for they came out vnarmed, hauing nothing to defend their bodies withall. For the Iewes fought with whomsoeuer they met, and rashly running amongst their enemies pikes, they strooke them with their fists. For the Iewes preuailed more by their hardinesse, then by their deeds: and the Romans fledde more for the Iewes boldnesse, then for any harme they sustained by them.

Titus accuseth his souldiers of negligence.

Then *Titus* came from Antonia, where he had been to view a place to build an other rampier, I
and he greatly blamed the souldiers, who hauing gotten their enemies wals, did now suffer themselues to be in danger in their own wals; & now forced to abide that, which earst the Iewes did suffer, being now as it were broken out of prison: & so he with certaine chosen men assaulted the enemies on one side; and they, though striken vpon the faces, yet did they not giue backe, but stoutly resisted him: and so ioyning the battaile, the dust was so thicke, that none could see one another, nor any heare what was said for the cries and noise, so that now no man could discerne his friends from his foes. The Iewes persisted stil in the battaile, not for that they trusted to their force, or thereby preuailed, but because they were desperate. The Romanes on the other part tooke courage, and fought stoutly for shame, and for that *Cæsar* himselfe was in danger amongst

The Iewes retire within the citie.

them. So that I think, that had not the Iewes retired themselues into the citie, the furie of the K
Romans had then consumed the whole multitude. The Romans vvere now sorrowfull for the losse of their rampiers, vvho in one houre had lost that, which vvith such labour and so long time they had been making: and many of their engines beeing now displaced, they despaired to take the citie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the vvall vvhich the Romane armie built about Ierusalem in three daies space.

Titus consulteth with his captaines.

Titus now deliberated with his captaines what was to be done; and they that were most L
forward amongst them, thought it best with al the whole army to assault the wals: for that as yet the Iewes had onely fought with one part of the army, but they vvere not able to withstand the force of the vvhole army, but would be all consumed vvith darts and arrowes. The wiser sort again perswaded *Titus* to build rampiers: but others counselled the contrarie, to hold themselues quiet there, & onely to keep all places about, that no foode should be conueied into the citie, and so famish the citie, and neuer fight with the enemy. For that the Iewes beeing now desperate, & desiring to be slaine, vvould not be ouercome by force; or if not, to sley others vvhich vvas vvorst of all. But *Titus* thought it a shame to lie there idle with so huge an armie, and do nothing; yet he deemed it superfluous to fight with them, who would willingly fight to be slaine: and he could not make any mounts because he vvanted matter, and it vvas most M
difficult of all to guard euery place about the citie, that none could go forth, for that it could not be beleagerd round on euery side, by reason of the difficult places, & huge compasse therof, fearing also the dangers that so might ensue, the Iewes issuing out of the citie. For the Iewes seeing their opē waies all guarded by the Romans, they wold deuise some secret waies, both vrged ther vnto by necessity, & also because they knew all places thereabout very wel. And if so be that the Iews shold secretly effect any thing to preiudice them, that then their siege was like to continue

so

A so much the longer: so that he feared that the continuance of time would diminish the glorie of his victorie. For though all these waies might be taken, yet he preferred haste before glory: and if so be he would vse celeritie & safetie that then it was needfull for him to compasse the whole citie round about with a wall: for so all waies and passages might be hindred: and so the Iewes seeing now no hope of safety, should either be compelled to yeeld the citie, or else be consumed with famine, otherwise he could not be in safety and at quiet; and that so he might erect mounts, hauing that wall to defend them. And if any one thinke that worke difficult, and not to bee atchieued, let him consider that it did not become the Romanes to make a base or slender peece of worke: and that no man in the world could without labour effect any great matter, but God onely. Hauing with these speeches encouraged his captaines, he caused them to lead the souldiers, &

B disposе them all in these businesses. The soldiers had as it were some diuine force & courage fallen vpon them: for the captains parting the circuit amongst them, not onely they, but the souldiers also did striue who should first effect their part. And euery souldier laboured to please his Decurio, the Decurio to content the Centurion, & the Centurion the Colonell, the Colonell to please the Captaine, and the Captaine to please *Cæsar*, who euery day went round about and beheld the worke: and so beginning at the place called the Assyrians campe, where he was encamped, hee drew a wall all about, euen vnto the new citie, and from thence by Cedron and mount Oliuet, and so turned toward the South, and inclosed the mountaine to the rocke called Peristereonos, and the hill next adioining thereunto which hangeth ouer Siloa: and from thence bending his worke into the West, hee brought it downe all along the vally of the fountaine: from

C thence ascending to the monument of *Ananus* the high Priest where *Pompey* pitched his tents, and so brought it about by the North side of the citie: and comming along vnto the village called Erebinthonicus, he compassed the monument of *Herod* towards the East, and so ioyned the wall vnto his camp where he began. This wall was nine and thirty furlongs about. Without this wall he builded also thirteen forts, euery one ten furlongs in compasse. And all this whole work was finished in three daies space, which desired moneths to haue been builded in: so that the celerity in the building thereof doth make it scarcely credible. The citie being thus encompassed with a wall, and guards placed in euery fort, *Titus* himselfe did still goe round about the first watch, to see all things in good order: the second watch hee allotted vnto *Alexander*, and the third vnto the captaines of the legions, and the watchmen appointed euery one in his turne to

D sleep in: and so all night long some of them went about the Castle.

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Thus determineth to inclose the citie with a wall.

The Romans with ceasselesse labour build the wall.

One wall of 39 stounds, whereof one containeth eight furlongs or thereabout.

The Romans plant their courts of guard in seuerall Castles.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the famine in Ierusalem: and of the building of the second rampire by the Romans.

THe restraint of liberty to passe in and out of the citie tooke from the Iewes all hope of safety, and the famine now increasing, consumed whole households and families; and the houses were full of dead women and infants; and the streetes filled with the dead bodies of old men: And the yong men swollen like dead mens shadowes, walked in the

E market place, and fell down dead where it happened. And now the multitude of dead bodies was so great, that they that were aliue could not bury them, nor cared they for burying them, being now vncertaine what should betide themselues. And many endeuouring to bury others, fell downe themselues dead vpon them as they were burying them. And many being yet aliue, went vnto their graues & there died. Yet for all this calamity was there no weeping nor lamentation, for famine ouercame all affections. And they who were yet liuing, without teares beheld those, who being dead, were now at rest before them. There was no noyse heard within the citie, and the still night found all full of dead bodies: and which was most miserable of all, the theeues at night came and took away that which couered the dead bodies nakednesse, and went laughing away, and in their bodies they proued their swords, and vpon pleasure only thrust many through yet breathing. Yet if any had desired them to kill him, or to lend him a sword to kill

F himselfe, that so he might escape the famine, they denied him. And euery one that died, as he was dying, fixed his eyes vpon the temple, and beheld it now with griefe, leauing the seditious behind them. The seditious now not able to endure the stink of the dead bodies that lay corrupted about the ground, first commanded that all such should bee buried at the charges of the citie: at last finding not place wherein to bury them all, they threw them ouer the walles into the ditch. When *Titus*, going about the wals, beheld all the ditch filled with dead mens bodies, hee

The houses & waies full of dead men.

The dead lie vnburied in the streets.

The cruelty of the theeues against those that lie a dying.

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lamented; and lifting vp his hands to heauen, he called God to witnes, that it was not his doing. G
Such was the estate of the citie. Now the Romans, when none of the seditious durst make any more excursions, passed their time in ioy and mirth: for they neither suffered famin nor sorrow, hauing abundance of corne, and all other necessaries out of Syria, and the prouinces adioyning: and many standing before the wals, and shewing their abundance of victuals vnto the Iewes, did so much more encrease their famine. Yet were not the seditious people moued at these calamities: wherefore *Titus* pitying the reliques of the nation, and minding at least to saue them that were left aliue, hasted to take the citie, and so he began anew to build mounts, though he scarcely found matter to do it withall. For all the wood neere vnto the citie was consumed in the first workes, so that now the souldiers were forced to fetch more wood 90. furlongs off; and only against Antonia, were erected in foure places foure mounts greater then the former. *Cæsar* went H
about & hastned the workmen, and now shewed the thieues that they were fallen into his hands. Yet for all this they would not repent: and now as it were depriued of their wits and bodies, they vsed both as though borrowed, and not their owne. For neither did any affection mooue their minds, nor any griefe their bodies: for they rent and tore the dead bodies like dogs, and filled the prisons with weake and languishing people.

Titus lifting vp his hands to heauen, calleth God to witnes that the fault is not his.

The Romans shew the Iews their aboundance of victuals.

Titus pitying the remainder of the nation laboureth to saue them.

The blindnes of the Iewes.

CHAP. XV.

Of the massacre of the Iewes, both within and without the Citie.

I

AT last, *Simon* hauing tormented *Matthias*, put him to death, notwithstanding that by his meanes he had obtained the citie. This *Matthias* was sonne vnto *Boethus* a Priest, whom the people for his fidelity towards them greatly esteemed of: who seeing the outrage of the Zelous towardes the people, *Iohn* being now ioyned with them, perswaded the people to call in *Simon* to helpe them, conditioning nothing with him before, for that they misdoubted no euill. And when he was come into the citie, hee held him for his enemy as well as the rest: notwithstanding, that by his only aduice he was receiued into the city, as though *Matthias* had only done that of simplicity. Wherefore calling him before the people, hee accused him that hee did fauour the Romans, and so condemned him to die, not suffering him to cleare himselfe; and put to death likewise his three sonnes with him, for the fourth was K
before this time fled vnto *Titus*. *Matthias* requested *Simon* that hee might bee put to death before his sonnes: but *Simon*, in regard that by his meanes hee had gotten the Citie, caused him to be executed last of all. And so he was killed vpon the murdered bodies of his sonnes, in a place where the Romans might behold him: for so *Simon* commanded *Ananus* his executioner who was the son of *Bamadus*. This man was the most cruell of all *Simons* followers: who euen when he was to kill *Matthias*, derided him, asking what they could now help him, to whom he sought to flie, and permitted not their bodies to be buried. After them *Ananias* a Priest the sonne of *Masbalus* a noble man, and chiefe Secretary to the councell, a valiant strong man and borne at Emaus, and with him fifteen of the chiefest men in the citie were put to death. They tooke also *Iosephs* father and kept him in prison, and with the publike voyce of a crier proclaimed, that no L
man should talke with him nor visit him, pretending feare of treason: and whosoeuer bewailed his estate, were put to death without any triall. It hapned, a certaine man called *Iudas* the son of *Iudas*, who was one of *Simons* captaines seeing this (who also kept a tower that *Simon* committed vnto his charge, perhaps moued with compassion towards them that perished without desert, yet rather fearing his owne life) assembled together ten of his most trusty cõpanions, & said;
" How long shall we endure these calamities? Or what hope haue we of life in being trusty to a
" most impious man? Behold how famine doth take our citie. The Romans are almost within our
" walls, & *Simon* is cruell & faithless, euen towards them that haue wel deserued at his hands: with
" him we are in fear of punishment; if we fly vnto the Romans, we shall assuredly be receiued into
" fauour. Wherfore let vs deliuer the wall vnto them, and saue our selues & our citie. Neither can M
" *Simon* herby sustaine any great losse, in being punished a little sooner, then otherwise he should
be, being now desperate of his own health and safety. The ten men to whom in this manner hee brake his mind, agreed hereunto, and so he in the morning sent the rest of his souldiers vnder his rule into diuers places, that they might not perceiue his intent, and hee at the third houre of the day standing vpon the tower, called the Romans. But some of the Romans proudly contemned their offer, and others scarcely beleeued them, and the rest made no speed to come. In the meane time

Simons cruelty against Matthias and his sons.

Ananus one of the cruelst soldiers about Simon.

Ananias the Priest with 15. of the noblest people slain.

Iosephs father taken.

Iudas consultation with his companions

Iudas with his companions is slaine by Simon.

A time while *Titus* with certaine armed men came vnto the wall, *Simon* had notice of their intent; and ſo ſpeedily got the tower, and ſlew them that were within, in the ſight of the Romans, & caſt down their bodies ouer the wall. And *Ioſeph* going about the wall, and comming thither (for he neuer ceaſed from requeſting the Iewes to remember their eſtate) he was ſtrooke vpon the head with a ſtone, and ſo amazed with the blow fell downe: who being fallen downe, preſently the Iewes made excurſions out of the citie, & had carried him away into the citie, had not *Titus* ſent men to defend him: and whileſt they fought; *Ioſeph* was carried away, ſcarcely knowing what was done. The ſeditious with lowd cries reioiced, as hauing ſlain him whoſe death they chiefly deſired; and ſo they reported within the citie. Hereupon the people were moſt ſorrowfull, verily beleeuing him to be ſlaine, by whom they had confidence to fly vnto the Romans.

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Ioſeph wounded in the head with a ſtone, and the rumor is ſpred thorow the citie.

B When *Ioſephs* mother who was in priſon heard this, ſhe ſaid vnto thoſe of Iotapata that were her keepers, that ſhe verily beleeued it, for that he was neuer taken aliue by the Romans: yet ſecretly vnto her maidens ſhe wept, and ſaid, that this benefit ſhe receiued by hauing borne a ſon, that ſhe could not bury him by whom ſhe hoped to haue bin buried herſelf. But this falſe report did not long grieue her, nor comfort the theeues: for *Ioſeph* was quickly healed of his wound, and recouered; and ſhewing himſelfe he cried vnto them, that ere long they ſhould finde that he would be reuenged on them for his wound; yet he ceaſed not to exhort the people to obey the Romans, and yeeld: but the ſeditious ſeeing him aliue were aſtoniſhed, and the people conceiued good hope. Many (preſent neceſſity vrging them) leapt off the wals and fled vnto the Romans; diuers, with ſtones going forth vnder pretence to fight with the Romans, yeelded themſelues,

Ioſeph recouereth vpon his wound.

C who had harder fortune there then within the citie; and were now more harmed by plenty of victuals which they found amongſt the Romans, then with their famin they ſuffered in the citie: for many became by famine all ſwollen, as though they had the dropſie, & preſently filling their empty bodies they burſt; and ſo all died, ſaue only thoſe who being warie did by little and little accuſtome their bodies to food, which they had long wanted. Yet they who thus eſcaped fel into another grieuous misfortune: for one of the Iews that were fled vnto the Romans was found amongſt the Syrians, gathering gold out of his owne dung which he had ſwallowed, as is before ſaid; for that the ſeditious did ſearch all, and take that they could find from them: and there was very great ſtore of gold in the citie, and that now was ſold for twelue Atticks which before was worth twenty fiue. This deuice being diſcouered in one; preſently a report was ſpread all ouer

Many that fled fro famin at home met with more ſpeedy death among the Romans.

D the whole camp; that the Iewes that fled from the citie came full of gold. And now the Arabians and Syrians did rip the bellies of their poore ſuppliants, to ſee if they could find any gold or ſiluer within them. And I am perſwaded that there was no greater calamitie befell the Iewes then this was: for in one night the bellies of 2000. Iewes were ript. *Titus* hearing of this cruelty; had cauſed the authors hereof to haue bin compaſſed round with horſmen, and ſlain with darts; and had the multitude of offenders bin knowne, many more of them ſhould haue bin puniſhed, then of the Iewes that were ſo murthered. Wherefore he called together the leaders of the ſoldiers that came to help him, and the Roman captaines (for ſome of the Romans alſo did commit this fault) and ſaid vnto them in anger, that if any of his ſouldiers did commit any ſuch acts for

Two thouſand Iewes embowelled in one night.

Titus diſpleaſed at this curſed act.

E vncertaine gaine, and were not aſhamed that their armour ſhould be made of gold and ſiluer: or if the Arabians in theſe warres againſt ſtrangers did what they pleaſed, and preſently cauſe the infamy of their vile facts to redound vnto the Romans; they committing ſuch murders and exerciſing their hatred againſt the Iewes (for now euery one that bare armes vnder him were diffamed with this vile report) he declared vnto them, that ſuch being hereafter found in that fact, ſhould be put to death. Alſo he commanded his owne legions to make enquirie, who were ſuſpected among them for this matter, and bring him word thereof. But auarice is not terrified by

Auarice is not terrified with any puniſhment.

feare of puniſhment, and cruell people haue naturally a deſire of lucre and gaine, and no one calamity may be compared to the deſire of wealth; yet ſometime it is bridled and reſtrained for feare. But now God who had giuen ouer the people to perdition, ſuffred all things to be turned

F to their deſtruction: for that which *Cæſar* did ſo ſtreightly forbid, was ſtill ſecretly committed againſt the poore Iewes that fled for mercy vnto the Romans. So that now whoſoeuer fled out of the citie, the ſouldiers firſt looking about them, leaſt any of the Romans ſhould ſee them, ript their bellies, and ſo got an vngodly and impious booty; yet in very few did they find that they ſought for; and the moſt of them that were ſlaine had no gold nor ſiluer found within them. And this miſchiefe cauſed many that fled vnto the Romans to returne againe into the Citie.

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CHAP. XVI.

Of the sacrilege committed about the Temple, and the dead bodies cast out of the Citie: and of the famine.

John falleth to sacrilege, & taketh away many presents out of the temple.

WHen *Iohn* could rob no more, nor get any spoile from the citizens, whom he had robbed of all they had, he presently fell to sacrilege, and tooke many gifts that were bestowed vpon the temple, and carried away sacred vessels for diuine seruice, as cups, plates, tables, and the cruets of gold that *Augustus* & his wife sent. So that now a Iew robbed and spoiled the temple of all gifts wherewith the Roman Emperours and other nations had honored it: affirming vnto his associates, that without feare they might vse the holy things of the temple, seeing they fought for God and the temple, and therfore it was lawfull for them to be fed by the riches of the temple. Moreouer, that it was lawfull for them to spend the holy wine and oile which the Priests reserued for diuine sacrifice: which he distributed in the temple amongst the multitude, and they without feare were anointed therewith, and dranke thereof. I will not cease to speake that which griefe compelleth me. I verily thinke that had the Romans forborne to haue come against these seditious, that either the earth would haue swallowed the citie vp, or some deluge haue drowned it, or else the thunder & lightning which consumed Sodome would haue light vpon it: for the people of the citie were farre more impious then the Sodomites. In briefe, by their desperation and obstinacy the whole nation was extinguished. What need I recount euery particular misery? *Mannæus* the son of *Lazarus* flying to *Titus* out of the gate that was committed vnto his custody, and yeelding himselfe vnto him, recounted vnto *Titus* that from the time that the Romans army was placed neer the citie, from the 14. day of Aprill, vntill the first of Iuly, were carried out of that gate he kept, a hundreth, fifteene thousand and fourescore dead bodies; yet was not he the keeper of the gate; but being appointed to pay for the burying of the dead at the charges of the citie, was forced to number the dead bodies. For others were buried by their parents, and this was their buriall, to cast them out of the citie, and there let them lie. And certaine noblemen flying vnto *Titus* after him, reported that there were dead in the citie 600000. poore folkes which were cast out of the gates, and the others that died were innumerable: and that when so many died that they were not able to bury them, that then they gathered their bodies together in the greatest houses adioyning, and there shut them vp. And that a bushell of corne was sold for a talent, which is six hundreth crownes: and that after the citie was compassed with a wall that now they could not goe out to gather any more hearbs, many were driuen to that necessity, that they raked sinkes and priuies to finde old dung of Oxen to eate; and so the dung that was loathsome to behold, was their meat. The Romans hearing this, were mooued to compassion; yet the seditious within the citie who beheld this miserable sight were nothing mooued, nor repented not, but suffered them to be brought to that calamity: for their hearts were so blinded by the prouidence of God, that they could not see what hanged ouer their heads, and ouer the citie.

Six hundreth thousand dead carcasses cast out of the city

Cow dung & durt gathered togither is the Iewes food.

THE

A

THE SEVENH BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

B

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2 *How the Romans assaulted Antonia, and were repulsed by the Iewes.*
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CHAP. I.

Of the breach made in the vvals: and how the mounts vvere burned: and how Sabinus *assaulted the vvall.*

F THE misery of Ierusalem euery day encreased, the seditious being by reason of their misery more and more incited against the people: for now the famine was not only amongst the people, but amongst them also. And it was a miserable sight to see the multitude of dead bodies heaped together in the citie, from which came a pestilent & infectious smell, so that it hindred the soldiers from making excursions. For they were forced to tread vpon dead bodies, as though they were to march along a field couered with dead carcasses. Hauing now embrued their hands in the blood of their countrimen, they prepared to resist & fight with their

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The multitude of carcasses heaped in the citie is hideous to behold.

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their enemies, and (as it seemeth to me) hereby vpbraiding God in that he so deferred to punish them. For the greatest part of them did now fight more earnestly then before, not for hope of safety, but as despairing of all. The Romans though much troubled to get wood to build withall; yet did they in one and twenty daies finish their mounts, hauing cut down all the woods neer the citie by 90. furlongs. It was miserable to behold that countrey and place, before all beset with trees and fertill plants, now to lie plaine like a desart, all cut down: neither was there any stranger that before time had seen Iudæa, and the beautifull suburbs of Ierusalem, who now beholding it could abstaine from teares, or not lament the woefull change so farre different from the former. For now this war extinguished vtterly all signes of beauty: neither could one comming suddenly now know the place which he well knew before.

The Iewes vpbraided God in that he so long delaied to punish thē. Iudæa desert and desolate.

When the mounts were ended, both the Romans and the Iews greatly feared: the Iewes for that except they were destroyed, their citie would be presently taken: the Romans, for that if these were ouerthrowne, they knew not how to erect more, wanting matter: and now their bodies were wearied with labour, and their mindes with many griefes and molestations. But the Romans were more grieued at the calamity of the citie, then the citizens within: for the Iewes notwithstanding these miseries did neuertheless stoutly defend their wals: but the courages of the Romans failed, when they saw that the Iewes policy made their mounts vnprofitable, that the strength of the wals resisted their engines, that the Iewes boldnes ouercame their strength in fight; and especially seeing that the Iews hauing endured such calamity, famine, & misery, were still more courageous then before: so that they deemed their strength not to be ouercome; and that their minds were inuincible, who were hardned and encouraged by misery. For who were able to abide their forces in prosperity, who by aduersity were incited to vertue? Wherfore the Romans made a stronger watch about their mounts. But *Iohns* followers who were in the Castle Antonia, fearing what might ensue if the wall were batterd, preuented it in what they could, before the Rams were set vp: and taking firebrands in their hands they assaulted the mount; but deceiued with a vain hope they retired themselues. For first of all they seemed to disagree among themselues; so that they came from their wals one after another, and some space between euery one; so that they came softly & fearfully; and briefly, not after the maner of the Iewes: for they wanted courage, rashnes, and flocking together at once, which is proper vnto all that nation, and so came more soberly, and with lesse courage then they were wont. They did also find the Romans more courageous then of late, who so defended their mouts with their bodies & weapons, that it was not possible to come and fire them; and euery one was fully determined not to shrink out of his place till he was slaine. For besides that if so be that work were destroyed, they had no hope left to build more; they all accounted it a shame that their vertue should be ouercome by subtilty, or their weapons by rashnes and temerity, or their skill by a multitude; or the Romans by the Iewes. Also they had engines to cast darts at them as they came downe their wals. And when any one of the Iewes that was slaine fell downe, hee hindred them that followed, and the danger of him that went before terrified them that came after. They also that rashly aduentured within the shot of a dart, either were terrified with the discipline, and multitude of their enemies, or else wounded with their darts: and so they all retyred, one accusing another of cowardlinesse, and atchieued nothing.

The Iewes & Romans are equally afraid.

The Romans most of all fear the desperatnesse of the Iewes.

The Iews with firebrands set vpon the engines: but losing their hope returne back againe.

The valour & violence of the Iewes decreaseth.

The Iewes retire, arguing one another of cowardize.

The first day of Iuly the citie was assaulted: and the Iewes being now retyred, the Romans set vp their Rammes, notwithstanding that they were assaulted from Antonia with stones, fire and sword, and whatsoeuer their enemies in that extremity could finde. For though the Iewes had great confidence in their wals, as that they could not be battered; yet did they not permit the Romans to place their Rams against them. And the Romans being perswaded that the Iewes so laboured, because they knew their wals to be weak, and least Antonia by the breach of the wall should be hurt, did striue to place them against the wals. But the wall would not yeeld vnto the Ram: yet did the Romans safely & without danger (notwithstanding that many darts were cast at them from off the wals) persist to beat the wal with their Rams: who being below and seeing the stones broken with the force of their engins, they shielded thēselues with their bucklers: and so some with their hands pulled the stones out of the wall; some digged vnder the foundation therof: and when foure stones with much labour were broken & shaken, the night hindred both parties from doing any more at that time, and in it the wall now shaken with the Ramme (in the place which *Iohn* had vndermined to destroy the mounts, the mine settling) fell down. So, that fel out otherwise then either part expected: For the Iewes who indeed had cause to be sorrowfull for the mine of the wall, and for that they did not preuent that mischance, were ioyfull and coura-

The assault of the citie the first day of Iuly.

The Romans vndermine the wall.

A courageous, as though Antonia did yet remain firme and ſtrong: And the Romans reioicing for this vnexpected fall, were againe diſmaied, ſeeing the other wall that *Iohn* had built within, yet they iudged it eaſier to be taken then the former; but no man durſt aſcend it, for that he who firſt aſſaulted it, was certain to dy. *Titus*, thinking that by hope and perſwaſion his ſouldiers might be encouraged, and knowing many times promiſes and exhortations make men forget danger, and ſometime to contemne death it ſelfe, he called together the moſt valiant of all his ſouldiers, and ſpake thus vnto them as followeth; Fellow ſouldiers, it is manifeſt cowardlineſſe to exhort men to enterpriſe a thing without danger, both in them that are exhorted, and in him that exhorts: for exhortations are onely to be vſed in doubtfull affaires, wherein it is praiſe worthy for euery man to aduenture himſelfe. So that I confeſſe it is hard for you to aſcend the wal: yet wil I ſhew you that it is a glorious death to dy in ſuch a fight, and eſpecially it becometh them that are deſirous to win honour; and that they that firſt aduenture valiantly to do it, ſhall not go away vnrewarded. And firſt let this moue you which terrifieth others, to wit, the patient minde of the Iewes, and their conſtancy in aduerſity. For it is a ſhame for the Roman ſouldiers, who in time of peace practice themſelues in warlike feats, and are accuſtomed in war to get the victory, now to be ouercom by the Iewes; and that in the end of the victory, we hauing alſo God to help vs: for all our harmes proceed from the Iewes deſperation; and their deſtruction and calamity by Gods fauor and your valour is euery day increaſed. For what elſe is betokened by their ſedition amongſt themſelues, their famine, the fall of their wals without our engines to batter them, and the ſiege it ſelfe, then the wrath of God towards them, and his fauour toward vs? Wherefore it is vnſeemly for you either to giue place to your inferiors, or to betray Gods fauour and furtherance. Is it not a ſhame that the Iewes, who, were they conquered, ſuſtained no great reproach, as beeing accuſtomed to ſerue and obey others, ſhould ſo valiantly contemne death, leſt they ſhould hereafter ſuffer or endure the like; and many times boldly to aduenture and make excurſions euen amongſt the midſt of vs, not for hope they haue to ouercome vs, but onely to ſhew their valour: and wee, who haue conquered almoſt the earth and ſea, to whom it is an infamy not to be victorious, to lie idle, neuer making valiant aſſault vpon our enemies, but beeing thus armed, to expect till fortune and famine deliuer them into our hands? Eſpecially ſeeing that by vndergoing a little danger, all will be ours. If we get into Antonia, we haue taken the City. For ſuppoſe that we were then to fight againſt them that are within the city (which I do not think) we hauing gotten the higher part of the city, being aboue our enemies head, are then aſſured of a perfect victory ouer them. I omit now their commendations who haue beene ſlaine in wars, and their immortalitie whom Martiall fury hath depriued of this life: and thoſe that do not ſo think, I pray that they may die of ſome euill death in peace, whoſe ſoules are condemned to be enterred with their bodies. For what valiant man knoweth not that the ſoule of him that dies in war, is preſently receiued into the moſt pure airie element, & frō thence caried & placed among the ſtars of heauen, and the good and valiant ghoſts doe alwaies aſſiſt his poſterity? And that all that in peace do dy of ſome diſeaſe and ſickneſs, their ſoules are kept in the bowels of the earth in darkneſs: notwithſtanding that they be moſt iuſt and pure, and preſently they are forgotten, and their life and memory together with them extinguiſhed. Seeing therefore that we are all certain to dy, & that to dy by the ſword is a more eaſie death then to dy by any diſeaſe, why ſhould we depriue our ſelues of this opportunity, ſeeing that at laſt we muſt neceſſarily forgo our liues as due debt vnto the deſtinies? And this I haue ſpoken as though it were vnpoſſible to eſcape with life, you doing your endeuors; yet they that beare the mindes of men can finde meanes to ſaue themſelues euen in the greateſt dangers. For firſt of al, that part of the wal that is fallen may eaſily be entred, and the wall new built is not hard to be thrown down: and many of you together enterpriſing this work, may one exhort and helpe another, and your audacity and courage wil quickly daunt the enemies harts, and perhaps may get vs the victory if we get this one place without bloudſhed. For they will not reſiſt vs if we offer to aſcend the wall: and let vs but effect any one exploit either ſecretly or openly, and the Iewes will neuer more endure vs, though we be but few in number. And I would be aſhamed if I did not ſo reward him that doth firſt begin, as to make all that are in our army to enuy his happineſſe: and from henceforth I decree, that whoſoeuer eſcapeth, ſhall be Gouernour ouer them that are now his equals; and whoſo is ſlain in this quarrell, I will do him great honour.

Titus hauing thus ſpoken, the reſt of the multitude feared the greatnes of the danger: but one of them that warred in the companies, named *Sabinus*, a Syrian borne, a man of excellent ſtrength and courage; yet of ſo ſmall ſtature, that if one had ſeen him, they would haue deemed him

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No man durſt aſcend the wal that Iohn built. Titus exhortation to the moſt valiant and ſtrongeſt.

The patient mindes of the Iewes, & their conſtancy in misfortunes.

The wrath of God againſt the Iewes, is the Romans furtherance.

Titus ſpeaks of the life to come after a poeticall manner.

The reward of valiant men.

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him vnfit to haue been a ſouldier: for he was of very ſmal ſtature and of black colour, but he had a mind far bigger then his body, and ſtrength ſcarce able to be contained in ſo little room. This *Sabinus* riſing vp, ſaid; I offer my ſelfe vnto thee, O *Ceſar*, firſt of all to aſcend the wall, and that with a willing mind, requeſting that my fortune may aſſiſt my ſtrength and mind: yet if fortune ſhall hinder my enterpriſe, know that I dy not againſt my expectation, but that I will gladly giue my life for thee. When he had ſo ſaid, he took his ſhield in his left hand, and holding it aboue his head, with his drawne ſword in his right hand, about the ſixt houre of the day he went vnto the wall: and eleuen men followed him, who only enuied his vertue. But *Sabinus* with a diuine feruour of ſpirit went before them all; notwithſtanding that on euery ſide the Iewes vpon the wal caſt an infinit number of darts at him, and rowled down vpon him huge ſtones, which did ſtrike downe ſome of the eleauen that followed him. But *Sabinus*, meeting the darts and peſtering arrowes, yet did not remit his force, till ſuch time as he had gotten to the top of the wall, and put the enemies to flight: who, terrified with his ſtrength and courage, and indeed thinking that more had come vp after him, fled. Wherein, who may not iuſtly blame Fortune, and accuſe her; as enuying at vertuous acts? For this man failed not of his purpoſe, yet was hee ſtricken with a ſtone, and throwne downe flat vpon his face moſt violently with a great noiſe: ſo that now the Iewes ſeeing him alone, and lying on the ground, returned againe, and ſhot at him on euery ſide: and he kneeling vpon his knees, and couering himſelf with his ſhield, did firſt of all reuenge himſelfe vpon his enemies, and wounded many that came neere him, till with wounding them hee was ſo weary, that he could ſtrike no longer; and ſo at laſt was ſlain with arrows: a man who for his valour deſerued better fortune, and died as valiantly as his enterpriſe was courageous. Thoſe that were left of his company, hauing almoſt gotten to the toppe of the wall, were ſlaine with ſtones, and the reſt being wounded were carried into the camp. And this was done the third day of Iuly.

Sabinus a man of low ſtature, yet both in hand and hart valiant.

Sabinus with 11. men approcheth the wal.

The power of Fortune.

Sabinus with 3. companions ſlaine.

CHAP. II.

How the Romans aſſaulted Antonia, and how they were driuen back from thence by the Iewes.

TWo daies after, twenty of the watchmen which guarded the mounts, two horſemen, and one trumpeter, gatherd themſelues together: and about the ninth houre of the night, they came by the ruines into Antonia without any reſiſtance: and finding the firſt watchmen aſleepe, they ſlew them, and got the wall, and commanded the trumpetter to ſound; by which ſound the reſt of the watchmen were awaked, and fled for feare, before they ſaw what company of the Romans were gotten vpon the wall: and the ſound of the trumpet perſwaded them, that a great multitude of enemies were come vp the wall. *Ceſar*, hearing the ſound of the trumpet, preſently armed his ſouldiers; and accompanied with his chiefe Captaines, and a company of choſen men, he aſcended the wall. The Iewes fledde into the inner Temple, and the Romans alſo brake in amongſt them by the mine that *Iohn* had made to deſtroy the mounts of the Romans. And the followers both of *Iohn* and *Simon*, did courageouſly driue them back: for they thought it the vtter ruine of all, that the Romans were now gotten into the holy place, which indeed was the beginning of their victory. So they began a ſore fight, euen in the very entrance, the Romans ſtriuing to get the inner Temple, and the Iewes endeuouring to beat them back towards Antonia. And now arrowes, darts, and ſpeares, nothing auailed either part, but they both fought it out at handie blowes with ſwords: & in that conflict no man could diſcerne on which ſide any one fought; for the ſouldiers on both parts were mingled together, & for the ſtraightnes of the place, could not keep their roomes: for there was ſuch a noiſe that no man could heare one another, and many were ſlaine on both parts: & the dead bodies of thoſe that were ſlain and their weapons falling with them, did hurt many that trode vpon them; and whoſoeuer had the worſt, preſently cried out pittifully, and the victors ſhouted for ioy: neither was there any place to flie or follow; the fight was ſuch, that now one had the better, and now the other. Moreouer, they that ſtood in the forefront of the battell, were either of neceſſity to kill or be killed: for there was no void ſpace left between the two armies. At laſt the Iews courage ouercame the Romans skill, and they were all beaten back (hauing fought from the ninth houre of the night vnto the ſeauenth houre of the day.) The Iewes were encouraged to fight for feare they ſhould be ouercome. And that parcell of the Romane army (for as yet the legions were not come) thought it ſufficient at that time to haue gotten the Caſtle of Antonia.

The Romans inuade Antonia.

A moſt ſtout fight about the entrance of the inner Temple.

The ſtraightnes of the place was incommodious for the fight.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the exceeding valour of Iulian *the Roman ſouldier.*

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Iulians famous fortitude.

THere was one *Iulian*, a Centurion, borne in Bithynia, of good parentage, who (as my ſelfe well knew) was moſt valiant of all, both in ſtrength of body and skill, and courageous mind. This *Iulian*, ſeeing now the Romans to haue the worſt (ſtanding by *Titus* in Antonia) he preſently leapt down, and all alone purſued the Iewes who had the victory, into the inner temple. And the whole multitude fled, deeming him by his force and courage, not to haue been a man. But he amongſt the midſt of them, ſlew whomſoeuer he light on, one of them for haſte caſting down another. So that this his deed ſeemd admirable to *Cæſar*, and terrible to his enemies. Yet did that deſtiny befall him which no man can eſcape; for hauing his ſhooes full of ſharp nailes, as other ſouldiers haue, running vpon the pauement, hee ſlipt and fell downe, his armor in the fal making a great noiſe: wherat his enemies, who before fled, now turned againe vpon him. Then the Romans in Antonia fearing his life, cried out: but the Iewes many at once ſtrooke him with ſwords and ſpeares. And hee defended many blowes with his ſhield, and many times attempting to riſe, they ſtrook him down againe: yet as he lay he wounded many; neither was he quickly ſlaine, becauſe all parts of his body, which beeing wounded might cauſe preſent death, were armed, and ſhrunk in his neck a long time til the reſt of his body being cut off, and no man helping him, his ſtrength failed. *Cæſar* was very ſorrowful to ſee a man of ſo great force and fortitude ſlaine in the ſight of ſuch a multitude: and that the place wherein he was, hindred him from helping *Iulian*; and others that might haue helped him, durſt not for feare. At laſt, when *Iulian* had a long time ſtriuen with death, and wounded many of them that ſlew him, he was with much ado killed, leauing behinde him a renowmed memory, not onely amongſt the Romans and *Cæſar*, but alſo amongſt his enemies. Then the Iewes took his dead body, and beat back the Romans and ſhut them in Antonia. In this battell one *Alexas* and *Gyphthæus*, two of *Iohns* company, fought valiantly, and of *Simons* company *Malachias* and *Iudas*, the ſon of *Merlon*, and *Iames* the ſon of *Soſa*, captain of the Idumæans; and two brethren of the Zelous, the ſons of *Iairus*, *Simon* and *Iudas*.

Iulian running, falls vpon the pauement.

Iulians death.

Valiant ſouldiers amongſt the Iewes.

CHAP. IIII.

Ioſephs *ſpeech, perſwading the Iewes to yeeld their City: and how many of them fled vnto the Romans.*

AFter that *Titus* had commanded his ſouldiers to pull down the foundations of Antonia, and make an eaſie entrance for the whole army: he called *Ioſeph* vnto him (for he vnderſtood, that day beeing the ſeauenteenth of Iuly, that the Iewes were wont to celebrate a certaine feaſt to God, which they called *Entelechiſmus*, and that it was not ſolemnized for want of men; ſo that the people greatly mourned therefore) and againe commanded him to tel *Iohn* that whereof before hee had ſent him word, to wit, that if he deſired to fight, he ſhould haue liberty to come, with what multitude he pleaſed; ſo that the city and the temple might not both periſh with him, willing him now to deſiſt from prophaning the holy place, and from ſinning againſt God: ſending him alſo word, that if he ſo pleaſed, he would grant him leaue to celebrate the feſtiuity which had been now long time omitted, and that by what company he pleaſed. *Ioſeph* to the intent that not onely *Iohn* might heare this offer of *Titus*, but alſo the reſt of the people, he ſtood in an eminent place, from whence he might be heard, and in the Hebrew tongue he recounted vnto the Iewes *Cæſars* pleaſure, earneſtly requeſting them to ſpare their country, and forbid the fire now ready to take hold of their temple, and to offer the accuſtomed ſacrifices vnto God. When he had thus ſaid, the people were very ſorrowfull, and euery one held his peace, not knowing what to ſay. But the tyrant *Iohn* hauing vſed many railing ſpeeches againſt *Ioſeph*, at laſt he anſwered, that he need not fear the deſtruction of the temple and city, ſeeing that it belonged to God.

Titus willeth Iohn to come out to fight, leſt with him the city and temple ſhould periſh alſo.

Iohn raileth againſt Ioſeph.

Then *Ioſeph* with a loud voice cried out, True it is, you haue kept it pure, and vnprophaned for God, and the holy things you haue kept inuiolate, neither haſt thou committed any iniquity againſt him, from whom thou expecteſt help, but haſt offred ſolemne ſacrifice vnto him. If any man ſhould take from thee thy daily food, no doubt thou wouldſt account him thy enimy: canſt thou then hope that God, whō thou haſt depriued of daily ſacrifice, wil aſſiſt thee in theſe wars?

Doſt

The yeare of the world,4034.after Christs birth 72.

Dost thou impute these offences to the Romans? why? they euen now do defend our religion, and command sacrifice to bee offred, which thou hast forbidden. Who doth not bewaile this vnexpected change,and lament our city? Strangers and enemies correct thy impiety,and thou a Iew born,and brought vp in our lawe,art more cruell then they. But consider *Iohn*,it is no shame to repent thy wickednes in extreamity: and at the last cast, if thou be desirous to saue thy countrey,thou hast a good example of *Iechonias*,sometime king of the Iewes; who,when the Babylonians warred against him,of his owne accord went out of the city before it was taken, and willingly endured captiuity with all his family and kinred onely, lest hee should betray these holy places to his enemies,and behold the temple fired.And for this act of his, he is of sacred memory among the Iewes,and hath thereby gained immortall credit amongst all his posterity. This is a good example,O *Iohn*,although danger be at hand: and I wil promise thee also pardon,from the Romans,onely remember that I thy countriman admonish thee, and promise this vnto the Iewes: behold who is the author and counseller hereof. God forbid that euen I should so liue a captiue,that I should not liue according to the lawes of our country.Yet thou art againe incensed against me, and exclaimest on me, and cursest me. But true it is, I deserue worse then this; who seek to perswade contrary vnto the determination of Gods prouidence, and striue to saue them whom his sentence hath condemned.Who is ignorant of the writings of the ancient prophets & their prophecies,now hanging ouer this wretched city? For then it is foretold by them to be destroied, when we murther our owne nation: andnow not onely the citie, but also the temple is full of your dead bodies.Certainly it is God,God it is that,together with the Romans, bringeth in fire to purge this city filled with iniquity.

Iechonias sustained a voluntary banishment in Babylon.

The City by the ordinance of fate and Gods will was to bee ouerthrowne.

Iosephs speeches interrupted with sighs.

Ioseph thus crying with teares and lamentations, hee could speake no more for sobbing: And the Romans,compassionating his sorrow and affliction, were astonished. But *Iohn* and his confederates were so much the more incited against the Romans,and sought to take *Ioseph*; yet his speech did moue many of the nobles; and diuers, fearing the seditious watchmen,remained stil where they were, making full account both of their owne destruction, and the subuersion of the City. Yet some there were, who, finding opportunity, fled vnto the Romans: amongst whom were two priests,*Ioseph* and *Iesus*,and three sons of *Ismael* the priest,who was beheaded at Cyren,and foure sonnes of *Matthias* the priest,and one of the other *Matthias*, who escaped vnto the Romans before his father was put to death by *Simon Giora*, with his three sons,as is before said: and many other nobles reuolted with the priests,whom the Emperor receiu'd very curteously, and sent them into Gophna; knowing that it was a griefe for them to conuerse amongst people of diuers manners from them, and willed them to remaine there, and promised euery one of them great possessions after the warres were ended. So they ioyfully departed vnto the place appointed. But the seditious, for that they were not seene, reported vnto the people, that they who had fled vnto the Romans were slaine, meaning heereby to terrifie the rest from fleeing to them: and thus their deuice awhile preuailed, as their former did; and they that faine would, durst not now flee for feare. But afterward when *Titus* recalled them from Gophna, and commanded them to go about the wals with *Ioseph*,and shew themselues vnto the people;then many of the Iewes fled vnto the Romans. And after they had gathered themselues together, standing all before the Romans, they besought the seditious with teares, first to receiue the Romans into the Citie, and saue their countrey: or if it pleased them not, at least to depart out of the temple,and deliuer it vp vnto them.For the Romans durst not,except necessity vrged them thereto, fire the holy temple. But their malice against the Romans encreasing, and rayling against them that had fled vnto them,they planted all their engines to cast stones,darts and arrows vpon their holy porches. So that all the void space about the temple was filled with dead bodies like a sepulchre,and the temple it selfe resembled a castle,& they now with their weapons hauing their hands imbrued with the bloud of their countrimen,presumed to enter into the sanctuary where none ought to come: and they became so iniurious against their owne lawes, that looke what indignation the Iews ought to haue conceiued against the Romans if they had so profaned the holy places,the same they caused the Romans to haue against them,for doing the like.For there was not one amongst the Roman souldiers, that did not with reuerence behold the temple, and adore it,and that did not hartily wish that the thieues would repent themselues before it was too late. Moreouer, *Titus* pitying the seditious, once againe spake vnto *Iohn* and his adherents, saying: O ye impious people, haue you not inuironed the temple about with a cloister? haue not you your selues in Greeke and our language engrauen in tables, forbidden all men to enter into those limits? did not we licence you to kil any man that should pass them, notwithstanding that he

Some of the nobility among the Iews escape to the Romans.

Cæsars humanity towards the Iewes.

Those Iewes that were fled besought the beleiged with teares & sighs to submit themselues.

The temple after the manner of a castle.

Titus speaks to Iohn & his companions.

A he were a Roman? Why then, ye wicked wretches, do you tread vpon dead mens bodies within your temple? Or wherefore haue you polluted the temple with the bloud of ſtrangers, and of your countrimen? I cal my country gods to witnes, and him who ſomtime dwelt in this place, if euer there were any (for now I am perſwaded there is none) I call alſo my army to witnes, and proteſt to the Iewes that are with mee, and to your ſelues, that I will not compell you to violate theſe ſacred things: but that if your army will depart from this place, that then no Roman ſhall come into theſe holy places, nor commit any thing in contumely of them, but I will preſerue the temple for you againſt your wils.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Titus in deſpite of the Iewes ſtriues to ſaue the temple.

CHAP. V.

B *How the battell was renewed, the Rampiers being againe builded, and of the excurſions of the Iewes.*

IOſeph hauing deliuered theſe words of *Titus* to the Iewes, the ſeditious thinking that they proceeded not of good will but of feare, began to be more proud heereat. Then *Titus*, ſeeing they neither pitied themſelues nor the temple, determined again to fight, though very loth ſo to do; yet could he not bring al his army againſt them, the room was ſo little. Wherfore out of euery hundred he made choice of thirty of the ſtrongeſt among them, and ouer euery thouſand he appointed a Colonell, and made *Cerealis* their Captaine or Generall, commanding him at the ninth houre of the night to aſſault the watchmen of the enemy. Alſo he himſelf would haue gone downe with them armed; but his friends, and the captaines about him, fore-

Titus choſe 30 out of euery hundred, moſt ſtrong & able men, and bids them charge the beſieged.

C ſeeing the great danger he might fall into, would not permit him: affirming, that he might doe more good ſitting in Antonia, and encouraging the ſouldiers that fought, then if hee ſhould goe and indanger himſelfe: for euery man, being in the view of the Emperor, would fight more courageouſly. *Titus* was herewith perſwaded, telling the ſouldiers that the onely cauſe he went not with them was this, that he ſtaied behinde to view and iudge euery ones valour and vertue, and to the intent that none behauing himſelf valiantly ſhould go away vnrewarded, nor any coward eſcape vnpuniſhed, but that he himſelfe would be a beholder of euery mans vertue, and a witnes thereof, who was their Lord either to reward or puniſh.

Then he went vnto a watch-tower in Antonia, from whence he beheld what was done. But

Titus beholds from a window in Antonia what his ſouldiers perform.

D they whom *Titus* ſent did not finde the watchmen aſleepe, as they hoped, but with a cry aſſaulted the Romans that came againſt them: and at this noiſe they awaked their fellows, who came in whole companies to aſſiſt them, and made excurſions vpon their enemies. So the Romans ſuſtained the violence of their firſt companies: but the ſecond that came fell vpon their owne fellowes, & vſed them like their enemies: for no man could know one anothers voice for the noiſe there, neither could one ſee another by reaſon it was night: and moreouer, ſome were blinded with fury, ſome with anger, ſome with feare: wherefore euery one ſtrooke him that mette him without any reſpect. And the Romans receiued ſmall domage thereby, becauſe that they were defended with their ſhields, and remembred one anothers watchword. But the Iews fel on euery ſide, ſhewing themſelues raſh as well in excurſions as in their retiring; ſo that many times one of them tooke the other to be his enemy, euery one falling vpon him that retired, as though he

E had beena Roman, aſſaulting them in the dark. Briefly, more were wounded by their fellowes then by their enemies, til day breaking euery one knew his companion; & each one keeping his rank, did then betake themſelues to their darts & arrowes. Neither part gaue back, nor was wearied with labor: but many Romans together & apart, did in the view of the Emperor ſhew their courage, euery man accounting that day the beginning of his preferment, if he behaued himſelf valiantly. The Iewes fought ſtoutly, both for that they feared their owne imminent danger, if they were ouercome, and the deſtruction of the temple: and *Iohn* ſtanding by, encouraged them to fight, ſome with blowes, other ſome with threatnings. They fought moſt commonly with handy blowes; yet fortune often changed; for neither part had either fame to flee, or any ſpace to follow them that fledde. The Romans in Antonia eryed vnto their fellowes that fought the

The euents of battels are changed very ſhortly.

F battell, Now for hope of victory: preſently encouraging them to ſtand to it, when they began to giue backe; ſo it was as it had beene a theater of warre: for *Titus*, and they with him, beheld allthat was done; ſo at laſt, in the fift houre of the day the fight ceaſed, hauing continued from the ninth houre of the night, neither party forſaking the place where firſt they beganne battell, neither any part hauing the victory. Many Romans there fought courageouſly, and amongſt the Iewes theſe that follow: *Iudas*, the ſonne of *Merton*; *Simon*, the ſonne of *Ioſias*; and *Iacob*, and *Simon Idumæus*; this, the ſon of *Cathla*, but *Iames* was the ſon of *Soſa*: and all theſe were of

Simons

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

Simons company, and of *Iohns* followers *Gyphaus* and *Alexas*; and of the Zelous, *Simon* the son of *Iairus*. But the 7. day, the rest of the Romans pulling down the foundations of Antonia, made a large entrance for the rest of the army. And the legions coming vnto the wall, presently began to raise mounts, one against the corner of the inner temple, which was situate north & east: & another against the gallery on the north side betwixt the 2. porches: & the other two, one against the porch of the west side of the outward temple; the other against the north porch. So with much toile and labour they finisht this work, fetching wood to build it withall 100. furlongs off. And many times they were endomaged by trechery, not being wary by reason of their victory: and the Iewes despairing of themselues euery houre, more and more were encouraged. For many of the horsmen going either to get wood or hay, while they were about it, they took the bridles from off their horse, and permitted them to feed til they had ended their business; and presently the Iewes issuing out in troups vpon them, took them away.

Four mounts raised neere to the temple.

The Iews surprise the Romans horses.

Titus seeing that this fell out, deemed (as indeed it was) that his mens horses were stolen rather by their negligence then their enemies valor: wherfore he thought by the seuere punishment of one, to make others look better to their horses. And so he put to death one of the souldiers that had lost his horse: by whose punishment the rest of the souldiers being terrified, kept their horses better. For after that, when they went about any businesse, they neuer left their horses in the pastures, but kept alwaies with them. Thus the Romans assaulted the temple, and builded there mounts. The day following, certain of the seditious, who now could get no more booties in the city, and now also beganne to taste of hunger, assaulted the Romans that were placed towards mount Oliuet about the eleuenth houre of the day: for they hoped to take them vnawares, as being now at dinner. But the Romans perceiuing their intent, came out of their places, and resisted them who attempted violently to break in vpon them ouer the wal: so that there was a hot fight, and many worthy deeds were done on either party, the Romans hauing both strength & knowledge in warlike affaires; the Iewes led with a desperate fury: and shame forced the Romans to fight, and need compelled the Iewes: for the Romans accounted it a shame not to ouercom the Iewes, who were as it were fallen into their hands; and the Iews thought it the only way to saue their owne liues, to break downe the wall by force. And one of the horsmen, called *Pedanius*, the Iewes being put to flight & driuen into the vally, pursued them with his horse as fast as he could gallop, and ouertook a yong man, one of his enemies, being heauy of body, armed all ouer; and taking him about the ankle, he carried him violently away: thereby shewing the strength of his arme and of the rest of his body, and his skilfull chiualry; and so brought the captiue vnto *Cæsar* as a present. *Titus* admiring *Pedanius* his strength, and punishing the captiue for hauing attempted to assault the wall, he now hasted to assaile the temple, and commanded the workmen quickly to dispatch the mounts. In the meane time the Iewes beeing ill handled in the former wars, and war still increasing to the ouerthrow of the temple, they did, as the custome is in a putrefied body, preuent the plague frō going any further, by cutting off the corrupted members. For that part of the porch that reached from the North vnto the East, ioined vnto Antonia: which they firing, separated it twenty cubits from it, hauing now with their own hands begunne to cast fire into the holy place. Two daies after, which was the 24. day of the aforesaid month, the Romans set the porch on fire, and the fire hauing gone foureteene cubits, the Iewes pulled down the top thereof, and not desisting from their accustomed works, they pulled downe all adioyning vnto Antonia; when it was easie for them, and that they ought to haue hindered the fire. The porch being on fire, they permitted so much to be burned as they thought good for their purpose. The fight about the temple neuer ceased, many excursions were made one against each other.

The fight of the Iewes and the Romans neere vnto the mount Eleō.

Pedanius, a strong and expert horsman.

The captiue punished.

The Romans burnt the porches of the temple.

The Iewes are too slacke in putting out the fire.

About this time, a certaine Iew of lowe stature, and to see to a contemptible person, euerie way an abiect, both by reason of his base parentage and otherwise, named *Ionathan*, going to the monument of *Iohn* the Priest, dared the strongest amongst the Romans to come and fight a single combate with him. The Romans that beheld him disdained him: yet some amongst them (as it is commonly seene) were afraid of him: others wisely deemed, that they ought not to fight with one that was desirous to die: for they that were desperate, neither fought aduisedly, nor had the feare of God before their eyes: and so that it was not a signe of valor, but of ouermuch hardinesse, to fight with such a one, whom though they ouercam, yet they could win no credit, but with infamy hazard themselues to be vanquished. So a long time none of the Romans came against him, and he vpbraided them of cowardlinesse. At last, an arrogant and proud fellow, one of the Roman horsmen, named *Pudens*, disdaining his insolency, and perhaps also for

Ionathan prouokes the stoutest Roman to a single combate.

that

A that hee was of little ſtature, came againſt him; and fighting with him, fortune frowned vpon him, ſo that he was laught to ſcorne by his fellow: for he falling downe, *Ionathan* ſlew him; and ſetting his foot vpon the dead body, with his left hand he flouriſhed his ſhield, and with his right his bloody ſword: and ſtriking his weapons one againſt another, hee inſulted ouer the Roman army, and ouer the dead bodie, vpbraiding the Romans, ſo long till *Priſcus* a Centurion, as hee was thus vaunting, ſhot him through with an arrow, and ſo he fell downe dead vpon the bodie of his enemie: at which deed, both the Romans and the Iewes raiſed a confuſed cry or noyſe. So *Ionathan* here ſhewed how quickly reuenge purſued the felicity of warlike victory, falling out contrary to all reaſon.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſt's birth, 72.

Pudens fighting with Ionathan is ſlain by him.

Priſcus the Centurion killeth Ionathan with an arrow.

B

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans through the deceit of the Iewes were conſumed with fire, and of one Artorius.

THe ſeditious that kept the temple, did now euery day openly in fight reſiſt the Romans that kept the mounts, and the 27. day they deuiſed this ſtratagem; They filled the void part of the Eaſt porch of the temple with dry wood and brimſtone, and bitumen, and then fled out of it as not able longer to reſiſt. Wherefore many of the Romans raſhly purſued the Iewes that fled, and with ladders got into the galleries. But the wiſer ſort conſide-
C ring that the Iewes had no iuſt occaſion to fly, kept their place. The porch being now ful of Romans that were got vp into it, the Iewes gaue fire to the wood and brimſtone, and vpon a ſudden all the porch was compaſſed with the flame: ſo that the Romans who were out of danger were hereat amazed, and thoſe that were amidſt the flames became deſperate; and inuironed with the flames ſome ſought to run back into the towne, otherſome vnto the enemies; others kild themſelues, ſo preuenting the fury of the fire; and preſently the flame ouertooke thoſe that ſought to flie. *Cæſar*, though offended at the ſouldiers for hauing aſcended into the porch vnbidden, yet ſeeing them die ſo wofully in the flames, he compaſſionated them. And although that the fire could not be quenched, yet the poore ſouldiers dying amongſt the flames were hereat comforted, in that they perceiued him to be ſorrowfull for them, for whom they had loſt their liues.
D For they beheld him crying to their fellowes to help to extinguiſh the fire, and hee himſelfe laboured what he could to do it; ſo that euery one eſteemed his ſorrow and lamentation for them as much as a ſumptuous funerall: but ſome eſcaped the fire and got into the largeſt part of the porch; yet inuironed round about with Iewes, hauing long reſiſted, though with many wounds, yet in the end they were all ſlaine.

The Iewes fil the void part of the Eaſt porch with dry wood, ſulphure and bitumen.

The Romans calamity in the fire.

Cæſar hath compaſsion of the Romans that were in the fire.

At laſt a young man named *Longus*, was an honour to all this miſery: and notwithſtanding that euery one that there periſhed deſerued particularly to be remembred, yet he ſhewed himſelf the moſt valiant of them all. The Iewes were deſirous to kill this man for that he was ſtrong, & willed him to come downe vnto them, ſwearing vnto him to ſpare him. But his brother *Cornelius*, who ſtood on the other ſide, entreated him not to diſcredite his owne honour and the Romans;
E whom he obeyed: and he lifting vp his ſword on hie, that either part might ſeee, ſlew himſelfe. Yet one *Artorius* from amidſt the fire eſcaped by this deuice: hee called vnto him one *Lucius* his fellow ſoldier & chamber fellow; I wil (quoth he) make thee heire of all my inheritance if thou wilt catch me in thy armes. *Lucius* willingly endeuouring to do it, *Artorius* caſt himſelfe downe vpon him, and ſo eſcaped with his life, but *Lucius* vpon whom he fel was bruſed againſt the pauement, and ſo died. This calamity awhile did greatly grieue the Romans, yet it made them more wary afterward, and acquainted them with the Iewes ſubtilties, whereof before being ignorant, they ſuſtained great domage; ſo the porch was burnt vnto the tower which *Iohn* built, during his wars againſt *Simon*: and the Iewes, after the Romans that were aſcended into it were conſumed, pulled down the reſt. The next day the Romans fired the North porch, euen vnto the foreſaid
F Eaſt porch, which contained the corners of the wall builded ouer the valley Cedron, ſo that it was terrible to behold the valley from thence, by reaſon of the depth.

Longus kills himſelfe.

Lucius dieth but Artorius ſaueth himſelf by a ſtratagem

The porch of the Temple fired.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Natiuity, 72.

G

CHAP. VII.

Of the famine amongst the Iewes.

The inteſtine warres of the Iewes that were welnie famiſhed with hunger.

SVch were the affaires about the temple, but an infinite multitude periſhed within the citie through famine, ſo that they could not be numbred: for in euery place where any ſhew or ſigne of food was, preſently aroſe a battell, and the deareſt friends of all now fought one with another, to tak the food from other poor ſoules, neither did they beleeue them that were now a dying for famine, but the theeues ſearched them, whom they ſaw yeelding vp the ghoſt, thinking that they dying for famine, had hid about them ſome food: but they were H deceiued of their hope, being like mad dogges, greedy of meat, and fell againſt the doores like drunken men, ſearching the ſelfe ſame houſes twice or thrice together in deſperation, and for very penury they ate whatſoeuer they light vpon, gathering ſuch things to eat, as the moſt filthy liuing creatures in the world would haue loathed. In brief, they did eate their girdles & ſhooes, and the skins that couered their ſhields, ſo that a little of old hay was ſolde for foure Attiques. But what need is it to ſhew the ſharpnes of this famine by things that want life? I wil recount an act neuer heard of, neither among the Greeks, nor any other barbarous people, horrible to be rehearſed, and incredible: ſo that I would willingly omit this calamity, leaſt poſterity ſhould think I lie, had not I many witneſſes hereof, and perhaps ſhould incurre reprehenſion, not fully recounting all accidents of them that are dead. I

The Iewes eat their own girdles, ſhooes, the leather of their Targets and old hay.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a woman that for famine killed her ſonne, and dreſſed him for meate.

ACertaine woman named *Mary*, dwelling beyond Iordan, the daughter of *Eleazar* of the towne of Vitezokia, which ſignifieth the houſe of *Hyſope*, deſcended of noble and rich parentage, flying with the reſt vnto Ieruſalem, was there with them beſieged, her other goods the tyrants had taken from her, which ſhe had brought from beyond the riuer into the citie: and whatſoeuer being hid, eſcaped their hands, the theeues daily came into her houſe and K tooke it away: whereat the woman greatly moued, curſed them, and with hard ſpeeches animated them the more againſt her, yet no man either for anger, or compaſſion would kill her, but ſuffred her to liue to get them meat: but now could ſhe get no more, and famine inuaded her, with rage and anger more then danger. Wherefore by rage and neceſſity ſhee was compelled to doe that which nature abhorred, and taking her ſon vnto whom ſhe then gaue ſucke, O miſerable childe (quoth ſhe) in warre, famine, and ſedition, for which of theſe ſhall I keep thee? If thou continue among the Romans, thou ſhalt be made a ſlaue, yet famine will preuent bondage, or elſe ſeditiō worſe then them both. Be therfore meat for me, a terrour vnto the ſeditious, a tragical ſtory to be ſpoken of by poſterity, and that which is only yet vnheard of among the calamities of the Iewes. Hauing thus ſpoken ſhe ſlew her ſonne, and did ſeeth the one halfe of him, and ate it, the L reſt ſhe reſerued couered. Preſently came the ſeditious, ſmelling the ſent of that execrable meat, threatning preſently to kill her, except ſhe forthwith brought ſome of that vnto them which ſhe had prepared. Then ſhe anſwered that ſhee had reſerued a good portion thereof for them, and preſently vncouered that part of her ſon which ſhee had left vneaten, at which ſight they trembled, and a horror fell vpon them. But the woman ſaid, This is truely my ſon, and my doing, eat you of it, for I my ſelf haue eaten therof. Be not more effeminate then a woman, nor more mercifull then a mother. If religion make you refuſe this my ſacrifice, I haue already eaten of it and will eat the reſt. Then the ſeditious departed hereat, onely trembling; and ſcarcely permitting this meat to the mother. Preſently the report of this hainous crime was bruted al about the city, and euery man hauing before his eyes this execrable fact, trembled as though himſelf had done M it. And now all that were vexed with this famine, haſtned their own deaths, and he was accounted happy that died before he felt this famine. This vnnaturall fact was ſoon after recounted vnto the Romans, and ſome of them would not beleeue it, others pitied them within the citie, and many hereat encreaſed their hatred towards that nation.

The mothers ſpeech before ſhe ſlew her ſonne.

The ſeditious challenge the meat which the deſolate mother had dreſſed.

The calamity recounted to the Romans

Cæſar before Almighty God proteſted, that hee was not the cauſe of this, hauing offered the Iewes peace, free pardon & forgiueneſs for all their offences paſt, and that they did rather make

choice

A choyce of warre then peace, of ſedition then quietneſs, of famine rather then wealth and plentie, hauing with their owne hands begun to ſet on fire the temple, which hee had preſerued for them, and that therefore ſuch like meate was fit for them, and that hee would burie this abhominable crime of eating their owne children in the ruines of their countrey, and that he would not in any part of the world ſuffer the ſunne to ſhine vpon ſuch a citie, wherein mothers did eate their owne children, and that ſuch food did more beſeeme fathers then mothers, who for all their miſeries would not yet ceaſe from armes. Hauing thus ſpoken he conſidered the deſperation of the enemies, and that they would not recall themſelues, who had already endured all ſuch calamities, which might if it had been poſſible haue altred their opinions rather then haue endured them.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Ioſ. 4 Reg. 6. Ant. lib 9. cap. 4.

B

CHAP. IX.

How the wall was taken, and the temple burnt.

THe eight day of Auguſt, two of the Roman legions hauing finiſhed their mounts, they began to place their Rammes againſt the Eaſt galleries without the temple, hauing ſixe daies together without intermiſſion already beaten the wall with their ſtrongeſt Rams, and nothing preuailed, the ſtones being ſo ſtrong, that the Rams could not moue them: others of the Romans laboured to dig vp the foundations of the porch, that was on the North ſide; and
C after much toyle, they only could pull away the outward ſtones, and the inner ſtones did ſtil ſupport the porch. At laſt the Romans ſeeing themſelues not preuaile by their iauelines and other inſtrumens, they ſet ladders to aſcend into the galleries. The Iewes did not greatly labor to hinder them from getting vp: but when they were within the galleries, then they came and fought with them, and caſt ſome of them down headlong, forcing them to retire; others they ſlew that ſtood in it; and others that were vpon the ladders going down before they could defend themſelues with their ſhields, were with ſwords ſtricken down, and they alſo thruſt down ſome ladders full of armed men. So that there was a great maſſacre of the Romanes, ſome fighting for their enſignes, which the Iewes had taken from them, eſteeming the loſſe thereof a great ſhame vnto them. At laſt the Iewes got their ancients, and ſlew them, that came vp to reſcue them; and
D the reſt terrified with their deaths that were ſlaine went down again, and no one of the Romans died, who before he was ſlain did not ſome valiant act; and thoſe ſeditious people that in the former battels did ſhew themſelues valiant, did now alſo fight valiantly, & beſide them *Eleazar* ſon vnto the tyrant the brother of *Simon*. Then *Titus* perceiuing that hee ſpared the temple of the Iewes to his loſſe, and to the death of his ſouldiers, hee commanded fire to be put to the temple gates: preſently *Ananus* of Emmaus the moſt cruel of all *Simons* followers, and *Archelaus* the ſon of *Magadatus*, fled vnto *Titus*; who, for their cruelties cõmitted, determined to put them to death: yet they hoped for pardon, for that they had now forſaken the Iewes when they had gotten the better hand. But *Titus* affirmed they came not of good will, but for neceſſity, and that they did not deſerue to liue forſaking their countrie now ſet on fire for their offences: yet his promiſe
E bridled his wrath, and he diſmiſſed them, but they were not ſo much eſteemed as the reſt. The Roman ſouldiers did now put fire vnto the temple doores: and the ſiluer plate wherewith they were couered being molten, the flame quickly fired the wood, and encreaſing tookhold preſently on the next porch. The Iewes ſeeing themſelues inuironed with flames, were now altogether diſcouraged, and their ſtrength failed them, and being amazed no man ſought to extinguiſh the flame, and ſo they ſtood ſtill beholding the fire, yet not lamenting that which was ſet on fire, more then deſiring to ſaue the reſt: and ſo that day and all the next night the fire encreaſed, for the porches were burnt by little and little, and not all at once.

The Iewes ouercome the Romans and ſeize their enſignes.

Two of Simõs guard reuolt from him.

Titus promiſe reſtraineth his wrath.

None of the Iewes goeth about to extinguiſh the fire.

The next day *Titus* cauſed part of his army to quench the fire: and calling vnto him his captaines, and ſix that were the chiefeſt amongſt them, to wit, *Tiberius Alexander* Generall of the
F whole army, *Sextus Cerealis* commander of the fift legion, *Largius Lepidus* of the tenth, *Titus Frigius* of the fifteenth, with whom was alſo *Aeternius Fronto* commander of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and *Marcus Antonius Iulianus* Gouernour of Iudæa, and with them the colonels and captaines, he deliberated with them what was to be done concerning the temple. Some counſelled to vſe the cuſtome of warres, for that the Iewes would neuer liue peaceably their temple ſtanding; all their nation whereſoeuer liuing, aſſembling themſelues thither at

Titus calleth the chieftains before him.

The state of the world, 4034. after Christs birth 72.

certaine times. Others perſwaded *Titus* that if ſo be the Iewes yeelded their temple, and fought not for it, then to ſaue it: but if they fought for it, to burne it: for now it ſeemed a caſtle and not a temple: and if any man were offended hereat, it ſhould not be imputed to the Romans or to their generall, but to the Iews who conſtrained them to do it; and he offended not, they forcing him to fire it. But *Titus* affirmed that although the Iews fought for their temple being men without conſcience, yet it ſhould not be deſtroied: for he would not ſo be reuenged of their iniquities: neither would he euer fire ſo goodly a building, for ſo it would redound to the loſſe of the Romans, as alſo it would be a credit vnto them, if it were left remaining. And now *Alexander*, *Fronto*, and *Cerealis*, perceiuing *Cæſars* mind were of his opinion, and ſo he diſmiſſed the conuocation, and commanded the ſouldiers and captaines to reſt, that they might bee more able to fight when need required: and preſently hee appointed certaine choſen men to make the waies euen, and eaſie for the army to paſſe by the ruines, commanding them to quench the fire; and that day the Iewes being fearefull and wearie did make no reſiſtance. The day following taking heart and aſſembled together, they aſſaulted the watchmen that kept without the temple, the ſecond houre of the day. The Romanes valiantly reſiſted their firſt aſſault, ſo defending themſelues with their ſhields as though they had a wall before them; yet ſure it was that they would not long abide, for that they were fewer in number then their enemies, and not ſo deſperate as they were. Then *Cæſar* before his men retyred (beholding the fight from Antonia) with certaine choſen horſemen came to ſuccor them: whoſe force the Iewes not ſuſtaining, but the firſt of them being ſlaine, the reſt fled: and the Romans departing, they returned, and fought againſt them; and when the Romans returned againe, preſently they fled, till about the fift houre of the day the Iewes were forced to betake themſelues into the temple, and there they were ſhut vp. Then *Titus* returned into Antonia, purpoſing the next day to aſſault them with all his army, and win the temple. But the ſentence of God had already determined, that it ſhould be conſumed with fire: and now the fatall day was come after many yeares, which was the tenth of Auguſt: vpon which day alſo the King of Babylon did once before fire it, yet was it now firſt ſet a fire by our owne countrimen, who were indeed the cauſe thereof. For the ſeditious being quiet till *Titus* was departed, then againe they aſſaulted the Romans, and ſo fought with the guard that were without the temple, labouring to extinguiſh the flame; who putting the Iewes to flight, came vnto the temple.

Titus counſel as concerning the temple.

Titus with his choſen horſemen cometh to reſcue the Romans.

The temple was burnt by the Romans the tenth of the moneth of Auguſt, on which day before time it was burned by the king of Babylon.

CHAP. X.

How the Temple was burnt againſt the will of Titus.

THen a certaine ſouldier, who expected no command, nor feared to do ſo execrable a fact, moued with ſome diuine fury, and lifted vp by his fellow, took in his hand a flaming firebrand, and caſt it into the golden gate which entred into the roomes on the North part of the temple, and the flame preſently aroſe: which cauſed a great cry amongſt the Iewes, expreſſing their calamity, and euery one haſted to extinguiſh the fire; now neither accounting of their liues nor forces, hauing loſt that for which they ſo fought. Newes hereof was preſently brought vnto *Titus* by one who came from the fight, who then was reſting in his tabernacle, and he preſently aroſe and ran vnto the temple to hinder the fire, and all the captaines after him; whereat the ſouldiers being terrified followed, and there aroſe a great cry and tumult in that army being vnordered. *Cæſar* both with voyce and hand made a ſigne vnto the ſouldiers, that were fighting, to quench the fire. But they did not heare him, there was ſo great a noyſe, neither did they perceiue the ſigne he had made vnto them with his hand, becauſe that ſome were diſtracted with fight, others with anger: and the ſouldiers iſſued in, not reſtrained either by commands or threatnings, but euery one went whither fury carried him: and thronging together at the entrance, many preſſed one another to death; and many being amongſt the fiery ruines of the galleries periſhed as miſerably as thoſe that were ouercome. When they came vnto the temple euery one counterfeited himſelfe not to heare *Cæſars* command, and ſo exhorted his fellowes that were before him to fire the temple. The ſeditious now had no hope to withſtand them, but either fled or were ſlaine; and many vnarmed and vnable people, whereſoeuer they were found, were ſlaine: ſo that about the altar was an innumerable company of dead bodies heaped together, & their blood flowed down the temple ſtaires; and their bodies that there were

A ſouldier contrary to Cæſars will burned the temple.

The burning of the temple.

Great ſlaughter in the temple.

A were ſlaine rouled down, *Cæſar* ſeeing he could not reſtraine the fury of the madbrain ſoldiers, and that the fire encreaſed, entred into the temple with his nobles, and beheld all the holy things there, and whatſoeuer elſe was there, farre ſurpaſſing all report which ſtrangers had giuen of it, and equall to that report which the Iewes made of it. And the flame not hauing yet pearced into the inner part of the temple, nor yet conſumed the houſes and roomes about it, he deemed that as yet it might be preſerued: wherfore himſelfe came & entreated the ſoldiers to extinguiſh the fire: commanding *Liberalis* the Centurion of his guard to beat thoſe with a trunchion that would not be obedient, and driue them away. But their fury and the rage of warre, and the hatred they bare againſt the Iewes, ouercame in them all *Cæſars* commands, and feare of them that forbade them. Many were incited ſo to doe hoping of ſome booty, thinking that all the temple
B within was full of money, becauſe they ſaw the gates of gold. Morouer, a certaine ſouldier, when *Cæſar* ſought to quench the flame, fired the poaſtes aboue the doores: and preſently the flame appearing within, *Cæſar* and the Captaines departed, and ſo euery one ſtood looking vpon it, and no man ſought to extinguiſh it. Thus the temple was burnt againſt *Titus* his will. And although euery man will iudge it a lamentable caſe, in ſuch a building ſurpaſſing all that euer was ſeene or heard of, both in greatneſſe, workmanſhip, coſtlineſſe and plenty of all things; in this yet we may comfort our ſelues, in that the deſtinies had ſo determined. For neither liuing creatures, nor places, nor buildings can auoid their deſtiny. One may alſo admire the exact and iuſt reuolution of time: for it was now deſtroyed in the ſame moneth, and on the ſame day that the Babylonians firſt deſtroyed it: and frō that time that *Salomon* began the firſt temple vnto the
C deſtruction of the ſecond temple, which hapned the ſecond yeare of *Veſpaſians* raigne, were a thouſand, a hundreth and thirty yeares, ſeuen moneths, and fifteene daies: and from the building of the latter temple which *Aggæus* built in the ſecond yeare of the raigne of King *Cyrus*, vnto the deſtruction thereof now in *Veſpaſians* raigne, were ſix hundreth thirty nine yeares and fiue and forty daies.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Titus ſtriueth to ſaue the inward temple.

How many yeares there were between the firſt building of the temple vnder king Salomon and the deſtruction vnder Titus.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Prieſts: the treaſure houſe: and the porch.

D WHen the temple was thus conſumed with fire, whatſoeuer the ſouldiers found therein they carryed away, and put all to the ſword that were in it, which was an infinite number: neither did they ſhew any pitie to olde age, or infants: but olde, young, Prieſts and common people, all were ſlaine without reſpect, and all ſorts of people taſted the calamity of warre, whether they reſiſted, or intreated mercy. And now the flame encreaſed, which grieued euen them that were yeelding vp the ghoſt: and by reaſon of the height of the hill, and the building together, one would haue thought the whole Citie had beene on fire. Then a moſt lamentable cry was raiſed betweene the Romane legions, and the ſeditious now inuironed with fire and ſword, and of the people that were taken in the higher part of the Citie, and had fled vnto the Romanes, lamenting their calamity; and they of the Citie anſwe-
E red the teares and cries of them in the hill, and many whoſe eyes death by famine had already cloſed, tooke ſtrength awhile to bewaile the Temple, which they now opening their eyes beheld on fire. The country beyond Iordan, and the mountaines about did eccho with their laments: and yet the calamity ſurpaſſed that tumult. For one would haue iudged the hill whereon the temple was ſituate, to haue beene burnt vp by the rootes, it was ſo full of fire: Yet the multitude of blood there ſhed ſurpaſſed the fire. Many that were ſlaine were couered with them that ſlew them, and all the ground was ouerſpread with dead bodies, ſo that the ſouldiers ranne vpon the dead bodies to purſue them that fledde. At laſt the theeues hauing driuen the Romanes without the temple, they ranne into the citie; and the reſt of the people that were left, fled into the outward porch. And many of the Prieſts firſt vſed ſpits, and then their ſeats
F made of lead, in ſteed of darts againſt the Romans; at laſt nothing at all preuailing, and the fire falling vpon them, they went vnto a wall eight cubits broad, and there ſtaied. Yet two of the nobles, when they might either haue fled vnto the Romans, and there haue been ſaued, or elſe haue endured like fortune with the reſt, they notwithſtanding caſt themſelues into the fire, and ſo were burnt with the temple: one of them was named *Meierus* the ſon of *Belga*, the other *Joſeph* the ſonne of *Daleus*.

The cry and howling of the murthered Iewes.

The temple filled with fire and blood.

Two noble men caſt themſelues into the fire.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

The Romans thought it in vaine to ſpare the buildings about the temple, ſeeing the temple G was already conſumed, and ſo ſet fire on them all, the porches, galleries and gates; two onely excepted, one on the Eaſt ſide, and the other on the South ſide, both which afterward they raſed vnto the ground: they burnt alſo certaine cheſts called Gazophylacia, or mony boxes, wherin was great ſtore of coine, and rich garments, and other precious things, and indeed all the Iewes treaſure, for the richeſt of the Citie had brought all their wealth thither. There came into the porch that was left ſtanding, many men, women and children, to the number of ſixe thouſand.

Six thouſand in the porch conſumed by fire.

And before *Cæſar* and the captaines did determine any thing what ſhould bee done with them, the furious ſouldiers fired the porch wherein they were, and ſo they all periſhed in the flames; ſaue a few, that leaping downe to auoid the fire, were ſlaine in the fall, ſo that no one eſcaped of all that multitude. A certain falſe Prophet was cauſe of all their deaths, who the ſame day preа- H ched in the Citie, and commanded them to goe into the temple, and behold ſignes of their deliuerance: for many falſe Prophets were then ſuborned by the tyrants, to perſwade them to expect Gods help, thereby to hinder them from flying to the Romans, and to cauſe the ſouldiers to fight more valiantly to defend their citie. Men eaſily beleeue and are credulous in aduerſity, ſo that if any deceitfull perſon promiſe deliuerance out of calamity, he that ſuffereth miſerie is full of hope thereof.

False prophets ſuborned by the ſeditious.

CHAP. XII.

Of the ſtrange ſignes and tokens that appeared before the deſtruction of Ieruſalem. I

The blindnes of the people.

THeſe miſerable people were thus eaſily perſwaded by impoſtors who did belie God, yet would they not beleeue, nor giue any eare or regard vnto certain tokens, & ſignes of the ruine of their city: but as it were blinded, neither hauing eyes nor ſoules, they counterfeited themſelues not to ſee what God foreſhewed them. One while there was a comet in form of a fiery ſword, which for a year together did hang ouer the citie: another time before the firſt reuolt and warre, the people being gathered together to the feaſt of vnleauened bread (which was the eight day of April) the ninth houre of the night, there was ſo much light about the altar and temple, as though it had bin bright day, which remained halfe an houre: this the ignorant K people interpreted as a good ſigne; but they that were skilfull in holy Scripture, did preſently iudge, what would enſue before it came to paſſe. The ſame feſtiuity a cow led to be ſacrificed at the altar brought forth a lambe in the midſt of the temple: and the inner gate of the temple on Eaſt ſide being of maſſiue braſſe, which at night time had alwaies at leaſt 20. men to ſhut it, and was bound with locks of iron, and was barred with barres, the ends whereof went into morteis holes in the ſtones on either ſide the doore (the foreſaid ſtones being on each ſide, one whole ſtone) was ſeen at the firſt houre of the night to open of his own accord: which being preſently related vnto the Magiſtrate by the keepers of the temple, hee himſelfe came thither and could ſcarcely ſhut it, & this alſo to the ignorant ſeemed a good ſigne, affirming that God opened vnto them the gate of his bleſſings: but the wiſer ſort iudged that the defence of the temple would L decay of his own accord, & that the opening of the gate foretold, that it ſhould be giuen to the enemies, affirming one vnto another that this ſigne ſignified deſolation. A little while after the feaſt daies, on the 21. day of May there was ſeene a viſion beyond all beliefe, and perhaps that which I am to recount might ſeeme a fable, if ſome were not now aliue that beheld it, and that calamity worthy to be ſo foretold enſued: for before the ſunne ſet, were ſeen in the ayre iron chariots all ouer the countrie, and an army in battell aray paſſing along in the clowds, and begirting the citie. And vpon the feaſt day called Pentecoſt, at night the Prieſts going into the inner temple to offer their wonted ſacrifice, at firſt felt the place to moue and tremble, and afterward they heard a voyce which ſaid, Let vs depart hence. And that which was moſt wonderfull of all, one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Ananus* a country man of the common people, foure yeares be- M fore the warres began, when the Citie flouriſhed in peace and riches, comming to the celebration of the feaſt to Ieruſalem, which we call the feaſt of Tabernacles, ſuddenly began to cry out thus; A voice from the Eaſt: A voice from the Weſt: A voice from the foure winds: A voice againſt Ieruſalem and the temple: A voice againſt men and women newly married: A voyce againſt all this people: and thus crying night and day, hee went about all the ſtreets of the Citie.

A comet like vnto a ſword.

The ſecond prodigie was that a bright light ſhined about the altar and temple by night.

The third prodigie was a cow that brought forth a lambe in the midſt of the temple.

The fourth the braſen gate of the temple opened it ſelfe.

The fift, armd chariots and men ſeen in the ayre.

The ſixt a voice in the inward tẽple.

The ſeauenth prodigie, Ieſus a countrey mans cry and death.

Some

A Some of the nobility diſdaining misfortune, took him and ſcourged him with many ſtripes: but he, neither ſecretly ſpeaking for himſelfe, nor to thoſe that did beat him, perſeuered crying as before. The Magiſtrates then thinking (as indeed it was) that the man ſpake this through ſome diuine motion, led him vnto the Generall of the Romans, where being beaten til his bones appeared, he neuer intreated nor wept, but as wel as he could, framing a weeping voice, he cried, Wo, wo vnto Ieruſalem. *Albinus* (being then Iudge) asked him what he was, or of whence, or wherefore he ſaid ſo, but he made him no anſwer. Yet hee ceaſed not to bewaile the miſery of Ieruſalem, vntill *Albinus*, thinking him to be out of his wits, ſuffred him to depart. This man euen vntill the time of warre neuer went to any citizen, nor was ſeene ſpeak to any one: but ſtill as it were ſtudying of ſome ſpeech, he cried, Wo, wo vnto Ieruſalem. Neither did hee euer curſe any one, B though euery day one or other did beat him; nor thank any one that offred him meat. All that he ſpake vnto any man was this heauy prophecy. Hee went crying as is aforeſaid, chiefly vpon holy-daies, ſo doing continually for the ſpace of ſeauen yeares and fiue moneths, his voice neuer wexing hoarſe nor weary, till in the time of the ſiege, beholding what he foretold them, hee ceaſed, and then once again vpon the wals going about the city, with a loud voice he cried, Wo, wo to the City, Temple and people: and laſtly he ſaid, Wo alſo to my ſelf. Which words were no ſooner vttered, but a ſtone ſhot out of an engine ſmote him, and ſo hee yeelded vp the ghoſt, lamenting them all.

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Ieſus for ſeauen yeeres ſpace & fiue moneths cried about the citie.

A ſtone ſhot from an engine, killeth Ieſus.

If any one do diligently conſider all theſe, he ſhall finde that God hath a care of mankind, and doth euery way foreſhew betime, what is moſt expedient for them, and they through their own C madnes, to haue voluntarily periſhed in their wickednes. For the Iewes, when the Caſtle Antonia was taken, made the Temple foure-ſquare: notwithſtanding that it was written in the holy Scripture, that the City and Temple ſhould be taken, when the Temple was made foureſquare. But that which chiefely incited them to war, was the doubtfull prophecy likewiſe found in the holy Scriptures: That at the ſame time, one in their dominions ſhould be Monarch of the whole world; and many wiſemen were deceiued in this interpretation, making account that he ſhould be one of their owne nation, yet indeed thereby was foretold *Veſpaſians* Empire. But men cannot preuent deſtiny, though they foreſee it. Thus the Iewes interpreted ſome of the ſignes as they pleaſed, and at others they laughed, till by the ruine of their country, and their own woful ouerthrowe, their iniquity appeared.

The Iewes interpreting the ſignes to their owne good liking, are their Countries ruine and the cauſe of their own calamity.

D

CHAP. XIII.

How Titus *was made Emperour: and of the death of the Prieſts.*

AFter the ſeditious were fled into the City, all the Temple and places thereabout beeing ſet on fire, the Romans placed their Enſignes in the Temple ouer againſt the Eaſt gate: and there celebrating ſacrifice, with great cries declared *Titus* Emperour, and the Romans got ſuch preyes and booties, that they ſold gold in Syria for halfe the valew. And among thoſe Prieſts that kept on the wall, a child being thirſty, deſired peace of the Roman watchmen, E ſaying, that he was thirſty. So they, pitying both his yeeres and his need, gaue him their hands that he ſhould haue no harme, and then he came downe and drunk, and filled a bottle which he brought with him: and when he had done, he ranne vp againe to his fellowes, and none of the watchmen were able to ouertake him, and they vpbraided him with falſhood. But he anſwered, that he had done nothing, but that which he and they intended: for they did not giue him their hands to ſecure him to remaine with them, but onely to come downe and take water, which he had done. The Roman watchmen greatly admired the ſubtilty of him that was but a childe. The fift day, the Prieſts being almoſt famiſhed came downe, and the watchmen caried them to *Titus*, whom they beſought to grant them their liues. But he anſwerd them, that the time of pardon was paſt, ſeeing that was deſtroied, for the which he might haue pardoned them, and that it F was meet that the prieſts ſhould periſh with the Temple: and ſo he commanded them to be put to death. Then the tyrants with their followers being on euery ſide beſet with wars, and hauing no way to flee, they being thus beleaguerd round, requeſted to parley with *Titus*; who for his naturall meekneſſe, his friends alſo perſwading him thereto, thought at leaſt to ſaue the Citie (iudging indeed that now the ſeditious had altered their minds) and ſo he ſtood in the weſt part of the inner Temple: for there was a gate built aboue a gallery, and a bridge that ioyned the

Gold was ſold for halfe the price.

The craft of a boy.

The Prieſts craue pardon, but Titus cõmands them to be led to execution.

The ſeditious ſummon Titus to a parley.

Temple

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

Temple and Citie together, which was then between *Titus* and the tyrants. Many ſouldiers on both parts flocked about their rulers; the Iewes about *Simon* and *Iohn*, hoping for pardon: the Romans about *Titus*, deſirous what he would ſay vnto them: and *Titus* by an Edict commaunding the ſouldiers to be quiet, and to ſhoot no arrowes, ſpake vnto them firſt by an Interpreter, thereby ſhewing that he had the vpper hand, and ſaid, O ye men of Ieruſalem, are yee not now glutted with the calamities of your country? Neither calling to mind our power, nor your own infirmity, but with a raſh fury haue deſtroied your people, city and temple: your ſelues alſo hauing iuſtly deſerued to periſh, who, ſince *Pompey* firſt conquered you, haue neuer ceaſed to be ſeditious, and at laſt haue openly born armes againſt the Romans. Did you truſt vnto your multitude? You haue ſeene that a ſmall parcell of the Romans army hath ſufficiently reſiſted you. Or did you expect forraine aid? What nation is not vnder our dominion? and who would rather make choice of the Iewes then of the Romans? Did you truſt in your ſtrength of body? why, you knowe the Germans ſerue vs. Or in the ſtrength of your wals? what wall, or what greater hinderance then the Ocean, wherewith the Britaines inuironed, haue yeelded vnto the Roman forces? Or to your courage, & politike counſell of your captains? You haue alreadie heard that the Carthaginians haue beene by vs ſurpriſed. It was therefore the Romans humanitie that incited you againſt themſelues, who firſt of all permitted you to poſſeſſe your country, and gaue you Kings of your owne nation: and after all this, we kept your lawes inuiolate, and ſuffred you to liue as your ſelues deſired, not onely in your own country, but alſo amongſt other nations; and which is the greateſt of all our benefits beſtowed vpon you, we permitted you to gather tribute and gifts to the maintenance of your temple and ſacrifices to GOD; of all which we neither forbad any to be brought vnto you, neither hindered any that would offer vnto your Temple, but ſuffred you our enemies to be made richer then our ſelues, ſo that you haue vſed our owne money againſt vs. Wherfore, hauing receiued ſo many benefits at our hands, you haue now diſgorged your ſelues vpon vs, and like ſpightfull ſerpents, ſpet your poiſon vpon them that made much of you. Let vs omit that by *Nero* his negligence you became forgetfull of your duty, and like ſome member in the body broken or ſhrunk, you beeing ſtill tumultuous, at laſt were taken in a greater offence, and were incouraged with immoderate deſires to hope for vnlawful liberty. My father came into your country, not to puniſh you for your miſdemeanor toward *Ceſtius*, but by good counſell and warning to reprehend and quiet you. And whereas if he had come to deſtroy your nation, hee ought firſt to haue cut downe the very root, and to haue come vnto this city and deſtroied it, with the inhabitants: he rather choſe firſt to waſte Galilea, and the places adioining, that in the meane time you might repent you, and conſider of your eſtate. But this his mercy towards you was held for cowardlineſſe and infirmity in him, and by our long ſuffering, you were emboulded againſt vs: and when *Nero* was dead, you did as treacherous ſubiects are wont to do, taking occaſion by our ciuill diſſenſion, to reuolt from vs: and whil'ſt my father and I were gone into Egypt, you prepared your ſelues to war againſt vs; neither were you aſhamed to trouble them that were deſigned Princes, whom notwithſtanding you had found moſt gentle captaines vnto you. At laſt, when the Empire fell vnto vs, and all things being now quieted, all nations with gifts & preſents came to congratulate vs: behold again, the Iews ſhewed themſelues our enemies, and you ſent an Embaſſadour beyond Euphrates, onely to nouriſh your rebellion, walling and fortifying your towns anew; and contending like ſeditious and tyrants one with another, ſet abroach ciuill wars: all which none but impious people would haue committed. Wherfore being commanded by my father, who was now vrged thereunto, I came againſt this city with a heauy charge; yet did I reioyce when I heard that the people deſired peace. Before I warred againſt you I exhorted you to peace: after war was begun, I deſiſted awhile from vſing ſeuerity: I ſpared all them that of their owne accord fled vnto mee, and kept my promiſe vnto them, pitying thoſe that were captiues. I with ſtrokes reſtrained them that haſted the war againſt you againſt my wil; and euen forced ſo to do, I ſet the Romans againſt your wals, and alwaies reſtrained my ſouldiers ſo much deſirous of your bloud. As often as I ouercame you, ſo often did I exhort you to peace, as though I had been vanquiſhed. Againe; when I approached vnto the Temple, I (willingly omitting the law of arms) requeſted you to ſpare both it and the holy things, offering you leaue to depart, and promiſing you ſafety, or licencing you to fight another time in another place, if ſo you thought good. All theſe my offers you refuſed, and with your owne hands fired your temple. And now you wicked wretches vrge me to a parlee. What thing can you now preſerue ſo excellent, as that which is already periſhed? What pardon can you

Titus oration to the Iews by an interpreter.

The Romans humanity incited the Iews againſt them.

G H I K L M

A you expect, ſeeing your temple is deſtroied? nay, euen now you ſtand armed, not ſo much as counterfeiting ſubmiſſion in the laſt caſt. O wretches, with what hope? Is not your people dead, is not your temple deſtroied, and your city now in my hands, yea, your liues alſo? But do you think death the renowne of fortitude? I will not ſtriue with your obſtinacy: yet if you wil caſt downe your weapons, and yeeld your bodies, I will ſpare your liues: And like as in a priuate houſe I wil ſhew my ſelfe vnto you a gentle maſter; and after I haue puniſhed that which otherwiſe is incurable, I will reſerue the reſt for my ſelfe.

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Titus grants the Iewes life, on condition they ſhould lay aſide their weapons, and ſubmit themſelues.

To this they anſwered, that they could not receiue pardon at his hands, hauing vowed the contrary: wherfore they requeſted licence to depart with their wiues & children by the camp, which he had enuironed with a wall, and ſo to goe into the wildernes, and leaue the City to the
B Romans. *Titus* was hereat greatly enraged, that they being in a manner captiues, ſhould impoſe vpon him conditions, as though they were victors; and commanded a crier to tell them, that henceforth they ſhould not flee vnto him, nor hope that he would pardon them: for hee would ſpare nothing, willing them with all their forces to fight and ſaue themſelues as they could, for he would now in all things vſe the law of armes: and ſo he permitted the ſouldiers to ſacke the City and ſet it on fire. And that day they did nothing: but the next day following, they fired the councell-houſe, the palace Acra, and Ophla, and the fire came vnto Queene *Helens* palace, which was ſituate in the midſt of Acra: alſo the houſes and ſtreets of the city ful of dead bodies were ſet on fire. The ſame day, the ſons and brethren of king *Izates*, and with them many nobles of the people, aſſembled together, beſought *Cæſar* to pardon them: and he, though incenſed a-
C gainſt them all, yet not changing his maner, receiued them to mercy, and put them all in priſon, and afterward carried them bound to Rome for hoſtages, that were the kings ſons and kinſmen.

The ſouldiers ſet the city on fire.

Cæſar conſtant in his reſolutiõ

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the prey of the ſeditious, and the burning of the inner part of the Citie.

THe ſeditious went vnto the kings palace, where many had left all their wealth, becauſe it was a ſtrong place: and driuing the Romans from thence, they ſlew all the people there
D aſſembled, amounting to the number of 8000, and 400, and carried away all the mony, and they tooke there two Roman ſouldiers aliue, one a horſman, and another a footman; and they ſlue the footman, & drew him all along the city, as it were in the body of that one, reuenging themſelues vpon all the Romans. But the horſeman affirmed that he had ſomething to ſay vnto them, which would greatly profit them, and ſaue their liues: who was caried to *Simon*; and not hauing there any thing to ſay, *Simon* deliuered him to one of his captaines called *Ardala* to bee ſlaine, and hee brought him where the Romans might behould him with his hands bound behinde him, and a veile before his eies, meaning there to behead him: but he, whil'ſt the Iew drew out his ſword,
E fled to the Romans. And *Titus* would not put him to death, becauſe he had eſcaped from the enemies: yet deeming him vnworthy to be a Roman ſouldier, who ſuffred himſelfe to bee taken aliue, he tooke from him his armes, and diſcharged him from bearing them any more, which to a wiſe man was worſe then death. The next day, the Romans putting the ſeditious to flight that were in the lower city, they fired all vnto Siloa, reioycing that the town was deſtroied: yet they got no booties, becauſe the ſeditious had already robbed and ſpoiled all, and carried it into the higher city. For they nothing repented them of their wickednes, but were as arrogant as though they had beene in proſperity: ſo that they with ioy beheld the city on fire, affirming that they deſired death; for that the people beeing ſlaine, the temple deſtroied, and the city on fire, they ſhould leaue nothing to their enemies. Yet *Ioſeph* in that extreamity laboured to ſaue the relicks of the city, much inueighing againſt their cruelty, and earneſtly exhorting them to ſaue themſelues: yet he nothing profited in all this, but was derided for his labor: for neither would they
F yeeld to the Romans for their oaths ſake, neither were they able to fight with the Romans, beeing now as it were beſieged round by them; yet their accuſtomed murders did encourage them to ſtand out.

The ſeditious reſorting to the kings houſe take away the treaſure.

The puniſhment of a Roman ſouldier taken by the Iewes.

The Iewes are arrogant in midſt of their calamity.

The Iewes refuſe to ſubmit themſelues to the Romans, yet are they vnable to wage war with them.

Thus diſperſed all ouer the City, they lurked in the ruines, lying in wait for thoſe that ſought to flee vnto the Romans, and many of them were taken, and all of them were ſlaine; for famine had ſo weakned them, that they could not flee, and they caſt their dead bodies to dogs. And any death

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death were easie in respect of famine. So that many fled vnto the Romans, hauing no promise, no nor hope to be pardoned by them, and vpon purpose fel into the hands of the seditious, who neuer ceased from murther: and now there was no place in the whole city void, but was fild with dead bodies, who either perished by famine or sedition. But the tyrants and factious thieues put their last refuge in the vaults, where they hoped whatsoeuer hapned to saue themselues, hoping that there they could not be found, and so after the city was destroied, to escape, which was onely their vain fantasie. For they could neither be hid from God nor the Romans: yet at that time they trusted in those caues, from whence they fired the city more then the Romans, and cruelly murderd them that, hauing escaped the flames, came & fled into secret places, and spoiled them: also if they in any place found any meat, though all bloudy, yet they took it, and did eat it, and now one of them began to fight with another about the spoile they got. And I verely perswade my selfe, that had they not beene preuented by the destruction of the city, their cruelty would haue been such, that they would haue eaten the bodies of dead men.

The tyrants vttermost hope was in their vaults.

Rapine and slaughter in the vaults.

G H

CHAP. XV.

How the higher part of the Citie vvas assaulted: and how some of the Iewes fled vnto Titus.

Caesar, perceiuing that the higher part of the City would not bee won without mounts, being situate in a soile, round about the which were high and deep places, on the twentith day of August he set all his souldiers on worke, and the carrying of wood for that purpose was very painful: all trees within 100. furlongs off the city were already cut down, and vsed in the former work, as is before said. So the four legions raised a mount on the west side of the city, and all the rest made a mount against the porch, bridge and tower, which *Simon* during his wars with *Iohn* had built. About this time, the captaines of the Idumæans assembling together, deliberated to yeeld themselues, and sent fiue of their company to *Titus*, beseeching him to confirme a peace vnto them: and he hoping that the tyrant would yeeld after them, who were the greatest part of his army, with much ado granted them life, & so sent them to their fellows: but *Simon* had notice of their departure, and presently slew those fiue that were sent vnto *Titus*, and taking the captains (the noblest of whom was *Iames*, the son of *Sosa*) hee put them in prison, and also kept and guarded the Idumæans, who now hauing no gouernours knew not what to do, yet the guard could not hinder them from fleeing: for although many of them were kild, yet diuers fled and escaped, and were all receiued by the Romans; *Titus* curtesie being such, as that he remembred not his former edict to the contrary, and now the souldiers hoping for gain, and hauing already gotten sufficient, abstained from murthers: for leauing only the common people, they sold the rest with their wiues and children for a small price, many beeing exposed to sale, and few coming to buy them: so that he hauing made an edict that none should flee vnto him alone, intending thereby to bring their families with them, yet hee now receiued them also, appointing some to enquire who had deserued punishment, and to inflict it on them. And an infinite number was sold, and more then 40000. of the people were saued, whom the Emperor dismissed, and permitted to go whither they pleased. The same time a certaine Priest, the sonne of *Thebathus*, named *Iesus*, was promised pardon on condition he should deliuer certain holy things giuen to the temple: and so he came and brought out of a wall two candlesticks, like to them that were in the temple, tables, goblets, cups, all made of solid and massiue gold: also, the veil and the ornaments of the priests, and the precious stones about them, and many vessels made for sacrifice. Moreouer, the keeper of the holy treasure, called *Phineas*, brought forth the garments, and all things that did belong to the priests, and much purple and scarlet, which were laid vp in store to make tapestry or hangings, among which also was some Cinamon, Cassia, and many other odoriferous things, whereof were compounded sweet odors to be offred to God. He also deliuered him much wealth of other mens, and much sacred treasure: for the which, notwithstanding he was taken by force, yet he was pardoned, as they were that fled vnto *Caesar*.

I K L M

The Idumæans consult in their assembly about their submission.

40000. of the people saued. Iesus a priest the son of Thebathus.

Phineas, the treasurer of the temple, taken.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XVI.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

How the reſt of the Citie was taken.

THe ſeauenth day of September, the mounts being finiſhed, which was the eighteenth day after they were begun, ſome of the Romans placed their rams and engins to batter them; and ſom of the ſeditious, who now deſpaired to keep the city, left the wals, and fled into Acra, others hid themſelues in certain vaults, and many hindred the Romans, and reſiſted them for placing their rams againſt the wals, who were ouercome by them, B being both more in number then they were, and alſo ſtronger and more valiant. The Iewes being now all diſcouraged and ſorrowfull, ſo ſoone as any part of the wall was broken downe, or ſhaken with the force of the rammes, ſtraightwaies fled, and now the tyrants were ſurpriſed with a greater feare then needed. For euen before ſuch time as the enemies had entred the wall, they ſtood in doubt whether they might flee or no: and they who a little before were proud & arrogant malefactors, did now tremble and quake, ſo that it was pitiful to ſee ſuch a change in them, though they were wicked perſons. And they endeuoured to aſſaile the wall that *Titus* had built to compaſſe the whole city withal: but ſeeing themſelues forſaken of all thoſe that were wont to bee truſty vnto them, euery one fledde whither neceſſity did driue him. Preſently newes were brought them that all the weſt wall of the city was beaten downe, others affirmed that the RoC mans had entred, and that they had ſeen the enemies in the towers, feare dazeling their eies: and proſtrate on the ground, they bewailed their misfortune; and as though they had beene lame, they ſtood ſtill, and ſought not to flee. From whence one may chiefly perceiue Gods iuſtice toward the impious, and the Romans fortune: for the tyrants depriued themſelues of their ſtrong holds, and voluntarily departed out of their towers, wherein they could neuer haue been taken but by famine: and the Romans, hauing ſo much labored at the lower wals, did now by fortune take theſe, which their engines could neuer haue ſhaken, for there were 3. inexpugnable towers that could not be battered with the engines, whereof before we haue made mention. So the tyrants hauing forſaken theſe, or rather being by Gods will driuen from hence, preſently they fled vnto the valley Siloa; after the feare was paſt they againe took heart, and went vnto the wall that D was in that place: yet not vſing ſuch courage and violence as their need required, they were beaten by the watchmen that guarded it, their ſtrength now failing & wearied with labor, feare, famine and calamity. And ſome were driuen one way, and ſome another, and ſo were forced to hide themſelues in vaults and ſinks. The Romans hauing obtained the wall, placed their colours in the towers, and clapping their hands, and ſinging for ioy, they cried, Victory, finding the end of the warre nothing ſo terrible as the beginning. Yet did they not beleeue that was the end, becauſe they gotte the wall without any bloudſhed, but admired, ſeeing no man did offer to reſiſt them. And now iſſuing into euery ſtreet, they ſlue whomſoeuer they found, without any reſpect, and fired houſes, and all the people that had fled into them, and deſtroyed many whereas they entred for to get a prey, and they found whole families dead, and houſes ful of dead bodies, conE ſumed by famine. Thus terrified with that heauy ſight, they departed out, not taking any thing away, yet for all that they pitied not them that were left aliue, but ſlew whomſoeuer they met, wherby they filled the narrow ſtreets ſo full of dead bodies by them ſlaine, that none could paſſe that way for them: all the whole city flowed with bloud, ſo that many things ſet on fire, were quenched with the bloud of them that were ſlaine. At euening they ceaſed from killing, but all the night long the fire increaſed: and ſo in the morning, which was the eight day of September, all was now on fire, the city in the time of the ſiege hauing endured more miſery and calamity, then euer it receiued ioy and happineſſe from the time of the firſt foundation, notwithſtanding that they were ſo great that all cities might iuſtly enuy it, and it no wiſe deſerued ſo to be oppreſſed with ſuch miſery, ſaue onely for that it foſtered and bred ſuch impious perſons as wrought F the ouerthrowe thereof.

Titus, entring into the city, amongſt the reſt admired the ſtrong houlds thereof, and the rocky towers which the tyrants like madde men depriued themſelues of: and ſeeing the height, firmneſſe, bignes, and the ioining of the ſtones together, and their breadth & height, he ſaid: Surely, God hath aſſiſted vs in the fight, and he it was that did withdraw the Iews from theſe fortreſſes. For what could mens hands and engins preuaile againſt them? And hauing ſpoke much to this effect,

Some of the ſeditious kept in Acra, the reſt in the vaults of the city.

The feare and amazement of the ſeditious.

The tyrants infeeble themſelues, and of their owne accords forſake the towers frō whence by no means but famine they might be driuen.

The Romans enter the town and obtaine the victory.

The houſes & families of beſt reckning are left full of dead bodies.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.

effect, comming with his friends, he set them at liberty whom the tyrants had left bound in the Castles: and when he destroied the rest of the city & wals, he left those towers standing as a monument of his good fortune and victory, by the which he had gained them, though vnexpugnable. The souldiers now being weary with killing the miserable Iewes, and yet a great multitude remaining aliue, *Cæsar* commanded, that onely the armed Iewes and they that resisted should be slaine, and the rest left aliue. But the souldiers also killed old folkes and weak persons, and taking all able men & lusty, they caried them into the temple, and shut them there in the place appointed for the women. *Cæsar* left one *Fronto*, a libertine and his friend, to keep them, giuing him also charge to make inquiry, who had deserued punishment; who slew all the thieues and seditious, one of them bewraying another, and reserued certaine chosen young men of large stature and beautifull withall for the triumph: and all the rest that were aboue 17. yeares old hee sent bound into Egypt, to be emploied in certaine works there, as digging, deluing and manuring the fields, and to be vsed in other publike businesse. *Titus* also sent many of them vnto diuers prouinces to be slaine in the Theaters with beasts or swords: and they that were vnder 17. yeeres of age were sold. And during the time that *Fronto* kept them, 10000. died for hunger; partly, for that their Keepers hating them, would not giue them any meat; partly, for that some refused meat when it was offred them. For there was now scarcity of corne by reason of the great multitude of the people.

These munitions of the city and defence of the tower which the tyrants abandoded for feare, impregnable. Fortunes monument.

The old and weak Iews are slaine, and the strong & lusty reserued.

Titus distributeth the Iewes

CHAP. XVII.

Of the number of the captiues, and them that were slaine.

The number of the captiues & such as died during the siege of the city.

THe number of all the captiues that were taken during the whole time of warre, was 97000: and the number of all that died & were slain during the siege, was 1100000, the most of them being Iewes by nation, but not inhabitants of that place. For beeing assembled together from all parts to the feast of vnleauened bread, presently and on a sudden they were enuironed with war, and first of all a plague fell among them by reason of the straightnes of the place, and immediately after, famine, worse then it. And that the City was capable of so many men it is euident, for that *Cestius* before numbred them; who, desirous to signifie the flourishing estate and strength of Ierusalem vnto *Nero*, who contemned our nation, requested the high priests, that if possibly they could they should number all the people in their city: and that vpon the feast of Easter, when they killed offrings from the ninth houre of the day vntill the eleuenth (and to eat a lamb not fewer then ten persons were assembled, for it is not lawfull to feast alone, yea, many times 20. are in a company) they numbred 256000, and 500. oblations or lambs to be kild; so that if wee reckon to euery lambe ten men, the number amounts to 2700000. men, all purified whole and sound: for it was not lawfull for any that were lepers, or had a fluxe of seed, nor women that had the monthly tearmes, to eat of that sacrifice, nor for any stranger, except he came thither for religion sake. And this multitude was assembled together from other places, and was there by the prouidence of God shut vp as it were in a prison. And the city being filled with men of war was besieged, that the number of them that were slaine passed all that euer perished, either by any plague sent from God, or by the means of men; who were partly openly slaine, partly taken by the Romans: who searching the vaults, and opening the sepulchres, spared none they mette withall. There also were found more then 2000, whereof some slew themselues with their owne hands, other-some kild by others, the rest perished by famine. The stink of dead bodies was so great, that many minding to go and search the foresaid places, and being entred into them, were forced to retire: yet others for lucre sake treading on the dead carcasses, searched the dead bodies, if they could find any thing: for much riches were hid in the vaults, and couetousnesse omitted no way to gaine. Moreouer, many were taken out from thence, whom the tyrants had bound, who euen in their extreamity ceased not to tyrannize: yet God plagued them both according to their deserts: for *Iohn* being now almost famished with his brethren in a vault, besought the Romans to saue his life. And *Simon*, hauing long striuen with necessity, as we shall hereafter make mention of, at last yeelded himselfe, who was kept for the triumph; and *Iohn* was condemned to perpetuall prison. Then they destroyed the wals, and fired the outward parts of the City.

The Romans searching the graues and vaults finde much treasure

Iohn and Simon apprehended in the vaults.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XVIII.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

A briefe historie of the Citie of Ierusalem.

THus was Ierusalem taken the second yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, on the eight day of September, and hauing beene alreadie fiue times before surprised, it was finally againe destroyed. First *Asochæus* king of Aegypt, and after him *Antiochus*, then *Pompey*, and after them *Herod* with *Sosius* tooke the Citie and yet destroyed it not. But before them the King of Babylon destroyed it, when hee had inioyed the same, a thousand three hundreth and threescore yeeres, eight moneths and sixe daies after it was first built: but hee that first built it was one of the Princes of the Cananeans, in his owne language called the iust king. For he indeed was so, & therfore was the first Priest that sacrificed vnto God, and dedicating a Temple, called the Citie Solyma: but *Dauid* the king of the Iewes hauing driuen out the Cananeans, gaue it vnto his people to bee inhabited, and after foure hundreth threescore foure yeeres and three moneths, it was destroyed by the Babylonians: & from king *Dauid* who was the first Iew that raigned there, vntill the time that *Titus* destroyed it, were a thousand one hundred seuentie & nine yeeres, and from the time that it was first erected vntil it was by him destroyed, were two thousand one hundred and seuentie seuen yeeres: yet neither the antiquitie nor riches, nor the fame thereof now spread all ouer the world, nor the glorie of religion did any thing profit or hinder it, from being destroyed. Such was the end of the besieging of Ierusalem. When there was none left to kill, nor any thing remaining for the souldiers to get, & that now there was nothing, against which the soldiers could shew their outrage (for they would haue spared nothing that they could haue spoyled) *Cæsar* cõmaunded them to destroy the City & Temple, onely yet leauing standing certaine towers, that were more beautifull and stronger then the rest, to wit, Phasaelus, Hippicos, and Mariamme, and the wall that was on the West side; meaning there to keepe a garrison, and that they should be monuments of the Romans vertue, who had surprised a City so well fortified as it appeared by them. All the rest of the Citie they so plained, that they who had not seene it before, would not beleeue that it had been euer inhabited. This was the end of their madnes, who were alwaies giuen vnto sedition in Ierusalem, a most worthie Citie and famous amongst all nations.

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Ierusalem being fiue times spoyled was at that time once more sackt.

The Romans wholly ruinate both the Citie & the temple.

CHAP. XIX.

Howw the souldiers vvere rewvarded.

CAesar determined to leaue the tenth legion for a garrison in Ierusalem, with some troupes of horsemen and other companies of footmen: and all wars being now ended, he purposed to thanke the whole armie for their valiant acts, & reward the most courageous for their deserts. And placing a great tribunall in the middest before the campe, standing in it with the chiefe peeres about him, from whence the whole armie might heare him, hee gaue them heartie thankes for that of their good will towards him, they had patiently abode with him during those wars, praysing them for their loyaltie during al the foresaid time, and that in many skirmiges they had shewed themselues valiant, & by their valour had enlarged the dominions of their countrie: likewise they had now giuen al natiõs to vnderstand, that neither the multitude of enemies, nor strong holds, nor greatnesse of Cities, nor rashnes, nor barbarous crueltie of their aduersaries could euer resist the forces of the Romanes, nor escape their hands; notwithstanding that in manie things fortune fauoured them: adding that it was a credite for them to haue ended those wars that had continued a long time; which was all that they hoped for at their comming; and which was most glorie of all vnto them, that those Captaines whom they had elected to be the Romane Emperours, were well liked and imbraced of all men, all standing to their appointment; & acknowledging themselues beholding to them that elected them. Moreouer that hee admired them and loued them all, for that euerie one shewed himselfe valiant and courageous: affirming that he would now recompence those with honours, and due desert, who had behaued themselues most valiantly, and most hasarded themselues, and effected worthie deeds, and whosoeuer was forwarder then the rest should haue reward according to his desert. And that he would be more diligent in honouring them that had bin his companions

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Titus thãketh his souldiers for that they had cotinued their loue towards him.

Titus promises recõpence to his valiant souldiers.

The yeare of the world, 4074. after Christs birth, 72.

in that warre, then in punishing their offences; then presently he willed them to whome it appertained, to nominate them who had valiantly behaued themselues in those wars, and had performed any worthie exployt: which being done, he called euerie one by his name, & prayſed them, as greatly reioycing at the valour of his Countrimen, crowning them with crownes of gold, and put chaines of gould about their neckes, and gaue them large ſpeares of gold, and enſignes made of ſiluer, he alſo preferred euerie one of them, & gaue them of the ſpoyl, precious garments, with gold & ſiluer verie plentiouſly: & thus hauing rewarded euery one according to his merite; and praiſing God with all his armie, he deſcended with great applauſe out of the tribunall, and went and offered ſacrifices for the victorie, and hauing gathered a great multitude of Oxen about the Altar to ſacrifice them, hee offered them all, and therewith feaſted his armie, and himſelfe three dayes, with all his nobilitie, diſmiſſing all the ſouldiers to depart whither they would, or thought good, appointing the tenth legion to keepe Ieruſalem, and did not ſend it backe vnto Euphrates, where before it was. He baniſhed alſo the twelfth legion out of all Syria, remembring that vnder *Ceſtius* his gouernment they fled from the Iewes, being before at Raphanæas, which he ſent vnto Malto that is ſituate by Euphrates in the confines of Armenia & Cappadocia, and the other two he kept with himſelfe, as ſufficient to guard him into Aegypt, which were the fift & fifteenth legions. And comming to Cæſarea by the Sea coaſt, he there laid vp all his ſpoyles, and cauſed the captiues to be kept, becauſe that the winter ſeaſon permitted him not to ſaile into Italy.

Titus larges to his ſouldiers.

Titus ſacrifice for his victory

The twelfth legion vnder Ceſtius leading gaue place to the Iewes.

CHAP. XX.

Of Veſpaſians *voyage by Sea, and how* Simon *was taken: and of the ſpectacles, and ſhewes made vpon his birth day.*

Veſpaſian ſailing & iourny.

WHileſt *Titus* was buſied in the ſiege of Ieruſalem, *Veſpaſian* in a Marchants ſhip ſayled to Rhodes: & from thence departing in a Gally, hauing viſited all Cities by the which he paſſed, being ioyfully receiued of them al, he went from Ionia into Greece, from thence vnto Corcyra, and then vnto Iapygia, and afterwards by land. Thus *Titus* being returned from Cæſarea on the Sea coaſt, he came vnto Cæſarea Philippi, and there he made a long abode, proclaiming all ſorts of paſtime: wherein many captiues periſhed, ſom being caſt vnto wild beaſts, others forced in great companies to fight one againſt another; being in this place, he vnderſtood that *Simon* the ſonne of *Giora* was taken. This *Simon* at ſuch time as Ieruſalem was beſieged, was in the higher part of the Citie, when the Roman armie had entered the wals, and began to waſte it: and with his moſt truſtie fellowes, and certaine Maſons, hauing prouided them all neceſſary tooles, and victualls that might haue ſufficed them all for many dayes, hee accompanied with them, and went into a ſecret caue, vnto the end thereof, and there hee cauſed them to digge further, hoping ſo to get out at ſome place where he might ſafely eſcape away. Yet this his hope had not ſo good ſucceſſe as he expected: for they had but digged a little way, ere victuals failed them: notwithſtanding, that they had made very great ſpare thereof. Then *Simon* thinking to feare the Romans, clothed himſelfe in white, and a purple cloake buttoned about him, and ſo came out of the earth in that place where the temple had been builded before time. And they that did firſt ſee him, were aſtoniſhed awhile, and ſtirred not, but let him alone: yet at laſt they came vnto him, and demanded what he was; but *Simon* would not tell them, willing them to cal their captaine vnto him, and preſently ſome of the ſouldiers ran to call him, and ſo he came: at that time *Terentius Rufus* was captaine of the ſouldiers. *Terentius* hauing learned the truth of all, kept him bound, and related vnto *Cæſar* the maner of his taking, & thus *Simon* was by the power of God deliuered into his enemies hands, who hated him aboue meaſure, & ſo was iuſtly hereby puniſhed, for hauing ſo cruelly tyrannized ouer his owne countrimen, not taken by their force, but yeelding himſelfe vnto them, hauing cruelly butchered many, vnder pretence of falſe criminations: to wit, for hauing reuolted vnto the Romaus.

Shewes at Cæſarea.

Simon gettes down into the vault and hopeth to eſcape from thence in ſafety.

Simon is take by the Romās

But impiety cannot eſcape Gods vengeance, neither is the diuine iuſtice of ſo weak force, but that it can at one time or other puniſh them that violate it, & it many times inflicteth a grieuous puniſhment vpon men, when they think they haue eſcaped all, for they were not preſently puniſhed; which alſo *Simon* felt, after he fell into the Romans hands: his comming out of the earth, made a great many more of the ſeditious at that time to be taken in the caues. When *Cæſar* was returned into Cæſarea by the Sea coaſt, *Simon* was preſented bound vnto him, who commanded him

Sin cannot ſhun Gods iuſtice.

A great multitude of the ſeditious taken in vaults.

A him to bee reſerued for his triumph, which hee purpoſed to make at Rome. After making ſome aboade in that place, he celebrated his brothers birth day with great ſolemnity: & in that ſolemnitie bringing forth diuers Iewes, whoſe puniſhment hee had of purpoſe deferred till that time, the number of all that periſhed there with fighting againſt beaſts and amongſt themſelues, and by fire, amounted to more then two thouſand & fiue hundreth men. Yet the Romans thought all theſe puniſhments too light and eaſie for them. After this, *Cæſar* came to Berytus (which is a Citie in Phœnicia, and a colonie of the Romans) and here alſo hee made ſome long aboade, and celebrated the birth of his father, with far greater ſolemnitie then the former, as well in making diuers ſhewes vnto the people, as in great expences and ſumptuouſnes, and cauſing many captiues to periſh as before.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Ioſephus ſhew in Cæſarea 2500 Iewes die.

Titus celebrateth Veſpaſians birth day.

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CHAP. XXI.

Of the calamitie of the Iewes at Antiochia.

AT the ſame time the reſt of the Iews were in great miſerie, & the Citie of Antiochia was incited againſt them, both for certaine criminall cauſes laid now vnto their charge, as alſo for certaine offences before committed, which neceſſarily I muſt recount, before I ſpeake any thing of the reſt. The nation of the Iewes is mixed almoſt amongſt all nations of the world, and eſpecially amongſt the Syrians, by reaſon of their vicinitie, and many of them were at

The nation of the Iewes intermixed among all the people of the world.

C Antiochia becauſe it was a great Citie, and the kings that ſucceeded *Antiochus*, permitted them freely to inhabite there, and to enioy all liberties of the Citie. For *Antiochus* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, deſtroyed Ieruſalem, and ſacked the temple: but the kings ſucceſſors reſtored all the braſſe that was taken from the temple vnto the Iewes, offering it vnto their Synagogue in Antiochia, and permitted them to haue the ſame liberties in the Citie, that the Greekes enioyed, and the other kings alſo of latter times vſed them after the like ſort: ſo that their number greatly encreaſed, and they enlarged their temple and enriched it, with ſundrie offerings, oftentimes winning many Pagans to be of their religion, and ſo as it were made them alſo a part of their nation. Now about the time that the warres began, and *Veſpaſian* was newly arriued, the Iewes began to bee generally hated of all men: then one of them named *Antiochus*, reuerend for parentage, whoſe

A number of Iewes in Antioch.

D father was chiefe of all the Iewes in Antiochia, at ſuch time as the people of Antiochia were aſſembled in the Theater, this man came in amongſt them, and accuſed his owne father, & the reſt of the Iews to haue conſpired together to burne the Citie in the night time, and deliuered ſome Iewes vnto them that were his gueſts as conſpirators with the reſt. The people hearing this, could not repreſſe their rage, but preſently cauſed them that were offered vnto them to be burnt in the Theater, and made great ſpeede to ſet vpon all the Iewes, hoping that by ſpeedy diſpatch they might preſerue their countrey, which otherwiſe was like to periſh. And then *Antiochus*

A Iew called Antiochus is the cauſe of their mightie miſerie in Antioch.

Antiochus perfidious to his Citizens.

to enrage them the more, did now offer to ſacrifice according to the cuſtom of the Pagans, thereby as it were aſſuring the Antiochians, that he hated the Iewes and their cuſtomes, willing them alſo to compell all the reſt of the Iewes to doe the like, for whoſoeuer refuſed ſo to do were trai-

Antiochus forbiddeth to ſanctifie the ſeauenth day.

E tors. The Antiochians followed his counſell: but few Iewes would obey them, yet they that denied to ſacrifice were ſlaine. Then *Antiochus* receiuing a charge of ſouldiers from the captaine of the Romans, became moſt cruell againſt his countrimen, and would not permit them to keepe holy the ſeuenth day; but in it to do all labour and buſineſſe, that they were accuſtomed to do vpon any other day, & ſo vrged them hereto, that within ſhort time the ſeuenth day was not onely violated amongſt them of Antiochia, but alſo in other places and Cities round about. The Iewes at Antiochia hauing then indured the foreſaide miſery, now fell into as great calamitie as that was, whereof I intending to ſpeake, was forced to relate the former. For it hapned

Another calamitie at Antioch.

that the foureſquare market was fired, and the publike places, where all wrtings and regiſters

F were kept, as alſo the kings houſes: and the fire ſo encreaſed, that with much adoe it was hindred from firing the whole Citie. Of this fact *Antiochus* accuſed the Iewes, thereby ſufficiently inciting the Antiochians againſt them, although that they had not before borne them any malice, and making them ſo eaſily beleeue his calumniations, who now gaue full credit vnto his accuſations, by reaſon of that which was paſt: ſo that now they almoſt perſwaded themſelues, that they did ſee the Iews put fire vnto them, and ſo in a great rage all of them ſet vpon them that were accuſed. Wherefore *Collega* the younger, had much ado to pacifie the people, notwithſtanding

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that he requested them to permit him to informe *Cæsar* of all that vvas past. For *Vespasian* had alreadie sent *Cæsennius Portus* to be gouernour of Syria, but he was not as yet arriued there. Then *Collega* making diligent enquirie of the matter, found out the truth, and not one of the Iewes accused by *Antiochus* was guiltie: for certaine impious people had done all this mischiefe, being indebted; thinking that if they had burnt the market place, and the publike vvritings, that then their debts could not be required at their hands. Yet the Iewes liued in great feare, and expected the euent of those forged accusations. G

A sort of wicked men by meanes they were indebted burne the market place and the publike records.

CHAP. XXII.

How Vespasian *at his returne was receiued by the Romans.* H

The yeare of the world, 4035, after Christs birth, 73.

AFter that *Titus* had receiued letters from his father, that he was arriued in Italie, and al Cities wherein hee as yet came, welcommed him verie ioyfully, and that especially Rome had entertained him with great pompe and triumph, hee was now eased of the care hee had before, and verie ioyfull for his fathers welfare, and good fortune. For all the people of Italy did reuerence *Vespasian*, though absent, as though he had been present with them, desiring to see his expected arriuall, whose comming they so hartily wished for. For the Senate, remembring what calamities had befallen the Citie in the change of Princes, desired to receiue their Emperour dignified with the honour of olde age, & martiall renowne, whose presence onely vvould be to his subiects profit and safetie. And the vulgar sort also troubled before with ciuill wars, long expected his arriuall, assuring themselues thereby to haue an end of their calamity, and to recouer againe their wonted affluence. Especially he was expected by the souldiers, who knowing his skill in martiall affaires by that which himselfe had alreadie done, and finding their other captaines, vnder whom they warred, ignorant and vnskilfull, they wished for his comming, thereby to be deliuered from the disgrace, wherein they liued, desiring to receiue him by whome they might both be honoured, and preserued from danger. The nobilitie seeing him so beloued of all men, could no longer waite his comming, but went and met him, hee being farre from the Citie, and accompanied him; and no man staied his comming, but in whole multitudes they went to meete him, they were so desirous to see him: so that more went to meete him then staied at home. I K

The Citie of Rome entertaineth Vespasian with all willingnesse and pompe.

The Romans issue out to meete with Vespasian.

When newes was brought that hee approched neere vnto the Citie, and how friendly and curteously he had entertained all men, the people with their wiues & children staied in the way hee came, to salute and see him: and whersoeuer he came, with ioyfull applauses & acclamations they cried, calling him their conseruer and benefactor, and he who onely was worthy to be the Romane Emperour, and the whole Citie was as it had been a temple all hung with garlands, and full of sweet odors and perfumes: and the multitude of people being such that hee could scarcely get into the palace, he offered sacrifices vnto his houshold gods for his safe returne, and all the people were feasted by their tribes, kinred and neighbours, sacrificing vnto God, and requesting that *Vespasian* might long continue their Emperour, and his sonne after him, and that the Empire might neuer depart from his linage. The Citie of Rome hauing thus receiued *Vespasian*, it presently was blessed with all happinesse and felicitie. L

Vespasian celebrateth gratulatory sacrifice for his safe arriuall.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of Domitian *against the Germans and Frenchmen.*

BEfore such time as *Vespasian* was gone to Alexandria, or that *Titus* besieged the Citie of Ierusalem, a great part of Germanie was reuolted, with whom the Frenchmen that bordred vpon them renouncing their allegeance they were in great hope to free themselues from the yoke and gouernment of the Romans. The first motiues that caused the Germans to reuolt, and to warre against the Romans, was their temeritie and rash natures prone to fight, hauing but a verie little hope of successe, then the hatred of their nobles, who knew that none could by force bring them into subiection but only the Romans, and chiefly thereunto encouraged by the opportunity they had. For they seeing the Empire greatly afflicted with ciuill wars, by reason of the often changing of Emperors, and knowing that all the world vnder their dominion was M

The causes of the reuolt of the Germans and French, from the Romans.

now

A now in ſuſpence, they thought that by reaſon of their troubles & ciuil wars fit opportunitie was offered them, and they were hereunto perſwaded by one *Caſſius* and *Ciuilis* two of the moſt potent amongſt them, who long before deſired alteration; and now finding opportunitie, ſhewed what minds they bare: who now taking courage, made triall what the common people thought of this point, and the greateſt part of them manifeſtly condeſcended hereunto, and perhaps the reſt were not vnwilling. At this time, as it were by Gods prouidence, *Veſpaſian* ſent letters vnto *Petilius Cerealis* (who before time had beene gouernour of Germanie) and declared him Conſull, commaunding him to goe into Britaine and take the rule of the countrey. Hee foorthwith obeyed *Veſpaſians* command: and hearing that the Germans had reuolted, hee came againſt them, they hauing now leuied an armie, and gaue them a great ouerthrow, killing many of them,
B and forced them to their due obedience vnto the Romans. Notwithſtanding, if he had not come thither, not long after they had aſſuredly been puniſhed for their offence. For ſo ſoone as newes of their rebellion was brought to Rome, *Cæſar Domitianus* hearing of it (not as one of his yeers would haue done, being verie young) vndertooke that expedition to go and conquer them: but hauing his fathers courage, and being more skilfull then his age required, hee preſently went againſt them: who terrified with the report of his comming, yeelded vnto him, thereby gaining this, that without bloudſhed they were brought vnder ſubiection as before. Now all things in Gallia being well diſpoſed of, ſo that it was not eaſie for them although they would, to rebell any more, *Domitian* returned againe to Rome, being a credite vnto his age and countrey.

The yeare of the world, 4035. after Chriſts Nativity, 73.

Cerealis compelleth the Germans to ſubiection.

Domitianus Titus brother

O At the ſame time alſo the Scythians rebelled, and the Sarmates aſſembled in great multitudes, and paſſed ouer the riuer Iſtrum, and with great violence and crueltie comming vnexpected, ſlew manie of the Romane garriſons, whom they found in ſtrong holds: and *Fonteius Agrippaes* Lieutenant, who had been Conſull, meeting them, bade them battell, and fought verie valiantly: which done, they went all ouer the countries adioyning, waſting, robbing, and ſpoyling them. When *Veſpaſian* heard thereof, and how *Mæſia* was all waſted, hee ſent *Rubrius Gallus* to bee reuenged vpon them: who hauing ſlaine manie of them in fight, hee forced the reſt to retire into their owne countrey. The generall of the armie hauing thus ended that warre, prouided to preuent them, if hereafter they did attempt the like; for hee built farre more ſtronger forts then were before, ſo that the enemie could no way paſſe out of their owne countrey: by
D which meanes the wars in Mæſia were quickly ended.

The Scythiãs and Sarmates rebellion againſt the Romans.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Riuer Sabbaticus, and the famous triumph of Veſpaſian *and* Titus.

Titus the Emperour hauing ſome while remained at Berytus (as is before ſaid) and being returned from thence, hee ſhewed many ſpectacles in all the cities of Syria, wherein he came, reſeruing for that purpoſe the Iews, that were captiues, to let al men vnderſtand of
E their ouerthrow: in his iourney, he beheld a riuer worth the recitall, which rũneth in the midſt betweene Arcas and Raphaneas, two Citties of the kingdome of Agrippa, which hath a miraculous nature: for when it floweth, it is verie full of water, and runneth with a ſwift ſtream; yet hauing flowed ſixe daies, it is on the ſeuenth day ſo drie, that you may ſee the bottome, and ſo continueth his courſe, which for this cauſe the Iews called Sabbaticus, taking the name therof from the Iewes Sabbath, which is the ſeuenth day. When the Antiochians vnderſtood that *Titus* was comming to their citie, they could not containe themſelues within their wals for ioy, but all went out to meete him; and not onely men, but alſo women and children, expecting his comming thirtie ſtounds off: & when he approched neer vnto them, they holding vp their hands to him ſaluted him, with great ioy; & hauing receiued many courteſies from him, they returned
F with him, and amongſt other acclamations, they often beſought him to baniſh the Iewes out of their citie. But *Titus* returned no aunſwere, making as though he heard not what they requeſted. Yet the Iewes doubtfull what he would doe, & what his intent was, were all in exceeding great feare. For *Titus* did not tarrie at Antiochia, but paſſed frõ thence to Zeugema towards Euphrates, where *Vologeſus* the king of Parthians meſſenger came vnto him, bringing him a golden crowne for his conqueſt of the Iewes: which he receiuing, feaſted the kings Embaſſadours, and

Titus celebrateth many ſumptuous paſtimes in all the cities of Syria.

The floud Sabbaticus.

Titus cõming to Antioch. The prayers of the Citizẽs againſt the Iewes.

The yeare of the world, 4036. after Christs birth, 74.

ſo returnd to Antiochia, where the ſenat & people beſought him to com into the theater, where G
al the people were aſſembled expecting him, & he accorded ſo to do: & again they beſought him
to expel the Iews out of their city; but he anſwered that their countrey wherunto he might haue
baniſhed them, was now deſtroyed, & there was no place that would receiue them. So the Anti-
ochians ſeeing they could not obtaine their former petition, requeſted an other thing of him, to

Titus lamenteth the loſſe and deſolation of Ieruſalem.

wit, that he would take away the braſen tables, wherein were engrauen the Iewes priuiledges:
but *Titus* would not grant that, but leauing the Iewes in the ſame eſtate he found them, he depar-
ted from thence into Aegypt: and as in the way he paſt by Ieruſalem, comparing the deſolation
of that place with the beautie & goodly buildings that were before it was deſtroyed, he lamen-

The Romans find no ſmall part of the riches of Ieruſalem.

ted and pitied the ouerthrow thereof, not inſolently reioycing as an other would haue done, for
hauing deſtroyed ſo faire and ſtrong a citie, but curſing the ſeditious who forced him to deſtroy H
it, not purpoſing to make his vertue knowne by the calamitie of wretches. For as yet great part
of the treaſure of the Citie was found in the ruines, and ſome the Romans found of them-
ſelues; but the moſt they got, the captiues told them of, which was gold and ſiluer and other
precious things buried by the owners in the earth, being vncertaine what would betide them.
Titus going forward in his iourney ſpeedily paſt the wilderneſſe, and came to Alexandria: and

Iohn & Simon & ſeuentie other goodly Iewes are reſerued by Titus to be ſent into Italy.

determining now to ſaile vnto Italy, he ſent the two legions that accompanied him vnto the pla-
ces, from whence they came, the fift into Mæſia, the fifteenth into Panonia, commaunding *Iohn*
and *Simon* captaines of the priſoners & others, to the number of ſeauen hundreth, all of goodly
ſtature, & beautifuil, to be carried preſently into Italy, meaning to vſe them in his triũph. When
he was now arriued at Rome as he deſired, the people were ſo affected towards him, as if he had I
beene their father, & came to meet him. *Veſpaſian* alſo honoured his ſonne *Titus*, meeting him in
his owne perſon with great ioy: all the citizens likewiſe receiued him with exceeding ioy, ſeeing
that now the father and his two ſonnes were met: Within a few dayes after, they purpoſed to
make a triumph in common, but the Senate had decreed them a priuate and peculiar triumph,
for their valiant deedes: and in the day prefixed for the ſame, no man in all the citie remained at
home, but euerie one got a place to ſtand in that they might ſee the Emperours, leauing onely
roome betweene them for their paſſage. Al the ſouldiers before it was day-light, euery one with
his captaine in companies, came and expected the Emperour, not at the palace gate, but
neere the temple of Iſis: for the Emperours that night lodged there, and at day breake *Veſpaſian*

The triumphant attire of Veſpaſian and Titus.

and *Titus* came forth both crowned with lawrel, & in purple garments made after their coũtrey K
faſhion, and they went vnto *Octauians* walks, where the Senate, captaines and knights expected
their comming. Before the porch was made a tribunall, and in it placed ſeates of Iuorie, which
they aſcending ſate downe in, & preſently all the ſouldiers with loud voice declared their valour
and fortitude. The Emperours were vnarmed and cloathed in ſilke, and crowned with lawrell.
Veſpaſian hauing receiued their praiſes, they offering ſtill to ſpeake more in his commendations,
he beckned with his hand, & made a ſigne vnto them to be ſilent: which being done, he aroſe vp,
and couering the greateſt part of his head with his garment, he performed his ſolemn vowes, and

Their vowes and dinner before their triumph.

Titus alſo did the like. That done, *Veſpaſian* ſpake vnto them all in generall in fewe words, and
ſo diſmiſſed the ſouldiers to goe to dinner, which according to the cuſtome the Emperour was
to prouide for them: himſelfe departed from them to the triumphant gate, ſo called, for that all
triumphs paſſed that way, and they did eate meat and put on triumphant apparell, hauing offe- L
red ſacrifices vnto the Gods that were placed by the gate, and ſo went in triumph all along the

The magnificence of the triumph.

place, where people ſtriued to ſee them, to the ende that all people might haue a better view of
them. But the ſpectacles there exhibited, both for number, varietie, and coſtlineſſe, cannot bee
deſcribed ſufficiently, being excellẽt in all things, which any man could deuiſe, both workeman-
ſhip, riches, and varieties, and nouelties of nature. For almoſt all things that euer were in any
place amongſt men that liued in felicitie, either rich or beautifull, & pleaſant to behoulde, all of
them were that day ſhewed and ſeene in that triumph, giuing a teſtimonie of the large domini-

The moſt precious garments.

ons of the Romans. For there was ſuch ſtore of works of gold, ſiluer and yuorie, that one would
not haue deemed them, to haue beene made onely for the pompe of that day, but to haue bin ſo M
plentifull, as if they had flowed all about the citie: ſome caried fine tapeſtrie made of all ſorts of
purple, otherſome caried others diligently wrought with pictures and Babylonian worke, and
there were ſo many gemmes and precious ſtones, ſome ſet in crownes of goulde, ſome in other
workes, that it appeared, that without reaſon we iudged them to be rare & ſcarce. Moreouer, the
pictures of their Gods were carried with them, which were admirable both for greatneſſe and

worke-

A workemanſhip, and all of pretious matter. And diuers ſorts of liuing creatures were there to bee ſeene, all adorned with ſome attire, agreeing and alluding vnto their nature. There was alſo an infinite multitude of men, in purple garments ouer-wrought with golde, which carried all theſe things, and they who were ſeparated from the reſt to bee ſeene, were attired in ſuch garments, that as many as beheld them admired. The captiues went not without their gorgeous attires, but the varietie and beautie of the garments hid all the deformitie of their bodies, which happened through their bad vſage. The Pageants that were born in that triumph, were of an admirable bigneſſe, ſo that the people that behelde them wondred how it was poſſible that men ſhould carrie them: for many were builded with three or foure lofts one aboue another, ſurpaſſing all that can be imagined of them for worke and coſt, for many of them were hanged about
B with Tapeſtrie of gold; and all things annexed vnto them, wheron they were carried, were made of wrought gould or Iuorie. Therin was curiouſly repreſented the manner of warre, & all ſtratagemes, and manners of fighting, that could be deuiſed; ſome in one part of the Pageant, ſome in another. There might one haue beheld a moſt fertile and fortunate land deſtroyed, and all the armie of enemies to be ſlaine, and ſome flying, others taken priſoners, and ſtrong and huge wals battered downe with Rammes, and Caſtles & ſtrong holds deſtroyed, and the wals of populous Cities to be ruined, and the armie entring the wals, all places filled with maſſacred men, and how thoſe that were not able to fight, yeelding themſelues, asked mercie, the temples ſet on fire, & after all elſe was waſted, the houſes thrown downe vpon the owners heads, and a riuer repreſenting ſorrowe, not flowing as it was wont, into tilled places, and to ſerue the vſe of man, nor for cat-
C tell to drinke, but into a Countrie which was in euerie part burning, and enuironed with flames, all which the Iewes in their warres endured. Theſe things were ſo artificially repreſented vnto their viewes that had not ſeene them, as though they were now a doing: Before euerie Pageant went the Captain of the City, repreſenting the manner how it was taken. After all theſe followed many ſhips, and in euerie place were carried the ſpoiles taken in warre: amongſt all which, thoſe that were taken in the Temple of Ieruſalē, were moſt excellent, for there was a golden table weighing many talents, and likewiſe a golden Candleſticke, the vſe whereof was now not ſuch as we were wont to put it vnto, for in the middeſt of the ſtem thereof was fixed a baſe, and out of it proceeded many ſmal branches, framed like a three forked ſpear, euery one being at the top made like a Lampe, which were ſeauen in number, ſhewing the honour of the ſeauenth day,
D which is called the Sabbath amongſt the Iews. After all this, was carried the Iewes law, vvhich vvas the laſt of all the ſpoyles. Then followed many carrying the image of Victorie, all made of gold & Iuorie. Afterwards, came *Veſpaſian*, and after him *Titus*, and with him *Domitian*, gallantly adorned and mounted vpon an excellent horſe, and ſo they went all to the Temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, and there was the end of all this pompe, where they made ſome abode.

For it was an auncient cuſtome of their Countrie, to repoſe themſelues there till ſome came and brought newes vnto them, of the death of him, who was Generall of their enemies. This as then was *Simon Giora*, who was alſo carried in the triumph, and hauing a rope faſtned about his necke, was drawne all along the market place, vvhere they that drew him did kill him. For it is the cuſtome of the Romans, there to put malefactors to death that are condemned. After word
E vvas brought that hee vvas dead, all the people made ioyfull exclamations, and ſo they began to ſacrifice: which done according to the cuſtom, they returned into the palace, and they feaſted ſome, other ſome had prepared banquets for themſelues at their owne houſes. For this day was ſacred amongſt the Romanes, in ioy of the victorie ouer their enemies, and an ende of ciuill calamitie, and the beginning of good fortune, and hope, which they had in their newe princes. When the triumphs were ended, and all the Romane Empire quieted, *Veſpaſian* built a Temple and dedicated it vnto Peace, which he did in ſo ſhort a ſpace as it was admirable: and hauing beſtowed great coſt vpon it, hee alſo beautified it with diuers pictures and carued workes. And hee placed in that Temple all things that men of former ages had come to ſee, from the vttermoſt
F parts of the earth. And he placed there all the golden veſſels, & other neceſſaries that the Iewes vſed in their Temple, doing them great reuerence. But their law and the Tapeſtrie or purple veiles of the Sanctuarie hee commanded to be kept in the palace.

The yeare of the world, 4036. after Chriſts birth, 74.

The building of the Pageants.

The yeare of the world, 4037. after Chriſts birth, 75.

A table of gold of the weight of a great talent.

The laſt of the ſpoiles was the law of the Iewes.

Simon the ſonne of Giora, is drawne with a halter about his neck, through the market place.

Veſpaſiā buildeth and dedicateth a Temple to Peace.

CHAP.

The yeare of the world, 4037. after Christs birth, 75.

G

CHAP. XXV.

How Herodium and Macherus were taken by Bassus.

Caesar sent *Lucius Basilius* into Iudæa to bee Lieutenant there, who receiuing an armie of *Cerealis Vetilianus*, hee tooke the Castle and garrison of Herodium, being yeelded vnto him. After this, gathering together all his armie, who were dispersed in diuers places of the Countrey, he with the tenth legion purposed to warre against *Macherus*; for he thought it necessarie to destroy that castle, least that for the strength it might moue many to rebell: for by reason of the situation of the place, they that were in it, had certaine hope of their safetie, and those H that sought to assault it, were in great danger. For it was built vpon a rocke that was exceeding high, which made it almost inexpugnable; and nature had so deuised, that it is hard to come vnto it, who hath enuironed it round about with vallies, so deepe, that the bottome thereof cannot bee descried, neither could one passe ouer them, nor fill them vp: for that which is on the West part is threescore stounds large, and endeth at the lake Asphaltites, & on this side *Macherus* hath a verie high prospect, and it is inuironed on the North and South with vallies of the like measure that the former is, whereby it is impossible to winne the Castle: but that vallie which is on the East side, is at least a hundreth cubits deepe, & it endeth vpon a mountaine neere vnto *Macherus*. King *Alexander* seeing the nature of the place did their build a Castle, which afterward *Gabinius* in the warre against *Aristobulus* destroyed. But *Herod* when he was King, iudged this place I worthie to be fortified, as a principall defence against the neighboring Arabians. For it was aptly situate vpon a mountaine, where one might behould their borders: wherefore making a large wall, he builded a Citie there in the place that men doe enter vnto the Castle: he also compassed the verie top thereof with another wall, & in the corners he placed towers that were threescore cubites high, and in the verie middest of all he built a palace, for largenesse and beautie admirable, and made many Cesterns to receiue water in conuenient places, which serued the people aboundantly, as it were striuing with nature, that the places which he had made inexpugnable, he by Art might make places more strong then that was. He also laid vp there in store, arrowes and engines, and made all prouision wherewith the Inhabitants might bee able to hold out a great siege.

Herod inuironeth Macherus with a great wal & towers.

Wonderfull store of arrows and other engines in this tower.

K

Rue, of admirable greatnes

In the Kings palace, there grew the herb called Rue, which was verie admirable for the greatnesse, for there was no figge tree taller or broader then it: and it was reported that it had continued euer since *Herods* time, and had endured longer, had not the Iewes, Inhabitants of the place cut it downe. In the vallie that lieth on the North side of the Citie, there is a place called Baaras, where also groweth a roote of the same name, the colour wherof resembleth the flame, and it shineth at night like the Sunne beames, and is not easie to bee pulled vp, till that one cast vpō it the vrine of a woman or her flowers: which done, whosoeuer toucheth it is sure to die, except hee carrie the roote hanging on his hand. It is also gathered another way without danger, after this manner. They digge all round about it, so that they leaue a verie little of the root coue-

How Baaras is to be gathered

red with earth, & then they tie a dogge vnto it, which striuing to follow his master who maketh

Another fashion how to dig the roote.

as though he would goe away, he easily pulleth vp the roote, and the dogge presently dieth, as it L were in his stead that seeketh to get it, so that afterward none that handleth it or taketh it, needs to stand in any feare therof. This herb notwithstanding al this danger is diligently sought out for the vertue it hath. For it driueth away diuels (which are the spirits of wicked men) out of mens bodies, if it be but applied vnto them, wheras otherwise if they had no helpe, these diuels possessing their bodies would kill them. Out of that place also doe spring certaine hot waters, verie different in taste one from another; for some are bitter, some sweete, there are also sources of cold waters, one neere vnto another in a Plaine: but which is most admirable, there is a caue hard by,

Hot bathes.

not verie deepe, enuironed with an eminent rocke aboue, frō the which there cōmeth as it were two dugges or paps, hard by one another, and out of the one of them there floweth verie colde M water, out of the other verie hot; which mingled together make a pleasant bath, & serue to cure many diseases, and especially helpeth all paines of the sinnewes. In the same place also are mines of Sulphure and Alume.

Bassus hauing viewed this place on euerie side, resolued to besiege it, and endeuoured to fill vp the valley that was on the East side, and so make a way vnto it: which he began to doe, hastening

A ſtening to raiſe a verie high mount, and ſo make it eaſie to bee taken. Thoſe that were inhabitants, conſtrained Iewes that were ſtrangers, to go into the lower citie, iudging them an vnprofitable multitude, and ſo cauſed them to endure the firſt brunt of the enemies, and they themſelues kept the Caſtle, both for that it was ſtrong, and alſo to preſerue themſelues, hoping that by yeelding the place vnto the Romans, they might obtaine pardon of them; yet firſt they purpoſed to make triall if they could auoide the ſiege: and therefore verie courageouſly, euerie day they made excurſions, and fought with them they found, and many were ſlaine on both parts. Fortune and opportunitie ſometime cauſed one to bee victors, ſometime another: for the Iewes got the beſt when they could aſſault the Romans at vnawares, and the Romans ouercame, when they were aware of the Iewes comming and armed themſelues. But the ſiege was not ended by
B theſe skirmiſhes: yet a chaunce befell, that forced the Iewes to yeelde their Caſtle. Amongſt them that were beſieged was one *Eleazar* a young man, and verie hardy and bold in any enterpriſe, who oftentimes made excurſions and ſought to hinder the Romans worke, who alwaies in euerie fight did greatly endomage the Romanes, and by his valour and aduenturous courage, hee gaue them that were his fellowes opportunitie to aſſault the Romans, and to flie againe and retire in ſafetie, himſelfe being alwaies the laſt that ſo retired. It happened one day that the fight being ended, and both parts parted, hee as it were contemning all men, and thinking that none of his enemies durſt vndertake to combate with him, ſtaied without the gate ſpeaking to them that were vpon the wall, and giuing great attention vnto them. Then one *Rufus* an Aegyptian one of the Roman army, eſpying this opportunity ranne vpon him ſo ſuddenly
C that he at vnawares tooke him all armed as he was, & they vpon the wals ſtood amazed, whileſt *Rufus* led him vnto the Romans campe. Then the Generall of the Romans cauſed him to be led into a place, where they in the Citie might ſee him, & there to haue all his cloaths taken off him, and whipped; and the misfortune of this young man did greatly diſcourage the Iewes, & all the citie was reſolued into teares for the calamitie of that one man. *Baſſus* ſeeing this, hee deuiſed this counſell againſt them; for hee ſought to mooue them ſo to compaſſion, that for to ſaue him they ſhould yeeld their caſtle: which fell out as he deſired. For he preſently commanded a croſſe to be erected, as though he would preſently haue crucified *Eleazar*: which ſight greatly mooued them in the Caſtle to ſorrow: ſo that now with lowd cries they lamented, ſaying that this calamitie was inſupportable. Then *Eleazar* beſought them not to deſpiſe him, vvho was now to die
D a moſt miſerable death: & moreouer to prouide for their owne ſafetie in yeelding the caſtle vnto the Romans vertue and fortunate ſucceſſe.

Then they mooued with his words, & many alſo within the Citie intreating for him (for he came of a great parentage and had many kinsfolks) though contrarie to their natures, compaſſion took place in them: and ſo ſending ſome of their companie ſpeedily, they deſired to parley, affirming they would yeeld their caſtle vpon condition that they might ſafely depart away, and *Eleazar* might bee likewiſe reſtored vnto them. Which offer of theirs the Romans accepted; and the Iewes in the lower part of the citie hauing intelligence of this couenant, reſolued themſelues to flie away in the night: but ſo ſoone as they had opened their gates, thoſe that had agreed with *Baſſus* gaue him intelligence thereof; either enuying that their countrimen ſhould eſcape,
E or els fearing that *Baſſus* would puniſh them for their flight: yet for all this the moſt valiant of them that fled, eſcaped, who were gone before the reſt, and the reſt were ſlaine to the number of a thouſand and ſeauen hundreth men, for the women and children vvere made bondſlaues. And *Baſſus* thinking it meete to keepe his promiſe vnto them of the caſtle, permitted them ſafely to depart, and reſtored *Eleazar* vnto them.

The yeare of the world, 4037. after Chriſts birth, 75.

The Iewes that were forainers dwelt in the lower Citie.

The conflict of the Iewes with the Romans.

Bleazar a Iew ſtrong in hand and fierce in bold attempts

Eleazars calamitie moueth the Iewes to ſubmit themſelues.

One thouſand ſeuen hundreth Iews ſlaine by the Romans.

CHAP. XXVI.

F *Of the Iewes that* Baſſus *ſlew: and how he ſold Iudea.*

THis done, hee prepared to carrie his army into the paſture called Iardes, for hee had notice that manie Iewes vvere there aſſembled together, vvho had eſcaped from Ieruſalem and Machæra during the ſiege. So comming vnto the place and finding it to be as it was reported vnto him: he firſt of all enuironed it vvith horſemen, that if any of the Iewes ſought to eſcape, the horſemen might withſtand them, and hee commaunded the footmen to cut downe the wood, into the which they fled to hide themſelues. And ſo through ne-

Iardes a wood inuironed by the Romans.

The yeare of the world, 4037. after Christs birth, 75.

neceſſity they were conſtrained to fight, hoping by a courageous fight to finde opportunitie to flie: wherefore they all together with a crie violently aſſaulted them by whome they were inuironed, and they did valiantly withſtand them, and by their valour, and the Iewes deſperation the fight endured a long time: yet the euent of the war was not like vnto the reſt of the fight, for onely twelue Romans were ſlaine and verie fewe wounded, and all the Iewes were ſlaine in that fight, being in number three thouſand; and their captaine *Iudas* the ſonne of *Iairus* (of whome we haue already made mention, who during the ſiege of Ieruſalem was commaunder of a company there) hid himſelfe in a certaine caue, and ſecretly eſcaped from thence. At that time *Cæſar* writ vnto *Liberius Maximus* his Gouernour, and vnto *Baſſus*, to ſell Iudæa: for he did not build in all the countrey any Citie but appropriated it vnto himſelfe, leauing there onely eight hundreth ſouldiers, & giuing them a place to dwell in called Emaus, thirtie ſtounds diſtant from Ieruſalem, and he impoſed a tribute vpon all Iewes whereſoeuer they liued, commaunding euerie one of them euerie yeere to bring two drachmes into the Capitol, according as in former times they were woont to pay vnto the Temple of Ieruſalem: and this was the eſtate of the Iewes at that time. G H

Three thouſand Iewes ſlaine.

A tribute impoſed by Cæſar on all the Iewes.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the death of King Antiochus: *and how the Alanes inuaded Armenia.*

I

IN the fourth yeere of *Veſpaſians* raigne, it happened that *Antiochus* king of the Comagenes with all his family fell into great miſerie vpon this occaſion. *Ceſennius Petus* gouernour of Syria (either for enuie, or for that indeed it was ſo, for it is not well knowne) ſent letters vnto *Cæſar* declaring vnto him that *Antiochus* was determined to reuolte from the Romans, together with his ſonne *Epiphanes*, and had made a league with the king of the Parthians, and that therefore it was neceſſarie to preuent them in time, leaſt that if they firſt began to reuolt openly, they might trouble all the Romane Empire with warres. *Cæſar* did not neglect theſe newes, for that the neereneſſe of both the kings countries one to another, ſeemed to require that they ſhould be quickely preuented: for Samoſata the greateſt Citie of Comagena is ſituate vpon Euphrates, which might both eaſily receiue the Parthians, & be a ſtrong hold for them, and alſo there they might eaſily paſſe ouer the riuer. Wherfore *Veſpaſian* beleeuing it permitted him to doe what he thought expedient: and he foorthwith, *Antiochus* thinking nothing, ſuddenly entred into Comagene, with the ſixt legion, and certaine other companies of footmen and troupes of horſemen, accompanied with *Ariſtobulus* king of Chalcidis, and *Sohemus* king of Emeſa, who came to aſſiſt him. So they entred the countrie without any fight, for none of the inhabitants offered to reſiſt. *Antiochus* daunted with theſe vnexpected newes, did not ſo much as thinke of any warre againſt the Romans, wherefore hee determined to leaue the whole kingdome in that eſtate that then it was in, and with his wife and children depart from thence, hoping hereby to cleare himſelfe vnto the Romans, from that which they ſuſpected of him: and going almoſt a hundreth and thirtie ſtounds from the Citie into a field, there he placed a tabernacle. And *Petus* ſent men vnto Samoſata to take it, and left them to keepe the Citie, and hee with the reſt of the ſouldiers purpoſed to go againſt *Antiochus*. But for all this the king though by neceſſitie vrged thereto, yet would he not fight againſt the Romans, but bewailing his misfortune endured patiently all whatſoeuer: but his ſonnes being luſtie ſtrong young men, & skilfull in martiall affaires, could not eaſily abſtaine from fight in that their diſtreſſe. Wherefore *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus* his two ſonnes had recourſe vnto their forces, and in a great fight that dured a whole day they ſhewed their valour, and departed receiuing no loſſe. But *Antiochus* after this fight would not any longer abide in his countrey, but taking his wife and daughters he fled into Cilicia, and thereby diſcouraged his ſouldiers, who deſpairing to keep the kingdome for him, reuolted vnto the Romans. But *Epiphanes* and the reſt were forced to ſeeke to ſaue themſelues, before ſuch time as they were left deſtitute, & ſo accompained with ten horſemen, they paſſed the riuer Euphrates: and thus being out of daunger they came to *Vologeſus*, of whom they were receiued, not as fugitiues, but with great honour, & according to their degree, as though they yet poſſeſſed their auncient dignitie. And *Petus* comming to *Tarſus* of Cilicia, he ſent a Centurion to carrie *Antiochus* bound vnto Rome. But *Veſpaſian* permitted not a king to K L M

Ceſennius Petus preſident of Syria accuſeth Antiochus before Cæſar.

Antiochus is ſodainly inuaded by Ceſennius.

Antiochus chuſeth rather to depart out of his countrie with his wife and children then to fight with the Romans.

Antiochus flieth with his wife into Cilicia.

Epiphanes flyeth to Vologeſus the king of Parthia.

Antiochus taken.

A to be ſo brought vnto him, thinking it meeter to conſider the old friendſhippe betweene them, then to perſeuer in danger, and not to be pacified by reaſon of warre. Wherefore he commanded that in the way as he came, he ſhould be vnbound, and awhile to liue at Lacedemon; and leaue his iourney towards Rome, allowing great ſtore of mony, ſufficient to maintaine a kingly dignitie. *The yeare of the world, 4037. after Chriſts birth, 75.*

Epiphanes, and they with him hearing this, were eaſed of the great care they tooke for their father, whome they greatly feared to be fallen into ſome danger, & now they alſo conceiued ſome hope to be reconciled vnto *Cæſar*. Whereof *Vologeſus* writting vnto *Cæſar* (for they were not contented to liue out of the Roman Empire, notwithſtanding that they were honorably entertained) *Cæſar* curteouſly gaue them leaue, & they came to Rome, & their father was preſently ſent B for vnto them frō Lacedemon, & ſo they remained at Rome in great honour. The nation of the Alans being Scythians, inhabited about Tanais, & the mariſhes of Mæotis, as in an other place we haue recounted. Who conſpiring with the king of the Hyrcans to paſſe into Media, and ſack it (for he was king of that paſſage) which king *Alexander* had made in ſuch wiſe, that it was ſhut vp with yron gates, obtained leaue to paſſe, and ſo came into Media, the Medes nothing fearing any ſuch matter, and ſacked and ſpoiled all their populous and wealthie borders, being full of cattel, none daring to reſiſt them: for *Pacorus* king of that countrey, for feare fled into the ſtrōgeſt hold he had, & left all his goods behind him, and with much adoe redeemed his wife, and concubines whom they had taken, for one hundreth talents. Hauing therfore licence to rob and ſpoyle, for that no man reſiſted them, they came into Armenia, & waſted all the countrey thera- C bout: and *Tyridates* was then king of that country, who with an army comming to fight againſt them, was almoſt by them taken aliue in the battaile; for one caſt a halter about him, and began to draw him amongſt the enemies: and ſo had done, but that hee with his ſword did quickly cut the rope and fled: and they being more enraged, by reaſon he fought againſt them, waſted all the countrey, & carying with them a huge multitude of men & cattell out of both countries, they returned into their owne.

Antiochus reconciled to Cæſar.

The Alans enter Media to ſpoile the ſame.

Armenia waſted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Maſſada a moſt ſtrong Caſtle was taken.

D

BAſſus dying in Iudæa, *Flauius Silua* ſucceeded in his place, and now perceiuing that all the countrie elſe was conquered ſaue one only caſtle, he with al the forces he could make went againſt it. This caſtle is called Maſſada. The captaine of the Sicarians named *Eleazar*, who firſt inuaded it, was a verie ſtrong & valiant man, borne of the tribe of Iuda, who perſwaded a great many Iewes as is before ſaid, not to enroule theſelues when *Cyrenæus* was Cenſor and ſent to tax Iudæa. For at that time the Sicarians had conſpired againſt them that obeyed the Romans, and in all things vſed them like enemies, taking & driuing away their goods, and firing their houſes, affirming that they did not any thing differ from ſtraungers, who betrayed the libertie of their countrey rather then they would fight for it, & that they had rather haue them war E on the Romans ſide. But that was onely an excuſe to hide their auarice & iniurious dealing, as the proofe made manifeſt, for they themſelues reuolted & bare armes againſt the Romans, and their enterpriſes againſt the Romans were worſe then the reſt; and when their firſt forged pretence was known & confuted, they did rage more then before againſt thoſe that vpbraided them with it. For that time amongſt the Iewes abounded with all maner of iniquitie, ſo that none was left vndone: yea though one indeuored to inuent ſome new villanies, yet could he deuiſe none that was not then practiſed: all laboured with this maladie, both in particular and in common, and euerie one did ſtriue with other, to ſurpaſſe his fellow in impietie againſt God, and iniuſtice towards his neighbour. The mightie vexed the weaker ſort, and the meaner ſort deſtroyed the po- F tentates, and tooke their riches away from them; they gaped after rule and dominion, theſe after miſchiefe. *The yeare of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 76.*

The time among the Iewes which was moſt fruitful in all maner of impiety

The Sicarians were the firſt that were ſo cruell and iniurious againſt their neighbours: for not prouoked thereunto, neither by deede nor word, they ſlew & iniured all men without cauſe, but *Iohn* ſhewed them to be verie moderate. For he did not onely ſlay all that counſelled that which was good and profitable, as his greateſt enemies, and eſpecially dealing thus with the citizens, but alſo many waies iniured his countrey, like one who had impiouſly alſo contemned God himſelfe. Iohn Giſcala.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

Simon sonne of Giora.

selfe. For hee did eate forbidden meates, and violated his countries temperance: so that it was no G
wonder to see him obserue no iustice nor fidelity towards men, who had now infringed the laws
of God. Againe, what villanie did *Simon Giora* leaue vndone, or what iniurie did he abstain from
to offer vnto their bodies, who had chosen him for their ruler? What did kinred and friendship
then preuaile any man? saue onely this, that it made them bee more cruelly vsed, and euerie day
to be more tyrannously butchered, then otherwise. For they thought it a hainous offence to
abuse strangers, and a glorie to exercise cruelty vpon their most familiar friends. The Idumæans
The Idumæans The Zealous. were followers of this furie, who killed the high priests, and left not any one of note in the Citie,
whereby God might be honourd, and induced all iniustice possible, wherein the Zealous excel-
led. For they committed all mischiefe, leauing nothing vnattempted that had euer before that
The end of the Iewes answerable to their liues. time beene practised: yet they tooke their name from them that imitated good & godlines, but H
in truth it was to mocke and flout them that did wel: so sauage and cruell was their nature, or else
accounting the greatest impietie to bee goodnes. But their end was as they deserued, & God pu-
nished their desert with his iust vengeance. For euen vnto the later ende of their liues, they en-
dured all the miseries that is possible for mans nature to abide, being killed with diuers sorts of
torments. Perhaps one will say that their punishment was not so great as they deserued: but
what punishment could bee deuised sufficient for their deserts? But I cannot now stand to
lament those who perished by these mens crueltie: wherefore I will returne to that where
I left.

Siluathe captaine of the Romans besiegeth Massada. The Roman captaine came against *Eleazar*, and them that kept Massada with him, who were I
Sicarians, and he brought an armie with him, and presently subdued all the confines and borders
round about, and he placed in euerie fit place garisons, and enuirond the Castle with a wall,
least anie of them that were besieged should escape, and that they that besieged them might
there keepe a continuall guard. Moreouer, he placed his campe in a fit place for the siege, euen
there where the rock, that the castle was built vpon, ioyned vnto the other mountain, which was
an vnfit place to get necessaries in. For not onely victuals were fetcht farre off by great labour of
the Iewes who were commaunded to doe it, but also water for the whole armie somwhere else,
for there was no fountaine neere that place. This done *Silua* attempted the siege, wherein it
The situation of Massada. was requisite for him to vse both art and labour, by reason of the strength of the castle, which is
thus situate. It is enuironed round with a huge stone verie high on euerie side, and the valley vn- K
derneath is so deepe, that one cannot see the bottome, all rockie, and inaccessible to all liuing cre-
atures, saue onely that in two places there is a difficult passage vnto it, one of them is from the
lake Asphaltites towards the East, and the easiest of the two is the West side: the first is called a
The iourney by the rock called the Snake. Snake; taking his name of the straitnesse and crooked turnings, for the rocke that is eminent
seemeth as it were broken in sunder, and by little and little often returneth againe vnto it selfe,
& it is by little & little extended in length, so that he that goeth that way, can make no haste, but
must step with one foot first vpon them, and the other vpon another, & must stand vpon one foot
whilest he remoueth the other, and he that falleth is sure to be slaine in the fall: for there is such a
hollow place on either side between the rocks, that it is able to terrifie the boldest man aliue.
When thou hast gone thirtie stoundes by this way, then thou commest to the top of the hill, L
which is not steepe at the top, but hath a Plaine about it, and *Ionathas* the high priest was the first
that built a Castle in this place, & called it Massada: & *Herod* after him bestowed great labour &
cost in building that place, for hee enuironed it all with a wall, seuen stounds circuit, all of white
stone, twelue cubits high, and eight cubits broad, and placed vpon it seauen and twentie towers
The top more fruitfull and fatter soile then the plaine. that were fiftie cubits high, by the which men passed into the houses that were round about the
wall within: for the king appointed the top of the hill for tillage because it was a more fertile &
fatter soyle then any ground else, so that if at any time they within the castle wanted prouisi-
on from other places, yet they might not be famished, hauing this to finde them. He also buil-
Herods palace. ded in this place a palace for himselfe, the way to which was on the West side within the castle
wall, whose prospect was toward the North, and enuironed the same with a most strong wall, M
and in the corners therof he built foure most firme towers three score cubits high, verie sumptu-
ous within, hauing diuers roomes and galleries & bathes, supported in euerie place with pillars,
euerie one of which was one onely stone, the wals thereof were of solid stone of diuers colours:
and to euerie house, and in the top of the hill, and round about the palace, he hewed certaine
cisterns out of the rocke for to beare water; so that by this meanes water was as plentifull, as
though they had fountaines within the castle. There was a way vnto the castle vnder the ground

and

A from the kings palace, which they that were without could not perceiue, the way aboue ground was inacceſſible, for as we haue already ſaid, the way on the Eaſt ſide no man could paſſe, and as for that on the Weſt ſide, it was ſtopt vp with a tower built in the ſtreict thereof, diſtant 1000. cubits from the Caſtle, by which it was impoſſible to paſſe, & it was not eaſie to get it by force, and the more leaſurely they went, the neerer they were to danger. And thus was this fortreſſe ſtrengthned both by art and nature.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 76.

A tower to the Weſtſide.

The prouiſion within the Caſtle was admirable both for the magnificence thereof, and alſo for the long time it had continued, for there was corne ſufficient for many yeeres, and Wine and Oyle and diuers other prouiſion and heapes of dates. All which *Eleazar* found ready there, hauing deceitfully obtained the Caſtle with his Sicarians, which prouiſion was all as ſound and
B as freſh, as though it had newly beene layd vp in ſtore: notwithſtanding, that from the time it remained there, vnto the time that the Romanes tooke it, were a hundreth yeares, and the Romans found the reliques of the fruit incorrupted: and one may iuſtly thinke that the cauſe hereof is the ayre about the Caſtle, which by reaſon of the height of the place is moſt pure, and free from all earthly corruption. There was alſo found all maner of Armor in great quantitie, which *Herod* made, and would haue armed ten thouſand men, alſo vnwrought iron, braſſe, and lead, ſo that one may iudge that prouiſion to haue beene reſerued for ſome great cauſe. It is reported that *Herod* prepared that Caſtle for his refuge, when hee doubted two great dangers, firſt that the people of the Iewes would depoſe him; and make them Kings whoſe anceſtors had before raigned.

Great ſtore of prouiſion in the Caſtle.

Fruit for a hundreth yeares kept vncorrupt.

C The other which was more dangerous then the firſt, was, for that he feared *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, who not concealing her intent, did often requeſt *Antonius* that *Herod* might bee ſlaine, and that ſhee might haue the kingdome of the Iewes giuen vnto her. And it was a great maruaile that *Antonius* doting ſo vpon her, did not fulfill her requeſt. *Herod* for theſe occaſions hauing builded Maſſada, left it vnfurniſhed as the laſt bulwarke for the Romans to make warre againſt the Iewes. For the Generall of the Romanes, hauing now compaſſed all the place without it with a wall, (as is before ſaid) to the end that none might eſcape, hee did very wiſely, and ſo began to aſſault the Caſtle, finding one onely place that would beare a mount. For behind the tower that on the Weſt ſide ſtopped vp the paſſage into the Caſtle and palace, there was a great rocke very large and long, yet not ſo high as Maſſada by three hundreth cubits. The rocke was
D called Leuce, which ſignifieth white. When *Silua* had gotten this rocke, and aſcended it, hee commanded his ſouldiers to build a mount thereupon; and they chearefully labouring, raiſed a ſudden mount two hundreth cubits high: by reaſon of the height it ſeemed not firme nor ſufficient enough to beare the engines, but vpon it was built a Tribunall with great ſtones fifty cubits high, and as many cubits broad, and the engines were ſuch as firſt *Veſpaſian*, and after him *Titus* deuiſed to batter wals with, and ſo they made a tower threeſcore cubits high all plated about with iron.

Herod ſuſpecting a double perill, builded this place for a refuge.

There was but one place about Maſſada to raiſe a mount to batter on.

Now the Romans with many ſhot did driue the Iewes from off the Caſtle wals, not ſuffering them to lift vp their heads. And *Silua* hauing builded a mighty Ramme, cauſed the wall to be continually beaten therewith, but it could ſcarcely enter vpon it: and the Sicarians quick-
E ly preuented that, building another wall within, which could not bee broken with the Ramme being yet ſoft, and ſo would breake the force thereof, for they did ſawe timber in peeces, and as it were made two railes, and then filled the ſpace between the two railes with earth, and with other plancks they kept the earth from falling downe, ſo that they made a worke like the wall of a houſe, and for that it yeelded vnto the blowes of the Ramme (being ſoft earth) the Ramme could not preuaile againſt it, but rather made it more ſtrong then before by ramming the morter together.

The citie battered with a large Ramme, and by Siluas appointment.

Silua perceiuing this, iudged that hee might ſooner deſtroy the wall with fire then with his engine: and ſo he commanded the ſouldiers to caſt vpon it many burning firebrands, and the
F fire did quickly take hold of the wall, becauſe it was for the moſt part built with wood, and eaſily alſo pearced through it, by reaſon it was not cleane wrought together, and there was a great flame.

Firebrands darted againſt the wals.

At the very beginning of the fire, the North wind did greatly annoy the Romans, for the fire blowing furiouſly from aboue againſt them that were Romans, it did driue it extreamely vpon them, ſo that they were in great deſpaire; fearing their engines would be burnt, and preſently the

The North winde diuerting the flame, turneth it on the Romans.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

the wind changing and blowing from the South, as it were by Gods prouidence) it turned the G
fire againe vpon the wall, and now all of it euen vnto the foundation thereof, was there most
cruelly on fire. And the Romans hauing Gods assistance, returned againe vnto their camp ioy-
fully, purposing the nex morning betimes to assaile their enemies, and that night to place stron-
ger watches, least any of the enemies should escape. But *Eleazar* thought not to flie, neither
would he permit any one of his company so to doe. And seeing now the wall was fiered, and
not knowing any way else to help himselfe, considering likewise what the Romans would doe
vnto their wiues and children if they should take them, he deliberated of all their deaths, which
he in that extreamity iudged to be the best way they could take. And so he assembled the most
valiant of all his company, and exhorted euery one of them thereunto after this manner.

Eleazars oration to his companions.

Valiant companions, wee long agoe resolued our selues neither to serue the Romans, nor any H
other saue onely God, for he alone is the true and iust Lord of all men. Behold, the time is now
come, that exhorteth you to shew your resolute mindes: let vs not therefore dishonour our
selues, and besides our slauerie, suffer also intollerable torments if we be taken aliue by the Ro-
mans. For we were the first that reuolted from them, and the last that warre against them. And
Eleazar confesseth Gods wrath to be kindled against the people.
I verily thinke that God hath giuen vs this benefite, that we may die well and in our owne li-
berty, which he denyed to others who were ouercome contrary to their expectation. We are
certain to be conquered as soone as it is day light: but to die valiantly with our dearest friends,
is a glorious resolution vnto valiant men, and of this our enemies cannot debarre vs, who doe
labour to take vs aliue, and carry vs away captiues, and we are not able to vanquish them in fight.
For truely at the first (when wee who coueted liberty, suffered all miserie at the hands of our I
owne countrimen, and worse at the hands of our enemies) we should haue considered that God
who was sometime fauourable vnto the nation of the Iewes, had now condemned them vnto
perdition: for had hee yet beene fauourable vnto vs, or had hee beene but lightly offended at
vs, hee would not haue permitted so many men to haue perished, and haue deliuered his holy
Citie into the hands of the enemies to be consumed with fire. And we only amongst all our na-
tion, hoped to liue in liberty, as though we had no waies offended the diuine Maiesty, nor been
guiltie of any offence, who indeed taught others iniquity. So you see how wee are checked for
longing after vaine hope, being brought into greater extreamity then wee expected. Neither
hath our Castle by nature inexpugnable, any thing profited vs to our preseruation, but wee ha-
uing store of victuals and armour, and all other necessaries, haue lost all hope of safety, God K
himselfe openly taking it from vs. For the fire that once was carried against our enemies, did
The punishment of these crimes which the Iewes in Iury attempted against the Gentiles.
not of it selfe returne against vs and vnto the wall wee built. But it was the punishment of
our offences, who furiously raged against our owne nation. For the which I request you, let vs
not bee punished by the Romanes; whose forces are inuincible, but by our selues let vs satis-
fie the ire of God, and so it will be more tolerable for vs; euen by that meanes our wiues shall
die vndefiled, and our children shall not taste of seruile captiuitie. After whose deaths, we will
The best graue is when liberty is maintained.
one helpe another to die with credit, conseruing our liberty, which is the best sepulture of all:
yet let vs first fire our castle, and burn our treasure: for it wil be no smal griefe vnto the Romans,
if they neither get our bodies aliue, nor can finde any one iot of our riches for recompence of
their labour. Let vs onely leaue our victuals as sufficient testimony, that famine did not at any L
time cause vs to be conquered, but that we as at the first we resolued, preferred also death before
bondage.

Eleazar hauing thus spoken, they that were present did not all accord vnto him, for some ioy-
fully hasted to execute his aduice, thinking it so glorious a death. But they who mooued with
compassion towards their wiues and families, were something effeminate, or else abhorred to kil
themselues, one looking vpon another with teares, did shew his minde to disagree from that
which *Eleazar* perswaded. Which when *Eleazar* perceiued, and that his counsell through feare
was defeated, fearing also that they who courageously had accorded thereunto, should be with-
drawn by the teares of others, he did not so end his exhortation, but standing vp, and with a ve-
hement spirit, he began to speake vnto them of the immortality of the soule, and fixing his eyes M
vpon them that wept, he vsed a vehement exclamation, saying.

Eleazars oration as touching the immortality of the soule.

How much am I deceiued, who thought that valiant men fighting for their liberty, would
rather choose to die then to liue, but yee doe shew your selues nothing to excell any ordina-
rie men, who feare to die, notwithstanding that thereby you may escape great miserie, and

A calamity, when in this point you ought not to haue expected any admonition thereunto, nor to haue made any delay to doe it. The ancient customes which haue endured euer since men had reason, the diuine doctrine of our nation, which hath continually been confirmed by the deeds of our predecessors, doe instruct vs, that it is misery to liue, and not to die. For death freeth our soules from prison vnto their most pure and proper place, where neuer after they shall bee touched with calamitie. Which whilest they are bound in a mortall bodie, and doe participate of his miseries, may probably be affirmed to be dead. For it is an vnseemely coniunction for that which is diuine, to bee coupled and connexed vnto that which is mortall. True it is, that our soules can doe much being ioyned to our bodies, for they vse the bodies as their instruments, secretly producing in them motion, and many other actions passing the nature of mortall things. »

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

A soule tied in a mortall bodie.

The power of the soule.

B But when the soule is loosed from that heauy burthen which doth weigh it downe euen vnto the earth, which hangeth vpon it, and hath receiued his proper habitation, then it enioieth free and perfect felicity, and remaineth inuisible to our mortall eies as God himself is, neither is it visible in our bodies. For it commeth secretly into them, and so departeth from them againe, that no man can perceiue it, hauing onely a nature incorrupt, and causing a change in our bodies. For whatsoeuer the soule toucheth, that presently liueth and flourisheth; and what it forsaketh, that incontinently withereth and dieth: so much doth it participate of immortalitie. The sleepe may bee an euident argument vnto you of this which I speake, where the soule not distracted taketh a most pleasant and sweete repose; and communicating with God, it is with him present in euery place by reason of affinity, and foretelleth many future euents. Wherefore

Sleep the argument of the immortality of the soule.

C should we then feare death, who loue the rest that we haue in sleep? were not he a mad man that for a short life would hinder himselfe of eternall life? It were necessarie that we who are instructed in the law of our nation, should giue example to others to despise and contemne death. But if we seeke confirmation hereof from strangers, let vs see the example amongst the wiser sort of the Indians: for they being iust men do tolerate this life as a necessary office of nature for a certaine time, though against their wils; yet do they hasten to vnloose the soule bound in this mortall body, though not vrged thereunto by any calamity or necessitie, but onely for desire of immortality, telling others that they will depart out of this life; neither doth any one seeke to hinder them, but all men esteeming them most fortunate, send by them commendations and other messages vnto their friends departed: so firm is their belief that the soules of them that are dead

The professors of wisedome among the Indians burne themselues.

D haue communion and conuersation together: And so they hauing all instruction what to say to the soules departed, doe with great applause leap into the fire, that thereby their soules may be purified from their bodies. And their friends go more ioifully with them when they go to their deaths, then any doth that bringeth his friend on the way when he is to goe a great iourney; and they bewaile themselues, not those who are dead and haue attained immortality. Shall not wee then be ashamed not to beleeue so firmely as the Indians doe? despising through our own sloath our country lawes which are to be emulated of all men? Nay, supposing that by our law we had bin instructed contrariwise, to wit, that to liue in this life is blisse, and to die is calamity: yet notwithstanding this present necessitie, this present time had been a sufficient motiue to cause vs to embrace death rather then life, seeing that by Gods appointment, and of necessity we must now

An exhortation to cõtemn death drawne from the time and place.

E die. In times past it appeareth God so prouided, that he shortned their daies of our owne nation that would not vse their life as they ought to haue done. I dare not ascribe it vnto the Romanes, nor report of our selues that their wars consumed vs all. For this did not happen through their forces, but a more potent cause hereof there was which made them conquerors. Which of the Romans slew the Iewes that inhabited at Cæsarea? whom the inhabitants therof vpon the Sabbath day, they being assembled in one place together with their wiues and children, did massacre, notwithstanding that they had no intent to reuolt from them, nor neuer lifted vp their hands in their owne defence, nothing fearing the Romans, who only accounted them of our nation their enemies that reuolted from them. But some may obiect, the Iewes at Cæsarea, and the inhabitants thereof were alwaies at variance, and that now they reuenged their old quarrell

Example taken from the Iews that were slaine in Cæsarea.

F hauing gotten opportunity. What then shall wee say of the Scythopolitans? who bare armes with the Græcians against vs, and denied to assist their owne kinred against the Romans. What profit did they receiue by this their good will and fidelity? for they were altogether with their whole families cruelly slaine, and this was the reward they had for their labour, for hauing withstood vs to haue done the like vnto them; it were too long to recount all things seuerally to this effect. For as ye know there is no citie in all Syria that hath not massacred the Iewes there inhabiting,

The calamity of the Iews in Scythopolis.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

biting, being more our enemies then the Romanes were, where they of Damascus although they could not deuise any probable cause for it, yet did they massacre all the Iewes liuing among them, who amounted to the number of eighteen thousand, beside their wiues and families. And as we haue heard it reported, the number of the Iewes slaine by the Egyptians, were aboue three score thousand: It may be that finding no aduersity in a strange countrie, they were put to death by their enemies: but they that in their owne countrey fought against the Romans, wanted nothing that might haue caused a perfect hope of a full victory ouer the Romanes, they had weapons, armour, wals, and strong holds inexpugnable; their valorous courage in fighting for liberty shunned no danger, and encouraged men to reuolt: which all, hauing awhile serued their turnes, at last was a cause of their greater misery. For all were taken and subdued by the enemies, as though they had been built and made to make their enemies victory more famous, and not to doe them seruice. And we may iustly deem them happy who were slaine in the warre, for they died in liberty. Yet who doth not pitie the multitude of them that fell into the Romans hands; or who would not hasten to die, rather then endure the like miserie that they suffered? Some of them being tortured, and some with fire and stripes perished; and others halfe eaten of wilde beasts, were reserued aliue for their second food: and they are most miserable of all that are yet aliue, who often wish for death and cannot finde it. Where is now that gorgeous Citie? where is it that was once the mother Citie of all the nation of the Iewes? so strengthned with such strong wals, so fortified with towers and castles to defend the wals, scarcely able to contain the prouision made for warre, hauing in it so huge a multitude of men to fight for it; what is it now become, wherein God himselfe was thought to dwell? It is now razed down euen vnto the very foundations; and no other memory or reliques therof is left standing; their camp is destroied, onely a few old men and vnhappy suruiue, who sate amongst the ashes of the temple, and a few women whom the enemies reserued to satisfie their filthy lust. And will any amongst vs, considering all these things, desire to behold the light of the sunne, although hee could liue without molestation? Who is such an enemy to his natiue soyle? who is so effeminate or desirous of his life, that doth not grieue to haue liued till this time? Would God we had all been in our graues before we had seene that sacred Citie fired by a hostile hand, before wee beheld the holy Temple destroyed by impiety: and seeing that the hope we had to be reuenged vpon our enemies is now vanished away, and that we are left alone in misery & necessity, let vs hasten to die well, and take compassion vpon our selues, our wiues, & children, and that whilest we haue time, to compassionate our selues. For both we are borne to die, and all that are begotten by vs, and the strongest men liuing cannot auoid it: but iniury, and bondage, and to see our wiues and children abused before our faces, is no necessity proceeding from mans nature, but they onely are forced to endure it, who when they might haue died without it, did refuse for fear. We first of all trusting to our strength, rebelled against the Romans; now lastly they exhorting vs to obedience, we denyed: which of them then will not be enraged against vs, if they can take vs aliue? Most miserable shall those young men be, whose strength will endure many torments, and those old men will mooue compassion whose aged yeares cannot suffer tortures; one shall see his wife carried away from him, and another his sonne hauing his hands bound behind him, cry out vnto his father for helpe: who now whilest they are free from the thraldome of their enemies, may gloriously assist vs with their swords. Let vs with our wiues and children die freemen, let vs altogether depart out of this life. This our religion cõmandeth, this our wiues & children perswadeth; God himselfe hath driuen vs vnto this necessity for this purpose. The Romans would haue it otherwise, who feare least any of vs should perish, and not fall into their hands aliue. Let vs therefore hasten, that in steed of their expected hope, whereby they verily perswaded themselues to take vs aliue, we may contrary to their expectation daunt them with a sudden admiration of our glorious deaths.

Eighteene thousand Iews slain in Syria, & threescore thousand in Egypt.

The calamitie of those Iewes who were taken by the Romans.

Ierusalem the Metropolitan city razed frõ the foundations.

We are borne to die, and the most strongest cannot auoid the same.

Eleazar tells the Iewes of the Romans tyranny.

It is a happinesse among the Iewes to die free.

Whilest *Eleazar* was yet speaking, and desirous still to continue his exhortation, they all interrupted him: euery one now in a fury bent to follow his aduice, made haste to effect it; and as though they had beene vrged by some spirit thereunto, euery one laboured to preuent one another in the execution thereof, iudging him to shew most valour and fortitude, that first dispatched himselfe. They were also desirous to kill their wiues and children with themselues. And which is most strange, their mindes were nothing altered when they came to effect this bloody worke; but with the same resolution they had, when they heard *Eleazars* speech, euery one retained his good affection towards his friends: yet permitting reason to take no place,

and

A and perſwading themſelues that thus they had well prouided for their children, they all at once embraced their wiues and children for their laſt farewell, and tooke their leaues of them, kiſſing them with teares, and then at once ſlew them, as though it had been done by the hands of other men, and not their owne, comforting themſelues being forced ſo to doe, in that hereby they ſhould eſcape the tyranny and cruelty of their enemies. Finally, no man was ſo cowardly, who durſt not preſume to this action; ſo euery one of them killed his deareſt friends. O miſerable people! whom neceſſity forced to ſlay their wiues and children, accounting the action therof to be the very leaſt of all their miſeries. Wherefore now not enduring the griefe that enſued vpon this fact, and thinking that in liuing any while after them, they ſhould iniure them whom they had ſlain, they with all ſpeed poſſible gathered all their riches togither & ſet them on fire: which

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 76.

B done they elected ten by lot, who ſhould ſlay the reſt, euery one proſtrating himſelfe vpon his wife and children, and embracing them in his armes, and was ſo ſlaine willingly by them that executed that wretched office: who hauing without feare diſpatched them, they caſt lots whoſe fortune it was to kill all the reſt, and he vpon whom the lot ſhould fall ſhould kill the other nine, and laſtly himſelfe vpon them all, euery one ſo encouraging one another, that there was no difference between them that were to be killed, and them that were to kill, and ſo the reſt offered themſelues to death: which done one who was the laſt of all, being yet aliue, went amongſt the dead bodies and ſearched to ſee if none liued that needed his hand in ſo great a multitude of ſlaine people; and finding all of them diſpatched, he went and fired the palace: which done he with all his force thruſt his ſword into his owne bodie vp to the hilts, and ſo fell downe by his

C deareſt friends.

The Iewes gathering all their goods togither caſt them into the fire

Ten choſen by lot to kill the reſt of the Iewes.

In this manner they died, thinking they had left no one aliue to haue fallen into the Romans hands, but one certaine old woman, and another that was *Eleazars* coſin, who in learning and wiſedome ſurpaſſed all other women, and fiue children who all hid themſelues in a caue wherein water was reſerued to drink, whileſt the reſt were buſied in this maſſacre, who were in number 900. and 60. beſide women and children. This calamity hapned the fifteenth day of April. In the morning the Romanes expecting that the Iewes would fight with them, made bridges from their mounts vnto the wals, and ſo aſſaulted the wals: and ſeeing none of their enemies appeare, but all the wals waſted and on fire, and deep ſilence in euery place, they could not coniecture what was done, and at laſt they made a cry at once, as though they had been beating the

The Romans expect the fight.

D wals with a Ram, thereby to ſee if they could make any enemies come out. The women in the vaults heard this cry, and comming forth, they declared vnto the Romans all that had hapned, one of them relating vnto them the euent of all the whole matter: yet for all this the Romans did not eaſily beleeue her words, by reaſon of the greatnes of that fact, but they endeuoured to quench the fire, & paſſing through it, they preſently came into the palace, where they beheld all the dead bodies, yet they did not inſult ouer them as their enemies, but admired that ſo many ſhould be ſo obſtinately minded to deſpiſe death.

The Romans admire the Iews fortitude and obſtinate contempt of death.

CHAP. XXIX.

E *Of the death of the Sicarians that were fled vnto Alexandria and Thebes.*

THe Caſtle being thus taken, the Generall of the Romans leauing a garriſon there, went vnto Cæſarea, for there was no one enemy left in all that countrey, but now all Iudæa was deſtroied through continuance of long wars, and many of that nation though far diſtant from it, taſted of thoſe troubles: for it ſo fell out that afterward many Iewes periſhed in Egypt at Alexandria: for thoſe Sicarians who had eſcaped thither, were not content to be ſafe and free from danger, but there alſo they attempted alteration, and to defend their liberty againſt the Romans, eſteeming themſelues nothing inferiour vnto them, and that onely God was their Lord. And ſome of the nobler race of the Iewes, ſeeking to withſtand that their

The murtherers, authors of new calamitie.

F enterpriſe, were by theſe Sicarians ſlain: which was no ſooner don, but they exhorted the people to reuolt. The chiefe and elders of the Iewes ſeeing this, and that they could not repreſſe them without danger, they aſſembled all the Iewes together, and declared vnto them the temerity of theſe Sicarians, ſhewing them to be the authors of all the miſery that had befallen the Iews, and that now notwithſtanding they were eſcaped, yet they were not certaine of their liues; for that if they were knowne, the Romans would preſently put them to death, and draw them alſo

The Iewes aſſemble and conſult about the murtherers.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

into the like misery, who were not partakers of their wickednes. Wherefore they admonished G the multitude to beware least they drew themselues into the same danger, wherein they were, and to make satisfaction vnto the Romans for themselues by deliuering such people vnto them. The Iewes were perswaded by these speeches: and foreseeing the danger that might ensue, they furiously assaulted the Sicarians, and tooke of them 600: and shortly after those who there escaping, fled into Egypt and Thebes, were taken and brought backe againe; whose hard hearted obstinacy was so great, that none can without admiration, heare of. For notwithstanding that all torments and tortures that could be deuised were inflicted vpon them, onely to force them to confesse that *Cæsar* was their Lord, yet no one of them would say so, nor make any shew therof, but all persеuered in their former opinion, as though the bodie tormented had been dead, and not aliue. Moreouer, their children were most to be admired, for not one of them could be con- H strained to call *Cæsar* Lord. So much did their boldnesse ouercome the torments inflicted vpon their bodies.

Diuers sorts of torments and tortures inflicted on them who refuse Cæsars soueraigntie.

CHAP. XXX.

How the temple of Onias *at Alexandria was shut vp.*

AT that time *Lupus* was gouernor of Alexandria, who with all speed by letters gaue *Cæsar* notice of these troubles. And *Cæsar*, seeing that is was necessary to beware of the Iewes, who were naturally enclined to sedition and vnquietnes, fearing also that I they would once again gather themselues together, and cause some to ioine with them, he commanded *Lupus* to destroy the temple, which *Onias* erected in Egypt, which was builded and named vpon this occasion. *Onias* the son of *Simon* one of the high Priests, being driuen out of Ierusalem, *Antiochus* King of Syria then warring against the Iewes, he came vnto Alexandria, and was courteously entertained by *Ptolomæus* who was then also enemy vnto *Antiochus*, affirming that he would annex vnto his countrey the people of the Iewes, if he would agree to that which he required. The King according to all that could be granted, hee requested him to permit him to build a temple in some place of his countrey, and that hee might worship God therin according to the custom of their country: for so the Iewes would hate *Antiochus* the more, who had destroyed their temple at Ierusalem, and be friendly vnto him, and many of them did K flie vnto him for religion sake. *Ptolomæus* agreed so to doe, and gaue him a peece of ground for that purpose, a hundreth and fourescore stounds from Memphis, in that place which was called the way to Heliopolis: where *Onias* building a castle, made also a temple vnlike to that of Ierusalem; but he erected a tower like that of Ierusalem, with stones, that was threescore cubits long, and he built an altar after the fashion of that of his countrey, and adorned it with all manner of gifts (saue onely a candlestick) which had in steed thereof a lampe to giue light, which hee caused to be hung before the altar in a golden chaine, and he inuironed all the temple with a wall made of bricke, and the gates he made of stone, and the King granted vnto it great reuenues of money and ground, to the intent that the Priests might haue aboundance of all things which they required. L

Onias by Ptolomies cõsent buildeth a city and temple in Egypt.

Onias temple built in Egypt.

But *Onias* did not this with a good conscience, but for that he was at variance with the Iewes of Ierusalem, for that they forced him to flie: and he perswaded himselfe that by the building of this temple, he might withdraw all men from Ierusalem thither; and of this, there was a prophecie 970. years before, and *Esaias* foretold that a certaine Iew should build a temple in Egypt. And thus that temple was built, and *Lupus* hauing receiued the Emperors letters went vnto the temple, and taking away certaine gifts from it, he shut it vp: And after him *Paulinus* who succeeded in his steed, left not one gift there (for hee threatned the Priests if they did not bring forth all) and permitted not any that came thither for to sacrifice, to come neere it; but shutting vp the gate thereof, he left no signe of diuine seruice there, and from the time it was built till the time it was shut vp, were 333. yeares. M

Lupus shuts the Iewes out of the temple.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XXXI.

The yeare of the world, 4038. after Christs Nativity, 76.

Of the Massacre of the Iewes at Cyrene.

THe bouldnes of the Sicarians, like some infectious disease, infected also the townes about Cyrene. For one *Iohn*, a weauer, and a wicked man hauing escaped, perswaded many simple people to follow him, and led them into the wildernes, promising to shew them signes and visions, and thus he deceiued the simplest sort of the Iewes: but the noblest of them of Cyrene vnderstanding his deceit, gaue *Catullus* notice of his preparation and departure, who was then
B Gouernor of Lybia; who sending horsemen and footmen, did easily surprise them beeing vnarmed, and the most part of them were slaine, yet some were taken aliue, and brought to *Catullus*. But their leader *Ionathas* at that time escaped: yet beeing diligently laid and sought for ouer all those Countries, he was at last taken, and beeing brought vnto *Catullus*, hee sought to delay his owne punishment, in offering an occasion of iniquity vnto *Catullus*. For hee accused the richest among the Iewes, to haue been his aduisers to do this matter. *Catullus* was glad of those allegations, and exaggerated his accusations very much with tragicall tearmes, so that hee seemed to haue made an end of the wars against the Iewes, and which was worst of all, to bee content to credit whatsoeuer was maliciously spoken: he himselfe instructed the Sicarians to frame scandalous accusations; and commanding them to nominate one *Alexander* a Iew, whom hee had
C long hated, and his wife *Berenice*, hee put them first of all to death, and after them all that were well monied, who amounted to the number of 3000, and this he thought hee did without controule, because he confiscated their possessions vnto *Cæsar*. And lest any Iew liuing in any other place should complaine of his iniustice, he extended his malicious lies against others further off, and perswaded *Ionathas* and certaine others that were taken with him, to accuse the most trustie and faithfull Iewes at Rome and Alexandria: one of them who were thus falsly accused, was named *Ioseph*, who writ this history. But this deuice of *Catullus* had not such successe as he hoped: for he came to Rome, and brought *Ionathas* and the rest bound with him, thinking that no more inquiry would be made of the false accusations inuented by himselfe.

A part of Ionathans companions were taken & slain, the rest kept captiue aliue, and brought to Catullus.

3000. Iewes slaine by Catullus.

Ioseph by Catullus perswasion is accused by Ionathas.

But *Vespasian*, suspecting the matter, made diligent inquiry to knowe the truth: and finding
D these crimes iniuriously imposed vpon those men, at *Titus* intreaty, he acquited them, and punished *Ionathas* according to his desert; who being first whipped, was afterward burned aliue. And *Catullus* at that time, by reason of the mildnes of the Emperour, had nothing said vnto him: but not long after he fell into a grieuous disease, and was cruelly tormented, not onely in body, but also in mind. For he was greatly terrified, and still imagined to see the ghosts of them whom hee had so vniustly slain, ready to kil him; so that he cried out, and not able to contain himself, leapt out of his bed, as though he had been tortured with torments and fire. And this disease daily increasing on, his guts and bowels rotting and issuing out of him, at last he died in this manner, leauing behind him an euident argument, that the diuine iustice doth punish impious malefactors.

Ionathas, being first beaten, is burnt aliue.

And this is the end of the History, which we promised to be set down with all fidelity, for them
E that are desirous to know the euent of the warres betweene the Iewes and the Romans. And as for our stile, we leaue it to the iudgement of the Reader: but touching the verity of the history, it is such, as no man need to doubt of; for I do affirme that to be the onely scope, which I aimed at in this whole work.

The conclusion of the 7. books of the wars of the Iewes.

The end of the seauenth and last Book of Flauius Iosephus, *of the Warres of the Iewes.*

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THE FIRST BOOK OF H FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS THE SON OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN AGAINST APION, AS TOVCHING THE ANTIQVITIE OF THE IEWES.

I Suppose (O thou worthiest amongst worthy men, *Epaphraditus*) that I haue sufficiently testified vnto them, who shall read those bookes I which I haue written, as touching the authentique history of the Iewes, that our nation is most ancient, and that they haue had their originall from themselues, and haue from the first beginning inhabited that Countrey, whereof they are now possessed at this present. To which effect I haue gathered out of our sacred writings, and publisht in the Greek tongue, a History containing the occurrences of 5000. yeares. And for that I see there are diuers, who (being too much addicted and seduced by the scandalous blasphemies and reports which some of those who are lewdly affected towards vs, haue published against vs) haue misconceited and misbeleeued that which I haue written of K out antiquity, and labour to approue our nation to be moderne, because none of the most ancient and most renown'd Historiographers among the Grecians haue thought our ancestors worthy to be enrowled in their writings: I haue for these causes held it a part of my duty to write some short treatise hereupon; both to reproue the euill intent and affected lying of those our calumners, as also to correct their ignorance, by teaching those who are desirous to knowe the truth, what the originall of our nation is. For proofe whereof, I will produce no other testimony then those, who from antiquity haue been iudged worthy of credit among the Greekes; laying open before their eies, that they, who haue slanderously and falsly written against vs, are conuicted by their owne mouthes: I will also enforce my selfe to expresse the causes, why very few Grecians haue made mentiō of vs in their histories: and moreouer, I wil make it known to those L who are ignorant (either in effect or in pretence) who they haue been that omitted not our History. First of all therefore, I do not a little maruel at those, who (in respect of antiquity) suppose that the truth ought onely to be gathered from the Greeks: and that they iustly may claime the honour and knowledge of faithfull writing, whereas they neither vouchsafe either vs, or any others, the credit or truth in that we set downe, although I am able to proue, that all things haue fallen out quite contrary. For which cause it behoueth vs not to look to mens various opinions, but to examin that which is right, and gather the same by the effects. For whatsoeuer is set down by the Greeks is new, and of late memory, and hath been brought to execution, in a manner but yesterday: I meane the foundations of Cities, the inuentions of Arts, and the descriptions of Lawes, and the latest practice among them hath been, and is, the diligent trauell in History. M

But amongst the Egyptians, Chaldees and Phœnicians (for I presume not to compare my countrimen with them) as they themselues confesse, the memory of their writings is most ancient and infallible. For all these nations dwell in such countries as are not subiect to the corruption of aire; and haue carefully prouided, that none of those things that haue bin done by them should

The historie of the antiquity containeth the euents of 5000 yeeres.

The causes that mooued him to write this book.

All things among the Greeks are moderne, but such things as were done among the Egyptiās, Chaldees & Phœnicians, are of happy memory and venerable antiquity.

A ſhould ſleep in obſcurity, but ſhould be kept in memory in the publike writings of the learnedſt men: whereas innumerable corruptions haue crept in among the Greeks, by which the memory of things forepaſſed, is defaced. But they alwaies who haue eſtabliſhed new eſtates, haue each of them ſuppoſed in their owne behalfe, that whoſoeuer was of theirs, hee was the firſt of the world. Yet notwithſtanding they haue had the knowledge of the nature of letters very late, and haue attained the ſame with very great difficulty. For they that ſpeake of the moſt ancient vſe of the ſame, do boaſt & glorifie themſelues, that they haue receiued the knowledge therof from the Phœnicians, and *Cadmus*. Yet notwithſtanding, there is not any one of them that can ſhew any record of that time, either in their temple, or in their publike regiſters: whereas, after, there aroſe a great doubt and queſtion, whether thoſe letters were in vſe during their time, who ſince B haue for the ſpace of many yeares continued the ſiege before Troy. And in ſooth, their opinion who affirme that they were ignorant of the vſe of thoſe letters, which are at this preſent allowed and accuſtomed among vs, is not to be refuſed. For it is moſt manifeſt, that there is not any writing extant among the Greekes that is more ancient then *Homers* poeſie, which as it is moſt manifeſt, hath been in allowance and continuance ſince the time of the ſiege of Troy: and yet it is reported, that he left no part of that his poeſie in writing, which was compoſed of diuers ſongs, and onely ſung by roat; by which meanes it came to paſſe, that there are ſo many contradictions in the ſame. And as touching thoſe who haue vndertaken to write hiſtories among them, I mean *Cadmus* the Mileſian, and *Acuſilaus* the Argiue, and after him if there were any others, they were not aliue, but very little time before the paſſage of the Perſians into Greece. Furthermore, they C who among the Greeks were the firſt that introduced Philoſophy, and the knowledge of celeſtiall and diuine things, that is to ſay, *Pherecydes* the Syrian, *Pythagoras* and *Thales*, theſe all of them confeſſe with one accord, that being inſtructed by the Egyptians and Chaldees, they haue publiſhed ſome few writings, which are ſuppoſed to be the moſt ancient among the Greeks, and it is hardly beleeued alſo that they were written by them. What reaſon therefore haue the Greeks to be ſo proud, as if there were none but themſelues onely who knew the affaires of antiquitie, and could exactly expreſſe their truth and verity? Or who cannot eaſily coniecture by their owne Writers themſelues, that their writings were onely vpon hearſay and ſuppoſition, and that their ſtile was onely tied to their vaine coniectures? Hence cometh it to paſſe, that in their books they cauill and reproue one another, and make no conſcience to maintaine and write con- D tradictions in one and the ſame thing.

But it may be ſaid, that I taske my ſelfe to a fruitleſſe labour, if I ſhould goe about to informe thoſe who are better experienced then my ſelfe, in how many points *Hellanicus* differeth from *Acuſilaus* as touching the Genealogy: in how many places *Acuſilaus* hath corrected *Herodotus*; or how *Ephorus* hath approued that *Hellanicus* was a lier in the greater part of that which hee reciteth. *Ephorus* hath beene reproued by *Timæus*; and in generall, all they haue taxed *Herodotus*. Neither hath *Timæus* vouchſafed to accord with *Antiochus*, or *Philiſtus*, or *Callias*, in the Hiſtories of Sicily. Neither haue they who haue written the hiſtories of Athens, or thoſe who haue entreated of the Argoliques, followed others. What need I reckon vp thoſe who in particular haue entreated of cities, or of ſuccinct and ſhort matters? whereas in the deſcription of the Per- E ſian warre, and thoſe exploits that were performed therein, thoſe of greateſt authority are moſt at oddes. *Thucydides* is accuſed by ſome for a lier in diuers places, notwithſtanding that hee ſeemeth to haue deſcrib'd the hiſtory of his time moſt exactly. But the cauſes of this diſcord are diuers, and it may be that they who ſhall narrowly pry into them, ſhall finde more. For mine owne part, thoſe two which I ſhall here ſet downe, in my opinion are of greateſt waight. The firſt, and in my iudgement the chiefeſt, is, that amongſt the Greekes, from the beginning they haue not beene induſtrious to keepe publique regiſters of ſuch matters as happened in any time or place: which hath made them erre, and giuen thoſe a priuiledge to lie, who afterwards would look to write any thing of ſuch matters as were acted long ſince. Neither are the other Greeks onely to bee touched with this negligence for not making account of ſuch regiſters, but amongſt the A- F thenians alſo (who are reputed to bee glorious for the antiquity of their countrey, and who are exerciſed in ſciences) there is no mention of them. For it is ſaid, that the moſt ancient and publike writings which they haue, are thoſe capitall lawes which were ſet down by their lawmaker *Draco*, who liued but a little time before *Piſiſtratus* tyranny. What need wee ſpeake of the Arcades, who vaunt themſelues of their antiquities? For they haue learned the vſe of letters with very great difficulty, and ſom time after this: whereas therefore there was not any writing publiſhed

Innumerable corruptions inuaded Greece.

The Phœnicians & Cadmus, the firſt inuenters of letters.

Among the Greeks there is not any writing more ancient then Homers poem

Thucydides writ a moſt exact hiſtory of his time.

The cauſes of diſcord amõg the Iewes.

liſhed before that time which might inſtruct thoſe that would learne, or reprehend thoſe that G
publiſhed vntruths: from thence it is, that ſo many differences haue happened amongſt Hiſto-
Another cauſe of their diſcord recorded by the Grecian Hiſtoriographers. riographers. A ſecond cauſe is, for that they, who addicted themſelues to compoſe Hiſtories, did not buſie themſelues about the inquiſition of the truth (notwithſtanding that each of them did ordinarily promiſe no leſſe) but they laboured to expreſſe how eloquent they were, and fixed their whole ſtudy thereon, as the onely meanes whereby they hoped to obtaine reputation aboue the reſt. Some of them therefore addicted their ſtiles to fables, otherſome by flattering praiſes thought to corie fauour with kings and cities. The reſt inforced their ſtudies to accuſations, by obtrecting the worke of the writer thereof, vnder truſt to get the more credite thereby. In effect they haue followed that courſe in compoſing their Hiſtory, that was euery
The ſigne of a true hiſtory. way different from the true nature thereof. (For the aſſured ſigne of a perfect and true hiſtory is, H
whereas all men accord both in word and writing in ſetting downe the ſame thing:) and they who haue written diuerſly, made men beleeue that they were the trueſt amongſt all the reſt. We ought therefore to grant the ſuperiority to the Grecians in all that which concerneth eloquence, and the ornament of language, but not in that which appertaineth to antiquity or truth of Hiſtory, and eſpecially when the queſtion is, what each man writ as touching his owne nation.

Seeing therefore that both the Egyptians and Babylonians long time ſince vſed all diligence in writing, inſomuch as their prieſts were hereunto enioined, who did moſt curiouſly intreat of all ſuch points: the ſame alſo did the Chaldees amongſt the Babylonians, and the Phœnicians alſo (inhabiting amongſt the Greeks) vſed lawes (both concerning priuate and publike affairs) I
which, becauſe all men confeſſe it, I will omit to ſpeake of. I let paſſe alſo to recount what care our nation had of this point (no doubt greater then thoſe nations aboue mentioned had) charging our high prieſts and prophets to execute this office, which cuſtome hath been obſerued euen vntill this our age: yea (and if I may preſume ſo far) will be obſerued in all ſucceeding ages, as by the ſcope of my ſpeech enſuing I will endeuour to make manifeſt. For our nation did not onely depute this office to the moſt iuſt men amongſt them in the beginning, and vnto ſuch as were alwaies ready to appeaſe the heauy diſpleaſure and wrath of God kindled againſt them; but they alſo prouided to preſerue the line and deſcent of prieſts from al impurity, and from being intermingled with others. For no man amongſt vs can be a prieſt, who is not borne of a wo-
A cuſtome which the prieſts obſerued. man deſcended from the prieſts line; neither in this caſe is any reſpect made either of riches or K
honors: but the party who claimeth the dignity of prieſthood, muſt by many witneſſes proue his Genealogy, and that he is deſcended from prieſts. This cuſtome is not onely of force in Iewry, our owne country, but whereſoeuer elſe any of our nation inhabit, as in Egypt and Babylon, and in any other place, where continually the prieſts in their marriages haue this reſpect, not to marry with any woman that is not of their owne line, and they ſend vnto Ieruſalem the name & pedigree of the woman whō they haue maried, and all teſtimony hereof which they can deduce from her anceſtors. Now if wars moleſt our nation (as often they haue) in the time of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, of *Pompey* the great, *Quintilius Varo*, and eſpecially in this our age, then thoſe prieſts who ſuruiue make new Genealogies, and pedigrees out of our holy writ for the foreſaid women, that are not deuoured by the fury of war. For they come vnto theſe women not fearing L
the company of ſtrangers amongſt whom they liue: yea, this is an euident token of the prieſts integrity, that euery prieſt during the reuolution of 2000. yeeres are regiſtred together with the
The prieſts amongſt the Iewes are euery one regiſtred with the name of their fathers: and this cuſtome hath cōtinued 2000 yeares. names of their fathers, and if any one do erre or falſifie any of the things beforeſaid, hee is then interdicted from the altar, and from exerciſing any prieſtly function. So that in the writings of ſuch men all things muſt of neceſſity be true, and as they ought to be, for that neither all men are permitted to write, nor yet any diſſonance and diſagreement is found in their writings. For ſuch things as paſt in ancient times quite beyond the memory of men, were only written by our prophets, who had the knowledge thereof by inſpiration from God himſelfe: but other things of later time are onely recorded by thoſe who liued in the age wherin the things they writ of were done. The books amongſt vs, containing the hiſtories of all ages, are neither infinite, nor one re- M
Two & twenty books of holy writ. pugnant to another: for all our Chronicle is contained in 22. books, to which books it is impiety to deny credit.

Fiue of theſe books were written by *Moſes*, comprehending Genealogies, and the beginning of mankind, and ſuch notable euents as hapned euen from the beginning of the world vntill his death; which is little leſſe then three thouſand yeeres. After the death of *Moſes* vntill the time

wherein

A wherein *Artaxerxes* liued, who was king of the Persians, and son to *Xerxes*, the Prophets of our nation euery one writ the history of his time wherin he liued, so that of these mens writings we haue thirteene books: the foure other bookes, which make vp the number already mentioned, are knowne to containe holy Hymnes dedicated vnto God, and wholesome precepts for mans life and conuersation. All things, which from *Artaxerxes* vntill our time haue hapned, are also set downe in writing: yet the bookes wherein they are registred, do not deserue so much credit as the former of ancient times, for that there was no certaine succession of Prophets in this age. Moreouer, it is euident, that to the former works we giue as great credit, as to the things we our selues write; & notwithstanding they haue bin so long written, yet in all that time no man durst presume either to alter or to blot out any thing therein contained. For all Iewes euen from their
B cradle do beleeue these books to bee sacred, holy, and diuine, and therefore doe giue all credit possible vnto them, and so would willingly suffer death, rather then to doe the contrary. Many captiues also of our nation haue already bin cruelly tormented, and diuers waies put to death in open theaters, only for that they would not cõmit any thing either in word or deed against their lawes, nor violate the writings of their forefathers. Now who amongst the Greeks did euer sustaine the like? nay, they are so far frõ doing it, that none can be found among them who would suffer any losse in his goods or fortunes, therby to preserue all the writings of their nation from perdition: and the reason hereof is, that euery one esteemeth the verity of their Histories to depend vpon the will of the Writer. And this they do also of their most ancient Historiographers, and not without cause: for they euery day see men of their owne times, writing Histories of
C matters long past before in former ages, wherein neither themselues were present, neither yet vouchsafe they to credit the writings of such as were then eye-witnesses thereof: yea some among them haue diuulged Histories of such things as of late befell our nation, when themselues neuer haue been in the place where such matters past as they did write of were, nor haue liued in any neighbour place, where they might haue probable report how matters past, but only making a few centones or broken newes, they most impudently arrogate to their patcht stuffe the name of a History.

The Iewes & Grecians are compared together.

Some others haue written of the wars of the Iewes.

I my selfe haue composed a most true History of those warres, and of euery particular thing there done, as well I might, hauing beene present in all those affaires. For I was captaine of the Galileans amongst our nation, so long as any resistance could be made against the Romans: and
D then it so fell out, that I was taken by the Romans, and beeing prisoner vnto *Titus* and *Vespasian*, they caused me to be an eye-witnes of all things that past. First in bonds & fetters, and afterward freed from them, I was brought from Alexandria with *Titus*, when he went to the siege of Ierusalem. So that nothing could then passe whereof I had not notice. For beholding the Roman army, I committed to writing all things with all possible diligence. My selfe also did only manage all matters disclosed vnto the Romans by such as yielded themselues, for that I only did perfectly vnderstand them. Lastly, being at Rome, and hauing now leasure, all busines being past, I vsed the help of some (for the purity of the Greek tongue) and so I published a history of all that had hapned in the foresaid wars: which history of mine is so true, that I feare not to call *Vespasian* and *Titus*, Emperours in those wars, to witnesse for them. I first gaue a copy of that booke to them,
E afterwards to many noble Romans, who also were present in those warres, I sold also many of them to our owne nation, to such as vnderstood the Greek language, amongst whom were *Iulius*, *Archelaus*, *Herod* the honest, and the most worthy king *Agrippa*, who all doe testifie, that my history containeth nothing but truth: Who would not haue beene silent, if in any thing eyther for ignorance or flattery I had changed or omitted any particular. Yet notwithstanding all this, some ill disposed persons endeuour to disredit my history, as though they were disputing *pro* and *contra* amongst children in schooles, being sometimes on a sudden to forge a feigned accusation, and otherwise to faine a slanderous and sudden detraction, neuer considering that hee who promiseth other men a true relation of matters past, must either be priuy vnto them by his owne knowledge, as hauing beene present in the affaires, or else haue that which hee speaketh
F from other mens mouthes by report of them who knowe them: both which I haue done. For I gathered my other books of Antiquity out of holy Scripture, beeing my selfe a Priest, and skilfull in our law, and the history of our wars I haue written, my selfe being an agent in many matters therein contained, and an eye-witnes of the rest; so that nothing was said or done whereof I had not notice. How then can any man excuse them from impudency and malice, who labour against mee to proue my relation false? They perhaps alledge, that they haue read the commentarie

Ioseph was present in all the wars of the Iewes.

Ioseph writ the history of the Iews wars being at Rome

Ioseph sould his books to many.

Some do derogate from Iosephs history.

mentarie containing the Emperours acts, yet for all this they were not preſent in any action, repugnant to that, which my hiſtory recounteth. G

Thus haue I (as I thought it neceſſary) made a digreſſion to ſhew how they are able to performe their word, who diſcrediting my hiſtory, promiſe to ſet downe truth in writing. I haue alſo ſufficiently (as I think) demonſtrated, that the regiſtring of things is more ancient amongſt other nations, then amongſt the Greeks. I will now firſt of all diſpute againſt thoſe, who with all might and maine labour to prooue our nation of no antiquitie, for that (as they ſay) no Greeke Writer maketh any mention of it. This done, I will bring foorth proofe and teſtimony of the antiquity hereof out of other Writers, and ſo I will ſhew that their tongues are no ſlander, who ſeek to diſcredit our nation. Firſt therefore our nation neither inhabiteth a country bordering vpon the ſea, neither are we delighted in merchandiſe, nor for this cauſe wearied with pilgrimages from place to place. H

But our cities are ſituate far from the ſea in a moſt fertil ſoile, which we till with all induſtry, and our whole endeuours are how to get food for our children, and to keep our countrey lawes, and how to leaue vnto our poſterity the knowledge of piety, which worke we think all our age ought to be imploied in. Beſide all this before mentioned, we haue a forme of liuing, different from all other nations: al which concurring together, we had no need to traffick with the Greeks, as the Egyptians and the Phœnicians doe, who giue themſelues to bargaining and merchandiſe onely for the couetouſnes of mony. Neither were our anceſtors delighted in thefts and robberies, nor did our fathers make warre vpon any nation for deſire of larger poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding our country was furniſhed with many thouſands of ſtrong warlike men. Wherefore the Phœnicians ſailing vnto the Greeks to trafficke with them they were thus I made knowne vnto them, and by them the Egyptians, and all other nations, who ſailing vpon the ſeas, brought merchandiſe into Greece. The Medes alſo and Perſians were known vnto them, after ſuch time as they openly raigned ouer Aſia, and the Perſians warred euen to the other oppoſite continent.

Moreouer, the Greeks knew the Thracians, becauſe they were their neighbours, and the Scythians by ſayling to Pontus, and finally all that were diſpoſed to write, knew all the nations bordering either vpon the Eaſterne and Weſterne ſeas; but ſuch as dwelt farre from the ſea and ſea-coaſt, were long time vnknown, as alſo appears in Europe: for neither *Thucidides* nor *Herodotus*, nor any other of that time, maketh any mention of Rome, notwithſtanding that ſo long ſince it was ſo mighty, and made ſo great wars: yet at laſt, with much ado the Greeks heard of it. Yea, K their moſt curious Writers, and namely *Ephorus*, were ſo ignorant of the Frenchmen and Spaniards, that they thought the Spaniards to bee a people onely denominated of one city, wherein they inhabited, whereas the whole world now knoweth them to inhabite a vaſt countrey, and a great part of the weſtern world. Likewiſe, the ſaid Greek Writers relate the maners of the foreſaid people to be ſuch, as neither are, nor were euer vſed among them. And the onely cauſe why they were ignorant of the truth, was the diſtance of the place, and theſe Writers would ſeem to tell ſomething which others of former time had not ſpoken of. No maruel therfore though our nation was vnknowne, and none of them in their writings made any mention of vs, beeing both ſo far from the ſea, and liuing after a different manner.

Put caſe therefore that I denied the Greeks to bee of any antiquity, and to proue my aſſertion L ſhould conclude their nation to be moderne, for that our hiſtories made no mention of them, would they not laugh at this reaſon, and vſe the teſtimonie of their neighbour nations to proue their antiquity? I therfore wil do the like, & vſe the teſtimony of the Egyptians & Phœnicians, whoſe records the Greekes cannot deny. For all Egyptians in generall are our enemies, and among the Phœnicians they eſpecially of Tyre, Which I cannot iuſtly ſay of the Chaldees, who haue been Princes ouer our nation, and becauſe of their affinity and alliance with our countrimen, haue in their Chronicles made mention of the Iewes. Yet when I haue prooued what I now auerre, and refelled the ſlanderous reports againſt vs, I will then alſo ſhew who amongſt the Greeks ſpeake of vs, that ſo the Greeks may alſo bee depriued of this ſhift and refuge, to excuſe their malicious lies falſely forged againſt our nation. And firſt of all I will begin with the wri- M tings of the Egyptians, who, as they well knowe, do nothing at all fauour vs. Wherefore *Manethon*, an Egyptian borne, skilfull in the Greeke tongue, as by his works appeares (for hee writ in Greeke) compiling a hiſtory of the cuſtomes and religion of his forefathers, collected (as himſelfe reporteth) out of the Egyptians holy writings, often reprehendeth *Herodotus*, who being indeed ignorant, did much helpe the Egyptians. This *Manethon*, in his ſecond booke of the

Egyptian

Two things which Ioſeph intendeth.

The Iews care to bring vp their children. The ancient Iewes had no need to traffick with the Grecians.

The Romans were lately known to the Greekes.

Certain Hiſtoriographers report Spaine to be onely one Citie.

Arguments to proue the Iewes of more antiquity then the Greekes.

Manethon an Egyptian writer.

A Egyptian customes saith thus: (I will set downe his owne wordes, because I vse them for a witnesse.) Wee had a King (quoth hee) named *Timæus*, in whose raigne God being angry with vs, contrarie to all expectation, an obscure people taking courage, came from the East, and pitching their tents in our countrey conquered it by force, no man resisting them; and committing our Princes to bonds, did finally burne our cities, and destroy the temples of our Gods; and behaued themselues most cruelly against the inhabitants, killing many of them, and making slaues of the rest with their wiues and children: finally, they chose a King amongst themselues, who should be then of our countrey, his name was *Saltis*, who comming to Memphis, made both the higher and lower Prouince tributaries, leauing garrisons in strong holds, and fortifying those places in the East: Likewise, forseeing that the Assyrians were more mighty then hee, & would B inuade his countrey, he found out in this Prouince a citie called Saite fit for his purpose, being situate on the East side of the riuer Bubastis, which by an ancient diuine was called Auaris, hee builded vp this citie and compassed it with most huge walls, and placed in it two hundred thousand armed men to keep it. This *Saltis* came in haruest time, to the intent that hee might both pay his souldiers, and be a terrour vnto other people, and after he had raigned nineteen yeares he died. Saltis subdued the Egyptians.

After him succeeded another King called *Baon*, who raigned foure and forty yeares, next to him *Aphinæs*, who raigned thirty sixe yeares and seauen moneths, then *Aphosis*, who raigned threescore and one yeares, and then *Iandas* who raigned fifty yeares and one moneth, after them all raigned *Assis*, nine and forty yeares and two moneths, and these six were the first Kings a- C mongst them, euer destroying and warring vpon the Egyptians, and labouring to extinguish their race. This nation was called Hicsos, which signifieth kings shepheards: for *Hic* in the sacred tongue, signifieth a King, and *Sos* a shepheard or shepheards, according to the common speech, and *Hicsos* is a compound word. Some say these people were Arabians: but in other copies I find that *Hicsos*, is not interpreted kings shepheards, but shepheards that were captiues: for *Hic* and *Hac*, also when it is pronounced, doth in the Egyptian tongue signifie a captiue, and this latter exposition seemeth to me to be the truest, for it is more agreeable with the History. Wherefore *Manathon* reporteth these foresaid kings and shepheards to haue ruled Egypt fiue hundreth and eleuen yeares: and after these, the king of Thebes, and the king of the residue of Egypt, vniting their forces together, inuaded the said shepheards, and held on great and long wars against them, D and that the said shepheards were ouercome by the king *Alisfragumthosis*, also that then they lost all Egypt which he had in their power, and that they were shut vp in a place called Auaris containing ten thousand acres of ground, which as *Manathon* reporteth these shepheards enuironed round about with a huge wall, to the end that all their whole prouision might be fortified, and all the preys which they got, defended. Moreouer, that *Themosis* son of the said *Alisfragumthosis* endeuoured by force to subdue them, & for this cause besieged them with foure hundreth and 80000. armed men: and at last despairing to take them by siege, he couenanted with them that they should safely depart out of Egypt whither they would; and that they vpon these conditions together with all their families and goods and cattell departed out of Egypt into the wildernes, and so into Syria, being in number two hundreth & forty thousand, and that fearing E the puissance of the Assyrians who at that time raigned in Asia, they builded a citie in the countrey now called Iudæa, which they made so large that it might receiue them all, and this citie they called Ierusalem. Further, the saide *Manathon* in another booke of the Egyptian affaires saith, that in the holy writings he findeth the foresaid shepheards called captiues, wherein hee saith most true. For our ancestors were wont to feed cattel, and so leading a pastorall life, were called shepheards, neither are they vniustly called captiues: for our forefather *Ioseph* told the king of Egypt that hee was a captiue, and long time after hee called his brethren into Egypt by the kings command; but we will hereafter examine this point more straightly: I will now cite the testimony of the Egyptians concerning this point, and also relate the wordes of *Manathon* touching the time when this befell, who saith as followeth. Kings shepheards.

F After that the nation of shepheards were departed out of Egypt vnto Ierusalem, king *Themosis* who draue them out of the land, raigned twenty fiue yeares and foure moneths, and then died: and his sonne *Chebron* succeeded him, who raigned thirteen yeares, and after him *Amenophis* twenty yeares and seuen moneths, next, his sister *Amesses* one and twentie yeares and nine moneths, then raigned *Mephios* twelue yeares and nine moneths, and *Mephamuthosis* twentie fiue yeares and ten moneths, *Thimosis* nine yeares and eight moneths, *Amenophis* thirtie yeares and

ten moneths, *Orus* thirtie ſixe yeares and fiue moneths, after him his daughter *Achemcheres*, twelue yeares and one moneth, and the brother of *Rathotis* nine yeares, *Achencheres* twelue yeares and fiue moneths, another *Achencheres* twelue yeares and three moneths, *Armais* foure yeares and one moneth, *Armeſis* one yeare and foure moneths, *Armeſeſmiamus* threeſcore and ſixe yeares and two moneths, *Amenophis* nineteene yeares and ſixe moneths. Moreouer, that *Sethoſis* hauing made readie a huge armie both of foote and horſe, and alſo a Nauy at Sea, left the gouernement of Egypt vnto his brother *Armais*, and permitted vnto him all other kingly authoritie, onely forbidding him to weare a Diademe, and to oppreſſe the Queen, mother to his children: commanding him alſo to abſtaine from the reſt of the kings concubines. And *Sethoſis* himſelfe went to Cyprus and Phœnicia, againſt the Aſſyrians and Medes, and ſubdued them all, partly by the ſword, partly by the feare of his power and greatnes: and being proud of all this his fortunate ſucceſſe, he bent himſelfe againſt the Eaſterne countrey, and deſtroyed with fire and ſword the cities of that place, with whole Prouinces: and ſpending much time in theſe warres, his brother *Armais* whom hee left in Egypt, did without feare commit all that hee forbade him to do: for he oppreſſed the Queen violently, and daily lay with the reſt of the kings concubines, and being thereto counſelled by his friends, he put a crowne vpon his head and rebelled againſt his brother. Alſo that he who was then chiefe of the Egyptians holy cuſtomes, ſent letters vnto *Sethoſis* containing all that had hapned, and how *Armais* had rebelled againſt him; who returning to Peluſ, came and enioyed againe his owne kingdome which by his name was cald Egypt: for *Manethon* writeth that this *Sethoſis* was named *Egyptus*, and his brother *Armais Danaus*.

Sethoſis king of Egypt, made his brother Armais gouernour of his countrie.

Whereupon Egypt tooke his name.

Thus farre *Manethon*: out of whom it is euident by computation of the foreſaid times, that our nation was deliuered out of Egypt, three hundreth ninty and three yeares before *Danaus*, and inhabited this countrie of Iudæa ſo long, before *Danaus* came vnto Argos: notwithſtanding the inhabitants of Argos boaſt their Citie is moſt ancient. Wherefore *Manethon* recounteth two things for vs out of the Egyptian letters: firſt, that wee came from another place to them, afterwards went out of their country again, and that ſo long agoe, as it was almoſt a thouſand yeares before the Troyan warres. Touching thoſe things which *Manethon* profeſſeth himſelfe, not to haue gathered out of the writings of the Egyptians, who did write out of certaine tales and reports, I will hereafter ſhew, how they are alledged without any reaſon for them. For I wil once againe leaue theſe, and go to the teſtimony of the Phœnicians, which they writ concerning our nation. The Tyrians therefore haue Chronicles of very great antiquitie, which they haue kept with all diligence, concerning that which hath bin done among them, and indeed they are worthie of memorie. Amongſt theſe Records it is written, that king *Salomon* built a Temple at Ieruſalem, a hundreth forty three yeares and eight moneths before the Tyrians erected Carthage. So they haue regiſtred the building of our Temple, for *Hiramus* king of the Tyrians, was our king *Salomons* friend; obliged vnto him for his fathers ſake, who for this cauſe alſo of his owne liberality, gaue *Salomon* a hundreth and twenty talents of gold towards the building of the Temple, and cut downe the moſt goodly wood called Libanus, which hee beſtowed vpon him, to make the roofe of the Temple withall: for which bounty, *Salomon* gaue him againe many liberall gifts, and among the reſt a countrie of Galilee named Zabulon: but *Salomons* wiſedome was the chiefe cauſe of this kings friendſhip towards him. For they ſent Problemes one to the other to bee anſwered, and *Salomon* in his anſwers appeared moſt witty, as alſo hee did in many things elſe; and euen vntill this day, many of the Epiſtles ſent one vnto another, are kept among the Tyrians. And that I doe not feare the authoritie amongſt the Tyrians, I will prooue by the teſtimonie of *Dius*, a man who by common conſent hath faithfully written the Phœnician Hiſtorie, wherein he writeth as followeth.

Manethon ſheweth the Iewes coming into Egypt & their departure.

Salomon built a Temple in Ieruſalem 143 yeares and 8. moneths, before the Tyrians builded Carthage.

The friendſhip of the Tyrian king and of king Salomon.

Problemes of Hiramus and Salomon.

After the death of *Abibalus*, *Hiramus* his ſon raigned in his ſtead, who encreaſed the number of his Eaſterne Cities, and inlarged Ieruſalem, hee alſo ioyned the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, ſituate in an Iland, vnto it, filling vp the water with earth, and adorned it with golden gifts. After this aſcending into Libanus, he cut down the wood to build temples, and that the king of Ieruſalem named *Salomon*, ſent vnto him certaine riddles to be expounded, and hee againe the like vnto him, couenanting together, that he who could not tell the meaning of one anothers riddles, ſhould pay vnto the other a ſumme of mony, and that *Hiramus* confeſſing he could not expound, *Salomons* riddles, did pay vnto him much money: Laſtly, that one *Abdemonus* a Tyrian did expound the ſaid riddles, and writ more vnto *Salomon*, which if *Salomon* could not interpret hee

ſhould

A ſhould pay vnto *Hircanus* a ſumme of money, and this teſtimonie *Dius* beareth vs concerning the foreſaid matter. But I will now recount the words of *Menander* an Epheſian, who hath regiſtred the acts of all kings both at home and abroad, endeuouring to make a true Hiſtorie out of the writings of euery countrie. This man writing of the Tyrian kings, and comming to *Hiramus*, he ſaith thus of him. *Abibalus* dying, there ſucceeded in the kingdome his ſon *Hiramus*, who liued 34. yeares: and this king with a rampire conioyned Eurichorus, & erected there a pillar of gold in *Iupiters* temple, and went into the woods, and cut downe the Cedars of Libanus to make couerings for the temples; of which, pulling downe the olde, hee erected new, and dedicated the temple of *Hercules* and *Aſtartus*: but that to *Hercules* in the moneth of Peritius, and then the other to *Aſtartus*, when he with an army went againſt the Tyrians, who did not pay him tribute, whom
B when he had ſubdued, he returned againe.

The teſtimony of Menander the Epeſian.

The Genealogie of king Hiramus.

At this time alſo liued *Abdemonus* a ſeruant vnto the king, who was wont to expound the parables, which king *Salomon* of Ieruſalem ſent vnto king *Hiramus*: now how long it was from this kings time till the building of Carthage, we may thus calculate. After the death of *Hiramus*, his ſon *Beleaſtartus*, ſucceeded him, who liued forty and three yeares, and raigned ſeuen: after him his ſonne *Abdaſtartus*, who liued twentie yeares, and raigned nine; but this king was treacherouſly ſlaine by the foure ſonnes of his nurſe, the eldeſt of whom raigned twelue yeares. Next whom, *Aſtartus* the ſonne of *Feleaſtartus*, who liued fifty and foure yeares, and raigned twelue: after him ruled his brother *Aſtarimus*, who liued fifty and foure yeares, and ſate it the kingdome nine, then hee was ſlaine of his brother *Phelletes*, who raigned eight monethes, and li-
C ued fiftie yeares, and was ſlaine by a Prieſt of Aſtarta named *Ithobalus*, who liued threeſcore and eight, and raigned thirtie two yeares: him ſucceeded his ſonne *Badezorus*, who liued fortie fiue yeares, and raigned ſixe yeares, to him ſucceeded his ſonne *Mettinus*, who liued thirtie two years, and raigned nine. After him *Pigmalion* who liued fiftie ſixe yeares, and raigned fortie; in the ſeauenth yeare of whoſe raigne, his ſiſter *Dido* builded a Citie in Africa, and named it Carthage: ſo that from the time of king *Hiramus* vnto the building of Carthage, is by this computation a hundreth fiftie fiue yeares, and two monethes: and for as much as the temple of Ieruſalem was built in the twelfth year of *Hiramus* his raigne, the computation of the time ſince that yeare vntill the building of Carthage is 143. yeares, and eight moneths. What need we alledge more, ſeeing this teſtimonie of the Phœnicians? The truth is now ſufficiently made manifeſt:
D for our anceſtors muſt needs haue come into this countrey we inhabite, before ſuch time as they built a temple in it, as I haue alſo made manifeſt in my Books of Antiquitie, collected out of our holy Scripture.

Carthage built in Africk by Dido Pigmalions ſiſter.

I wil now ſpeak of that which the Chaldees writ of vs in their Hiſtories; which do much agree in all other matters with thoſe of our nation. And firſt let *Beroſus* be my witnes, who was a Chaldean born, yet a man famous & knowne vnto all that loue learning, for he in the Grecian tongue did write Aſtronomie, and the Chaldees Philoſophie. *Beroſus* imitating the moſt ancient Hiſtories writeth of the Deluge, and how mankind was therein extinguiſhed, and he in all things imitateth *Moſes*. He alſo ſpeaketh of the Arke wherein our forefather was preſerued, and affirmeth that it was carried into the tops of the mountaines in Armenia: after this hee proſecuteth the
E Genealogie of all that raigned from *Noe*, vntill *Nabulaſſarus* king of the Babylonians & Chaldeans. He likewiſe ſetteth down how long euery one raigned, and in proſecuting the deeds of this king he recounteth how he ſent his ſonne *Nabuchodonoſor* into Egypt, and to our countrie with great power, who finding them rebels, ſubdued them and burnt the temple at Ieruſalem, and ſo departed, carrying with him all our nation into Babylon: whereupon our Citie was deſolate ſeuentie years vntill the raigne of *Cyrus* king of the Perſians. Moreouer he affirmeth that the Babylonian kept Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, exacting more of his ſubiects then euer any king of Babylon or Chaldea had done before his time. And the words of *Beroſus* muſt needs be to this effect: *Nabulaſſarus* his father hearing that his ſubſtitute in Egypt, Cœloſyria, and Phœnicia had rebelled, hee himſelfe not being able to take ſuch paines, committed theſe af-
F faires vnto his ſonne *Nabuchodonoſor*, and gaue vnto him a part of his army, for that he was in the flower of his age, and ſent him againſt him: and *Nabuchodonoſor* fighting with the ſaid Champion, ouerthrew him, and ſubdued the countrey which of olde belonged vnto them, and at the ſame time his father *Nabulaſſarus* fell ſicke in Babylon, and died, hauing raigned twenty nine yeares. But *Nabuchodonoſor* long after vnderſtanding his fathers death, hee diſpoſed of Egypt and other Prouinces as hee thought good, and taking the captiues of Iudæa, Phœnicia, and

Beroſus the Hiſtoriographer a Chaldean.

Nabulaſſarus father to Nabuchodonozor the king of Babylon and Chaldea.

Nabuchodonozor cõquered the rebels.

Nabuchodonozor ſucceedeth in his fathers kingdome.

the Syrians that liued in Egypt, hee committed them to certaine of his friends, to bee brought with other carriage and his army to Babylon; and ſo he himſelfe accompanied with a very few took his iourney to Babylon through the deſart: and finding that the Chaldees ruled all, and that their nobilitie reſerued the kingdome for him, he was made king, and commanded houſes to be built for the captiues that were comming, in the moſt conuenient places of Babylon, and hee of the ſpoile beautified the temple of Belus & other places moſt richly, and built a new citie without the wall of the olde: and prouiding leaſt hereafter the enemies might turne the riuer and ſo haue acceſſe vnto the Citie, he inuironed the inner Citie with three ſeuerall wals, and the outmoſt Citie likewiſe. The wals whereof were made of brick, but the wals of the inner Citie were of bricke and bytumen: this done, he builded moſt ſumptuous gates which might haue become temples: and moreouer neere vnto his fathers palace he builded another farre greater, and more coſtly then it was, the pompe whereof it were hard and perhaps tedious to expreſſe. Yet this we will rehearſe worth the noting, that this ſo ambitious and aboue all credit gorgeous palace was builded in fifteen daies: in it hee erected rockes of ſtone like mountaines, beſet with all ſorts of trees; he alſo made a famous garden, all ſupported with pillers, for that his wife being brought vp in the countrey of the Medes, deſired to haue a proſpect into the fields and mountaines.

Nabuchadonoſor builded a palace.

This hee relateth of the forementioned king, and many things more in his booke of the affaires of the Chaldees, wherein he reproueth the Greeke writers, who falſely affirme that *Semiramis* the Aſſyrian Queene built Babylon, and that they falſely report thoſe wonderful works about Babylon, to haue been by her made and finiſhed. Wee muſt needs thinke that the Chaldean Hiſtory is true, ſeeing it agreeth with that of the Phœnicians, which *Beroſus* writ of the king of Babylon who ſubueruered both Phœnicia and all Syria: with them alſo accordeth *Philoſtratus* in his hiſtory of the ſiege of Tyria, and *Magaſtenes* alſo in his fourth book of the affaires of India; where he laboured to prooue, that the ſaid king excelled *Hercules* in ſtrength and valour, affirming that he ſubdued the greateſt part of Africk, and Spaine, and that the temple of Ieruſalem was burnt by the Babylonians, and again reedified by *Cyrus*; and we may proue it out of *Beroſus*, who in his third book ſaith as followeth. *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing begun the third wall, fell ſicke and died, when he had raigned forty three yeares, and his ſonne *Euelmeradochus* ſucceeded him, who for his iniquity and luſtfull liuing, was treacherouſly ſlaine by his ſiſters husband named *Nirigliſſoroor*, after he had raigned two yeares. Hee being dead, the traitor *Nirigliſſoroor* vſurped the kingdome, and raigned foure yeares, whoſe ſonne then a childe was made king; called by name *Laboroſardochus*, and he raigned nine moneths; who for that hee ſeemed to be of very corrupt manners, was ſlaine by his owne friends: after whoſe death they who ſlew him conſulting together, did make one *Nabonidus* a Babylonian, king. At this time the wals of bricke and bytumen about the riuer of Babylon were built. In the eight yeare of this kings raigne, *Cyrus* comming with an army out of Perſia, conquered all Aſia, and came with his forces againſt Babylon: but the king of Babylon hauing notice of his comming, leuied an army meeting him in the way, and ioyned battell with him; but being ouercome in the fight, he accompanied with a very few of his men, was forced to flie into Borſippa. *Cyrus* now beſieged Babylon, and purpoſed to deſtroy the outward wals thereof: but by reaſon that it was too ſtrong and too hard to win, he returned to Borſippa to beſiege *Nabonidus* the king of Babylon who was fled thither. But *Nabonidus* not abiding the euent of warre, yeelded himſelfe vnto *Cyrus*, who dealt mercifully with him and gaue him a territory in Carmania, but expelled him out of Babylon: ſo *Nabonidus* led the reſt of his life in that Prouince. This Hiſtory agreeth with ours; for in our writings we find that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne did deſtroy our Temple, and that it ſo remained threeſcore and ten yeares: Alſo that in the ſecond yeare of king *Cyrus*, the foundations thereof were laid againe, and that it was finiſhed and reedified in the ſecond yeare of king *Darius* his raigne. This done, I will alſo relate the Hiſtories of the Phœnicians, that we may abound with proofe of that we ſay, for they make a computation of the yeares after this manner: In the raigne of king *Ithobalus*, *Nabuchadonoſor* beſieged Tyre thirteen yeares, after whom *Baal* raigned ten yeares, next him iudges were appointed, to wit, them that follow; *Ecnibalus* the ſonne of *Balachus* iudged two moneths, *Chelbis* the ſonne of *Abdæus* ten moneths, *Abbarus* the high Prieſt three moneths, *Myttomus* and *Geraſtus* ſonnes of *Abdilimos* iudged ſix yeares, after whom *Balatorus* raigned one yeare, and after his death the Tyrians called *Merbalus* from Babylon, and made him king, and he raigned foure yeares: and he then dying, they ſent alſo to Babylon for his brother

Semiramis did not build Babylon.

The king of Babylon excelled Hercules in ſtrength and noble valorous death.

The wals of Babylon built of brick and bytumen.

Cyrus expelled Nabodinus from Babylon.

The teſtimony of the Phœnicians touching the Iewes Antiquitie.

A ther *Iromus*, who raigned twenty yeares, in whose raigne *Cyrus* obtained the Persian Empire, so that this whole time is fifty foure yeares and three moneths: for *Nabuchodonosor* began to besiege Tyre in the seuenth yeare of his raigne, and in the fourteenth yeare of king *Iromus* his raigne *Cyrus* was made Emperour of Persia. Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre.

Wherfore both the Chaldees & Tyrian Historiographers agree with vs concerning our temple. So that the antiquitie of our nation aboue mentioned is now made manifest, and without all controuersie. And that which is already alledged to this end, may be sufficient for them, who are not vpon purpose cotradictious. It is therefore requisite (to satisfie them who giue no credit to the writings of other nations, and contend that the Grecian Histories onely are to bee beleeued) to bring many testimonies from the Greeks themselues, who haue as oportunitie serB ued, made mention of our nation and knowne it. *Pythonis* a Samian borne, both of great antiquitie, and excelling all other Philosophers in holines towards the gods, is not only conuinced to haue knowne the customes of our nation, but he did also as it plainely appeareth imitate them in many things. His writings are in no place extant, but diuers haue recorded many notable things of him, and especially *Hermippus* a man most diligent in searching of Histories. This *Hermippus* recounteth in his first booke of *Pythagoras*, that the said Philosopher (hauing one of his familiar friends named *Calliphon* dead, who was a Crotonian borne) reported this mans soule to be perpetually with him, and that the said soule commanded him not to passe the place where his asse fell, and that hee should abstaine from vncleane water, and that hee should with all diligence eschue blasphemie: and then it followeth, this he did and said, imitating the opinions of C the Iewes and Grecians, and applying them to himselfe. For it is certainly reported, that this man gathered much of his philosophie out of the Iewes lawes. Our nation in times past was well knowne to diuers cities, so that many of them doe now obserue our customes, and others esteeme them worth the imitation, as *Theophrastus* doth witnesse in his booke entituled *De legibus*: for he saith that the Tyrian lawes forbid to sweare by any strange Sacrament, and amongst these strange and forraine Sacraments, he reckoneth the oath called Corban, which oath is vsed onely amongst the Iewes, and in our language signifieth the gift of God. *Herodotus* of Halicarnassa knew our nation also, and in a manner maketh mention of it: for speaking of the Colchians, hee saith thus in his second booke. The Colchians, Egyptians, and Æthiopians onely amongst all other nations did vse circumcision in the beginning: for the Phœnicians and Syrians D liuing in Palestina do confesse themselues to haue learned this custome from the Egyptians, and the Syrians liuing neere vnto Thermodoontes, and the riuer Parthenius and their neighbours the Macronians, are reported lately to haue learned it of the Colchians: and these are they only, that vse cicumcision, and they doe like vnto the Egyptians, but I am not able to say, whether the Egyptians or Æthiopians learned it of the other. *Herodotus* therefore affirmeth the Syrians in Palestina to vse circumcision, and it is manifest that of all that inhabite Palæstina, the Iewes onely vse it, which hee knowing writeth so of them. *Chærilus* also an auncient Poet maketh mention of our nation, and affirmeth that our countrimen warred vnder *Xerxes* against the Greekes, and numbring them of the countries that followed him, hee lastly spake thus of our nation. The Chaldies and Tyrians agree with the Iewes history. Hermippus writings and testimony of Pythagoras. Theophrastus. Corban the gift of God. Herodotus the Halicarnasian touching the Iews circumcision. Chærilus an ancient Poet, his testimony of the Iewes.

E *A people strange followed this royall throng.*
Their language was th' vnknowne Phœnician tongue:
In th' hils of Solymus their dwelling was,
Neere to a lake for greatnesse which did passe:
Their heads were shau'd, and for the heads attire,
They ware an horse-skin dryed at the fire.

It is euident as I thinke that he speaketh of the Iewes: for the mountaines of Solymus are in our country, and that lake also called Asphaltites, which is the greatest and vastest of all lakes that are in Syria, and thus *Chærilus* maketh mention of vs. And that the Iewes were not knowne only of the Greekes, but also admired of them, it is easie to prooue not out of the obscurest writers, F but by the testimonie of their wisest Philosophers: For *Clearchus* disciple vnto *Aristotle*, and the best amongst all the Peripatetickes in his first booke *De somno*, saith, that his master *Aristotle* spake thus of a certaine Iew, and reporting *Aristotles* words, hee saith thus: It were too tedious to recount all things else which hee alledgeth, but I will set downe that only that may cause the man to be admired. *Hyperochides* answered that they were all very desirous to heare it: then quoth *Clearchus* according to *Aristotles* precepts in his Rhetoricke I will first recount of what Asphaltites the lake. The testimony of Clearchus disciple of Aristotle touching the Iewes.

nation the man was, leaſt I ſeem to oppoſe my ſelfe to him, that ſet downe the foreſaid precept. G
Do ſo quoth *Hyperochides* if ſo you pleaſe. Then he ſaid, this man before mentioned was by nation a Iew (born in Cœloſyria) one of the ſect of the *Indian* Philoſophers, and they are called (as I heare reported) among the Indians Calani, and among the Syrians, Iewes, taking their name from the place where they inhabit, called Iury; the name of their citie is hard to pronounce, for they call it Ieruſalem. This man entertained many ſtrangers, & he came from out of the higher countrie down vnto the ſea coaſt, and he was very eloquent & of great courage. We at that time liued in Aſia, when this diuine man came vnto the place where we were, and began to conferre with vs, and with other Philoſophers, making triall of their knowledge: and for that many learned men were aſſembled about him, he at laſt for this cauſe more willingly imparted ſome of his knowledge vnto them. Thus farre *Ariſtotle* in *Clearchus:* recounting moreouer at large the admi- H
rable abſtinence of the foreſaid Iew from meat, and his chaſtitie: all which they that are deſirous to know may read in *Clearchus*, for I am loath to write any thing ſuperfluous. So now it is euident how *Clearchus* by the way of a digreſſion ſpeaking of another matter maketh mention of
Hecatæus Abderita brought vp with king Alexander.
vs. But *Hecataus Abderita* a Philoſopher, and one brought vp with King *Alexander*, and dwelling with *Ptolomæus* of Lagus, did not onely briefly make mention of vs, but alſo writ a whole booke of our nation the Iewes, out of which I will briefly note ſome few points that occurre, but firſt I will ſhew of what antiquitie he is. For he recordeth the time when *Ptolomæus* neere vnto Gaza fought with *Demetrius*, which hapned the eleuenth yeare after *Alexanders* death in the hundreth and ſeuenteenth Olympiade, as *Caſtor* writeth: who ſpeaking of this Olympiade ſaith, that in this time *Ptolomæus Lagus* ouercame *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus* at Gaza in fight: which I
Demetrius was called *Poliorcetes*, and all men confeſſe that *Alexander* died in the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiade: ſo that it is euident that at that time wherein *Alexander* liued, our nation flouriſhed. And *Hecataus* ſaith that after that battell fought at Gaza, *Ptolomæus* was made Lord of the places bordering about Syria, and that many men hearing of the clemencie of *Ptolomæus*, followed him into Egypt, and conuerſed with him: amongſt the which one was called *Ezechias* the Iewes high Prieſt, a man about threeſcore and ſix yeares old, and of chiefeſt notice and dignitie of all his nation, and moſt prudent and eloquent, one alſo who in all affaires had
A thouſand & fiue hundreth Prieſts receiue the Iewes tenths.
more experience then any man elſe. He likewiſe reporteth that the number of the Iewes Prieſts who receiue their tenths, and rule all in generall, is a thouſand and fiue hundred or thereabout: and againe making mention of the ſame *Ezechias*, he ſaith, this man being in this reputation and K
honour, and conuerſing with vs, by the help of ſome about him, declared all things wherein we and this nation differ, and ſhewed vnto vs the place of his dwelling, and the manner of his conuerſation, which he had in writing.

After this, *Hecataus* ſheweth what maner of people we are, and how religious in our lawes, and how that we rather will ſuſtaine all torments & death it ſelf then violate them in any thing, and that we account it a worthy thing ſo to doe: adding moreouer, that being much hated of our neighbours, and hauing ſuffered all contumelies both at the hands of the Perſian Kings and their officers, yet that we could not be forced to change our opinions, but that we are cõtinually exercíſed to giue a reaſon thereof. He alſo recordeth an example of our conſtant minds: for *Alex-*
The Iewes conſtancie againſt Alexander.
ander (quoth he) being at Babylon, and purpoſing to reedifie the Temple of Bell, he cõmanded L
all his ſouldiers to carry timber to the building hereof, and the Iewes onely diſobeyed his command, for the which they endured many ſtripes and torments, till ſuch time as the King freed them from it: and they (quoth he) returning to their owne countrey, deſtroyed all the temples and altars that they found there, and ſome of them were by the officers therefore puniſhed, other eſcaped fire; adding that we may iuſtly be admired for theſe things, and that our nation is exceeding populous, likewiſe that many of vs were carried captiues into Babylon, and there ſerued the Perſians. Moreouer, that many more were diſperſt into Egypt after *Alexanders* death, for a tumult begun in Syria: Hee alſo recordeth the greatnes of our countrey, and the fertilitie thereof; they inhabit (quoth he) a country that hath almoſt thirty hundreth thouſand acres of moſt fertill ground; for Iury is of this largeneſs, and that in time paſt we inhabited a large & very M
great citie, which was very populous; he ſpeaketh alſo of the building of our temple in this manner. The Iewes haue many other townes and villages in euery prouince, but they haue one moſt
The largenes of Iury. Fiftie ſtounds are almoſt ſix Germane miles.
ſtrong citie, the compaſſe of whoſe walls is fifty ſtounds, and in it inhabit a hundred and fiftie thouſand men, and this citie they called Ieruſalem, in the midſt of it is a building of ſtone with foure porches a hundreth cubits about, it hath alſo double gates wherein is a foure ſquared

Altar

A Altar made of vnhewen ſtones ioyned together, and it is twenty cubites ſquare euery way, and ten cubits high, and about it is a moſt huge building, wherein is an Altar and a Candleſtick both of gold, weighing two talents, and there is kept a continuall light night and day, which neuer goeth forth. Therein is no image nor gift, no trees nor wood growing there, nor any thing of this ſort. Therein inhabit prieſts both night and day, celebrating certain purifications, and they drink no wine in the Temple. The Prieſts do dwel in the Temple and drink no wine

Moreouer, he ſhewed how our nation warred vnder *Alexanders* ſucceſſors, and hee reporteth that which he heard of a certaine Iew in the army, and I will ſet down the Authors owne words. As I went (ſaith he) to the red Sea, a certaine Iew, one of the horſemen that conducted vs, named *Moſollamus*, who was a courageous man, and one who excelled all archers elſe, both Greeks
B and other nations; This Iew (euery one haſting on forward of his iourney, and being willed by a Southſaier to ſtand) asked for what cauſe the multitude ſtaied and went not forward: preſently the Southſaier ſhewed him a bird which he diligently viewed, and tould the Iew, that if that bird did ſtand ſtill in the place, then it was expedient for them to ſtand, and if the bird did mount vp and flee, that then they ought to march on forward; but if it flew towards the place from whence they came, that then it was wiſdome to retire. The Iew heereat was ſilent, yet drawing his boaw, he ſhot an arrow and killed the bird; whereat the Southſayer and certaine other were offended, and curſed him. But he, taking the vnhappy bird in his hand, ſaid vnto them: Are yee „
ſo mad, as to think that this bird, not hauing the foreſight to preſerue her ſelfe from this death, is „
able to direct vs in the ſucceſſe of our iourney? Had this bird foreknowne future euents, ſhe „
C would haue eſchewed this place, for dread, that *Moſollamus* a Iew ſhould haue ſtrucken her with „
an arrow. But we will now leaue the teſtimony of *Hecataus*: for euery one that liſt may read his booke, and there vnderſtand this more at large. I will not omit the teſtimony of *Agatarchides*, a man of no euill in his owne opinion, yet indeed one who hath vſed detraction to our own nation. This man ſpeaking of *Stratonice*, how leauing her husband *Demetrius*, ſhee came into Syria, and how *Seleucus* would not marry her as ſhee hoped (who hauing an army at Babylon, warred againſt Antioch, and had taken the City) and that ſhe fled into Seleucia, whereas ſhe might haue made a ſpeedier eſcape by water, but that ſhe was forwarned in a ſleep ſo to doe, and that ſhee was there taken and died &c: *Agatarchides*, hauing vſed this preface, and inueighed againſt *Stratonices* ſuperſtition, vſeth an example of our nation on this manner; The people that are called Agatarchides his teſtimonie of the Iewes.
D Iewes inhabite a moſt ſtrong City, which they call Ieruſalem; theſe people are wont to reſt vpon the ſeauenth day, and doe neither beare armes, nor till their grounds, nor doe any other buſineſſe on that day, but their cuſtome is to remaine in their Temple, and there with ſtretched out armes continue in praier till night. And ſo vpon a time they perſeuering in that foolery, whil'ſt they ſhould haue defended their city, *Ptolomæus Lagus* entered it with many people and a great army: who greatly tyrannized ouer them; and ſo they found by experience, that the ſolemnity appointed by their law, was preiudicial vnto them: ſuch like Churches as this, did teach them & all nations elſe to flee vnto dreames, which their law teacheth; neuer conſidering that humane policy cannot preuaile againſt that which muſt neceſſarily happen. *Agatarchides* thought this which he reports of vs to be ridiculous: but they that waigh it with indifferency, ſhal perceiue, The Iewes Sabbath.
E that it is a great commendation to our nation, who rather ſuffer their countrey and our ſafety to be loſt and endamaged, then to violate the lawes of God.

I thinke, I am thus able to ſhew, that many Writers omitted to make mention of our nation, not for that they knew vs not, but for enuy. For *Ierome*, who writ a booke of ſucceſſion, in the ſame time that *Hecatæus* liued, who was a friend vnto King *Antigonus*, and being preſident of Syria, neuer mentioneth vs in all his Hiſtory; notwithſtanding, hee was brought vp almoſt in our country. But *Hecatæus* writ a book of vs; ſo different are the minds of men: for one of them thought our nation worthy to bee diligently recorded, the other through malice was hindered from ſpeaking the truth: yet the Hiſtories of the Chaldees, Egyptians and Phœnicians, may ſuffice to prooue our antiquity, together with the Grecke Writers: for beſides thoſe before men- Why certaine Writers omit to ſpeake of the Iewes.
F tioned, *Theophraſtus* alſo, *Theodotus*, *Manaſeas*, *Ariphanes*, *Hermogenes*, *Euemeus*, *Conon*, *Zopyrion*, and many others, no doubt (for I haue not peruſed all mens books) haue manifeſtly teſtified of vs. For many of the foreſaid men were blinded with errors, as not hauing read our holy ſcriptures, yet they all iointly teſtifie our antiquity, for which I now alleage them. Truly *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Philon* the elder, and *Eupolemus*, did not much erre from the truth, and therefore reaſon it is they ſhould bee borne withall: for they were not ſo skilfull as to ſearch our writings

with

with ſo much curioſity. Beeing come thus farre, it reſteth that I now preſent one point more, G
The laſt part, againſt certaine detractions and ſlanders. where of I made mention in the beginning of this book: to wit, that I declare the detractions and ſlanderous reports of diuers, concerning our nation, to bee falſe and void of truth; and I will vſe the teſtimony of thoſe writers, who record, that the lying Hiſtoriographers, at ſuch time as they comitted to writing the foreſaid detractions, did alſo euen againſt themſelues regiſter ſuch like ſlanders as they did againſt vs. And I doubt not, but that all thoſe who are conuerſant in Hiſtories can teſtifie, that the like hath beene done by moſt writers for certaine priuate hatred, or ſuch like reſpects. For ſome of the Gentiles haue attempted to deface the honor and reputation of the moſt renowmed Cities, and to defame the manners of their inhabitants. Thus did *Theopompus* to Athens, and *Polycrates* to Lacedæmon; and the authour that writte *Tripoliticum* (for it was not *Theopompus* as ſome ſuppoſe) vſed the city of Thebes very hardly: and *Timæus* in his hiſtories of the foreſaid places, doth many times detract both them and others. And this they do, calumniating the moſt excellent that are, in ſomthing or other, ſome for enuy & malice, others, that their fond babbling may make them famous, and ſo indeed it doth among fooles, that are H
The cauſe of malice betweene the Egyptians and Iewes. knowne to haue no ſound iudgement, but wiſe men will condemne their malice. To be ſhort, this is the cauſe of ſo many ſlanderous reports forged againſt our nation: Some to gratifie the Egyptians haue attempted to depraue the truth, and ſo haue neither reported the verity concerning our anceſtours comming into Egypt, nor touching their departure from thence, and they haue had many cauſes of malice and enuy vrging them heereto. And chiefely for that our progenitors in their countrey wexed mighty, and ſo departing to their owne countrey, were made happy and fortunate. Secondly, the diuerſitie of our two religions made great diſcord and variance amongſt vs, our religion ſo farre excelling theirs in piety, as the diuine eſſence of GOD I
The Egyptian idolatry. excelleth vnreaſonable creatures: for they commonly worſhip ſuch brute beaſts for gods, and euery one worſhippeth diuers kindes: vaine and fooliſh men, who from the beginning haue bin accuſtomed to ſuch ſottiſh opinions, as would not permit them to imitate vs in our diuine religion, and conformable to reaſon: and yet ſeeing many fauour and follow our religion, they were heereby incited to ſuch hatred that to derogate from vs, they feared not to falſifie their own ancient records, not conſidering that in ſo doing, they were led through a blinde paſſion, to write againſt themſelues. Moreouer, I wil proue all I haue now ſpoken, to be true by one mans words, whom a litte before (beeing a famous Hiſtoriographer) wee haue produced as a witnes of our antiquity. K

Manethon an Egyptian Hiſtoriographer. *Manethon* therefore, who confeſſeth himſelfe to haue gathered the Egyptian Hiſtory out of their holy writings, hauing by way of a Preface recounted how our predeceſſors came into Egypt with many thouſands, and there conquered the inhabitants, he afterwards confeſſeth that loſing all their poſſeſſions in Egypt, they got that countrey which is now called Iewry, and in it builded a city named Ieruſalem, and a Temple; and thus farre hee imitateth ancient Writers. And then vſurping to himſelfe authority to lie, proteſting that hee will inſert into his Hiſtorie certaine reports diuulged amongſt the common people, he reports things of the Iewes altogether incredible, intending to mix with our nation the lepers of the Egyptians, and other ſicke people of other countries, who (as hee ſaith) being abhominable to the Egyptians, made an eſcape from thence; affirming alſo that they had a king named *Amenophis*, which is a fained name, L
Manethons fabulous reports of the Egyptian lepers and therefore he durſt not preſume to ſpeak determinately of the time of his reigne: wheras he ſpeaketh exactly of the reigne of all other kings. Hereupon alſo he addes certain fables, forgetting himſelfe that he reported the ſhepheards departure out of Egypt to Ieruſalem, to haue bin almoſt fiue hundred and eighteen yeeres before his time: for king *Themuſis* reigned when they departed out of Egypt, from whom the time that other kings did reigne, vntil the two brethren, *Sethos* and *Hermeus*, accompliſheth the terme of three hundreth fourſcore and thirteene yeares. Hee alſo ſaieth, that the eldeſt of theſe two, *Sethos*, was called *Egyptus*, and the other *Hermeus*, was called *Danaus*, whom his brother *Sethon* expelled, and afterward raigned fifty nine yeares; and after him *Rampſes*, his eldeſt ſonne, raigned threeſcore and ſixe yeares. Hauing therefore confeſſed, our anceſtours to haue departed out of Egypt ſo many yeares before, now laſtly hee M
addeth, that *Amenophis* was their king, who was a contemplator of the gods, as *Orus* their king before him was, and that one *Amenophis* a prieſt, the ſonne of *Papius*, did in all things moſt excellently accompliſh his deſire: which prieſt ſeemed to participate of ſome diuine nature, for he exceld in wiſdome, and could foretell things to come, and that he gaue the king his ſurname, that he might alſo ſee the gods, if ſo be he would endeuour to cleanſe the country from lepers,

and

A and other vncleane people. Whereat the king reioycing, gatherd together all the impotent people of his land, amounting to the number of 80000, and ſent them, and other Egyptians appointed to this work, into the Eaſt part of Nilus, there to hewe and ſquare ſtones. And that amongſt them there were alſo certaine learned prieſts infected with leproſie; alſo that this diuine prieſt, *Amenophis*, greatly feared, leſt the indignation of the gods would fall vpon the king and himſelfe (who had perſwaded and counſelled the king to do violence to the foreſaid lepers) likewiſe that he ſaid, that becauſe hee vſed the help of vncleane perſons, they ſhould obtaine dominion ouer Egypt for 13. yeares; yet durſt he not preſume to ſignifie this to the king, but hee kild himſelfe, leauing this written in a book, where men might finde it: and the king, hauing notice hereof, fell into great ſorrow and heauineſſe. This done, he ſpeaks as followeth: So the king, beeing requeB ſted for their quietnes and defence to aſſigne them a city to inhabite, appointed vnto them a deſolate place called Auaris, which had beene the ſhepheards city (this city the ancient Diuines call Triphonis) but they, hauing got the poſſeſſion of this place fit for rebellion, made choice of one of the prieſts of Heliopolis to be their captain, whoſe name was *Oſarſiphus*, and bound themſelues with an oath to obey him in all things: and he preſently made a law that they ſhould neither worſhip the gods of the Egyptians, nor that they ſhould abſtaine from thoſe beaſts which the Egyptians count holy, and that they ſhould marry with none but ſuch as they iudged to bee their friends. Oſarſiphus, captaine of Auaris.

Hauing ordained this and many things elſe contrary to the Egyptians religion, he cõmanded them with great labour to enuiron their city with a wall, and to make preparation to warre aC gainſt king *Amenophis*: and he himſelfe making choice of ſome prieſts, and a few other vncleane perſons, ſent to Ieruſalem to the ſhepheards which were driuen out of Egypt by king *Themuſis*, declaring vnto them their owne and their fellowes iniuries, and requeſted them to leuie an army to fight with them againſt Egypt, promiſing them free entrance into Auaris, the countrey where their forefathers inhabited, and that hee would furniſh them with all neceſſaries; telling them that they ſhould now fight in ſo happy a time, as that without all doubt they might conquer the country. The ſhepheards hereat reioycing, all of them armed themſelues, to the number of two hundreth thouſand, and leauing their city, they came to Auaris. But *Amenophis*, king of Egypt, hearing of their inuaſion, and remembring what *Amenophis*, the ſonne of the prieſt *Papius*, had left in writing, was in great fear; and preſently aſſembling together the people of Egypt, The war of the baniſhed againſt the Egyptians.

D & conſulting with the princes of his country, he ſent all holy beaſts, and al that the prieſts eſteemed, before him, giuing the prieſts eſpeciall charge to hide their idols: and he commended his ſonne *Sethones* (who alſo by his father *Rampſes* was called *Rhameſſes*) being but fiue yeares ould, vnto the cuſtody of a friend of his: and then accompanied with three hundred fighting men, he mette his enemies; but would not fight with them, fearing leſt hee ſhould fight againſt the pleaſure of the gods; and ſo he retired himſelfe to Memphis: and taking *Apis* & the reſt of the Egyptian gods, he, with all his troups of Egyptians, tooke ſhippe, and fledde into Ethiopia. For the king of Ethiopia vpon curteſie obeied him, and for this cauſe he entertained him and his followers, and prouided all neceſſaries for them, for that fatal thirteen yeares baniſhment, and this was done in Ethiopia. In the meane time, the inhabitants of Ieruſalem came down into the country The Egyptian king fled into Ethiopia, and was by the Ethiopian king curteouſly entertained.

E with the vncleane Egyptians, and did ſo tyrannize ouer the inhabitants, that all their beholders iudged their victory to be ful of cruelty: for not content to fire the cities & townes, and to commit all manner of ſacriledge, and to deſtroy the Idols of the gods, they did alſo moſt cruelly teare in peeces the ſacred Beaſts, and forced the Prieſts and Prophets to lay violent hands vpon them, and kill them: after which deed they draue them out of the country naked. It is therfore reported, that a Heliopolitan Prieſt, *Oſarſiphus* by name, made lawes for them, and ſtatutes to gouerne them. This Prieſt was called *Oſarſiphus*, taking his name from the god of Heliopolis, called *Oſiris*, who, being now thus conuerſant with this people, changed his name, and called himſelfe *Moſes*. Oſarſiphus was afterwards cald Moſes.

Thus the Egyptians report of the Iewes, and many things elſe, which for breuity ſake I omit.

F *Manethon* furthermore writeth, that afterward *Amenophis* the king came with a great power out of Ethiopia, and his ſon *Rampſes* with him accompanied with a great army; & that ioyning battell with the ſhepheards and polluted perſons, he gaue them an ouerthrow, and purſued them vnto the borders of Syria. And this is *Manethons* report: but for as much as hee writeth old wiues tales, dotages and lies, I will by manifeſt reaſon conuince him; firſt, diſtinguiſhing that wherof I am to ſpeak heereafter. Hee of his owne accord granteth and confeſſeth, that our anceſtors at Manethons lies are confuted.

firſt

first were not Egyptians, but ſtrangers that came thither from another place, and conquered the G
Country, and again departed from thence. I wil now out of his owne writings endeuor to ſhew,
that the weak people of Egypt were not mixed with vs, and that *Moſes*, who indeed was our con-
ductor out of Egypt, and liued many ages before, was no leper. He therefore firſt of all ſetteth
downe a ridiculous cauſe of this fore-mentioned faction, which was, that king *Amenophis* was
deſirous to ſee the gods. Which gods trow yee? hee could already ſee the Oxe, the Goat, the
Crocodile and the Munky, but the God of heauen how could he ſee? And why had *Amenophis*
this deſire? Forſooth, becauſe a certain king one of his predeceſſors had ſeen them; he therfore
knowing by him what things they were, and how he came to the ſight of them, needed no new
deuice to accompliſh his deſire: but perhaps the foreſaid prophet was a man of great wiſdom,
by whom the king had confidence to attain his deſire: but if ſo he had bin, how chanceth it that H
hee was ſo vnwiſe he could not perceiue, that it was an impoſſible thing to ſatisfie the kings de-
ſire? for that which he promiſed was not brought to paſſe. Or what reaſon moued him to think
that the gods were inuiſible, becauſe of lepers and weake people? The gods are offended with
mens impieties, not with the defects of their bodies. And how was it poſſible that at one inſtant
ſo many thouſand lepers and infirme perſons ſhould be gathered together? or wherein did not
the king obey the Prophet? He commanded that the lepers and infirme perſons ſhould bee exi-
led the country, and the king did not baniſh them the country, but ſent them to hewe ſtones, as
though he had needed workmen, and not purpoſed to cleanſe the country from lepers. Laſtly,
he ſaith, that the Prophet foreſeeing that Egypt was to ſuffer, and fearing the wrath of the gods,
killed himſelfe, and left his minde in a booke written vnto the king. How chanced it then that I
the Prophet did not at firſt foreſee his owne death, and ſo oppoſe himſelfe to the kings deſire to
ſee the gods? or wherefore did hee feare ſuch calamities as were not to fall in his life? or what
great miſery hanged ouer his head, which might worthily cauſe him to kill himſelfe to preuent
it? But let vs heare that which followeth, more ſottiſh then all the reſt.

Manethons words repeated.

The king (quoth he) hearing this, and ſtricken with feare, did not for all this expell thoſe le-
pers he ought to haue exiled, but at their requeſt gaue them (as he ſaith) a City, wherein before
time the Shepheards did inhabit, called Auaris; whereinto they being come, they made a prieſt
of Heliopolis their Prince, who deuiſed lawes for them: commanding them neither to adore
the gods, nor to abſtaine from offering violence to ſuch beaſts as amongſt the Egyptians are ſa-
cred, but that they ſhould kill and ſpoile all things, that they ſhould mary with none but ſuch as K
were their confederates, that he bound the people with an oath to keep thoſe lawes, & that they
fortified Auaris to fight againſt the king. Adding moreouer, that he ſent to Ieruſalem for help,
promiſing to yeeld Auaris vnto them, being a place ſometime poſſeſſed by their anceſtours, and
that they from that place leading their forces, might eaſily ſubdue all Egypt: he then ſaith, that
the Egyptian king, *Amenophis*, came againſt them with 300000, and yet for that hee would not
ſtriue againſt the decree of the gods, he fled into Ethiopia, and carried with him Apis and other
holy beaſts, and that the inhabitants of Ieruſalem comming downe, inuaded the land, fired the
townes and cities, ſlew their nobles, vſed all ſorts of cruelty poſſible, and that the Prieſts name,
who made lawes and ſtatutes for them to liue vnder, was one of Heliopolis, *Oſarſiphus* by name;
deriuing the ſame from *Oſiris*, the god of Heliopolis: and that this man, changing his name, was L
afterward called *Moſes*.

Moreouer, that *Amenophis*, hauing liued in baniſhment thirty yeares, came with a ſtrong pow-
er out of Ethiopia; and fighting with the ſhepheards and polluted, he ſlew many of them, and
put the reſt to flight, purſuing them vnto the borders of Syria. *Manethon* remembreth not, that
heere againe he telleth a very vnskilful tale: for although the lepers and impotent perſons were
offended with the king, for appointing them to hewe ſtones; yet is it to be thought, that they re-
ceiuing their owne deſire at the kings hands, to wit, a City to dwell in, that now they againe be-
came the kings well-willers. Suppoſing alſo their hatred ſtil continued towards him, they rather
ſhould haue attempted reuenge by treaſon againſt him, then towards all their nation, wherein
they had many deere friends and alliance. And although they had purpoſed to war againſt theſe M
men, yet would they not haue been ſo impious as to haue rebelled againſt the gods, and to haue
violated the lawes wherein they were brought vp.

A confutation of Manethons words alleaged.

We haue therefore cauſe to thank *Manethon*, in that hee cleareth vs, and affirmeth his owne
countrimen (yea a prieſt) to be authors of this impiety, & that by oath they bound themſelues ſo
to doe. But is it not againſt all reaſon, that neither any of their countrimen nor kinſmen rebel-

led

led with them, but that the poore diſtreſſed people were glad to ſend to Ieruſalem for ſuccour? But what ſociety of friendſhip had they with the people of Ieruſalem, of whō they came to demand help? Why? they were more their enemies then the reſt of their countrimen, and were all of quite different manners from vs. They of Ieruſalem (as he ſaith) preſently did as they were willed to doe, in hope that, according as they were promiſed, they might ſubdue Egypt. Were they ignorant of that countrey out of which they had beene driuen by force? Had they liued in pouerty or miſery, perhaps they might haue been induced to haue done it: but ſeeing they inhabited a fortunate and rich city, and poſſeſſed a goodly fertile ſoile farre better then Egypt, what might moue them thereto? What reaſon had they, at the requeſt of their ancient enemies (and they alſo ſo diſeaſed, as they of Ieruſalem could not abide their owne friends among them that had the like diſeaſes) to thruſt themſelues into danger? they could not fore-know the kings intent to flee; for as *Manethon* himſelfe ſaith, he met them at Peluſia with 300000. men. And this they that went to war well knew. But what reaſon had they to coniecture that the kings minde would change, and he flee? Then he ſaith, the army of Ieruſalem getting the granaries of Egypt into their hands, did much harme: and this he vpbraideth them withall, as who ſhould ſay, they were not requeſted to come as enemies? or as though theſe matters bee to bee caſt in ſouldiers teeths, that are ſtrangers and ſent for from out of another country; when as the Egyptians themſelues before their comming had done the like, and bound themſelues with an oath to performe the ſame. But ſhort time after, *Amenophis* fought with his enemies, and got the victory of them, and put them to flight, and purſued them vnto the borders of Syria. As though that Egypt were a country ſo eaſily to be won by any man, that at any place or part thereof inuadeth it? and that the ſouldiers of Ieruſalem, hauing now by the lawes of armes poſſeſſed that, and knowing *Amenophis* to be yet aliue, would not haue fortified that part of the country, whereby hee might haue inuaded them, hauing all opportunity to doe it? or at leaſt they would haue gotten more helpe from one place or another. *Amenophis*, as he ſaith, purſued them euen vnto Syria, through the ſandy and dry places: as though it were eaſie for an army that had nothing elſe to do, but to march on forward, to paſſe leaſurely through them. To conclude therefore, our nation neither came of the Egyptians, as *Manethon* confeſſeth, neither was it mingled with the diſeaſed of that country: for it is probable, that many of thoſe ſick people periſhed in the ſtone workes, many in the great fight and battell, and the reſt of them in the flight. It now remaineth that I refute that which he ſpeaks of *Moſes*.

The Epilogue that the Iewes came not of the Egyptians.

The Egyptians do all agree that this man was a diuine perſon, and one to be admired, but they commit great impiety in labouring to chalenge him for their countriman, ſaying that hee was a Prieſt of Heliopolis, baniſhed with the reſt for leproſie. For he is recorded to haue liued fiue hundreth and eighteene yeeres before this time, and to haue guided our anceſtors out of Egypt, into that country wherein we now inhabite; and his owne words teſtifie his body to haue been cleane from that diſeaſe of leproſie: for hee commandeth all lepers to bee expelled out of the townes and villages, and to liue apart by themſelues, alſo to bee clothed in ſome torne garment, and that whoſoeuer toucheth them, or cometh vnder thē ſame roofe with them, is to be accounted an vncleane perſon. And if ſo bee a leper happen to bee cured of that diſeaſe, he appointed certaine purifications, cleanſings, and bathes of fortunate waters, and all his haire ſhould be ſhaued off; and that then after many and ſundry ſacrifices, he ſhould be admitted into the holy city. But contrariwiſe, had he been vrged with that misfortune and calamity himſelfe, hee would ſurely haue been more prouident, and more mercifull to ſuch as ſhould haue been afflicted with that diſeaſe.

An anſwer to Manethons ſlanders touching Moſes.

Moſes was not a leper.

Hee did not onely make theſe ſeuere lawes againſt lepers, but he alſo interdicted all that wanted any ioint or parcell of the body, from being prieſts, or exerciſing any office at the Altar: yea hee alſo appointed, that if any prieſt ſhould haue any of theſe defects betide him after he was a prieſt, that then he ſhould be depriued of the dignity. How can it then be probable, that to his owne preiudice and diſcredit he would haue enacted ſuch lawes? Alſo the changing of his name is incredible: for he was called (as he ſaith) *Oſarſiph*, which nothing agreeth with the tranſmutation of his name, but his true name betokeneth that *Moſes* was ſaued from the water. For, Moy in the Egyptian tongue ſignifieth Water. But I haue now ſufficiently, as I think, declar'd how *Manethon*, whil'ſt he followed the ancient writers, did not much erre, but when hee fell to old wiues tales, he then either abſurdly fained them of his own head, or elſe for hatred he bare to our nation, beliued them. I now think it not amiſſe to examine a little the words of *Chæremon*, who profeſſing

Moſes took his name of Moy, which in the Egyptian tongue ſignifieth water.

Against Chæremon the historiographer.

fessing himselfe to write the Egyptian history, maketh mention of the same king *Amenophis* his G
sonne *Rhamesses*, as *Manethon* doth, and he reporteth that *Isis* appeared to *Amenophis* in his sleepe,
checking him for that her temple was destroied, and that *Phiritiphantes*, a holy Scribe, told the
king, that if he would expel all polluted and vnclean persons out of Egypt, that then hee should
not be any more terrified with these night visions. Moreouer, that hereupon making search for
all sick and diseased persons, he banisht them out of his land, to the number of 250000, and that
their captaines were called *Moses* and *Ioseph*, holy Scribes, also that these Egyptian names were
so, that *Moses* was named *Tisithes*; and *Ioseph*, *Peteseph*, aud that they came to Pelusium, where
they found 380000. left there by *Amenophis*, whom he would not permit to come into Egypt,
also that they all entring into a league together suddenly inuaded Egypt, and *Amenophis* not a-
biding the brunt fled into Ethiopia, leauing his wife great with childe, who hiding her selfe in H

Messenes, son of Amenophis

caues and dens did bring forth a childe whom they cald *Messenes*, who afterward draue the Iews
into Syria, being in number 200000. and this done he recalled his father *Amenophis* out of Ethi-
opia. And thus *Chæremon* saith.

But I imagine, that which I haue already said, to bee sufficient to declare the vanity of both
these Writers. For if that which they report were true, it were vnpossible that they should so
much differ: but they labor to deuise lies, and write not any thing agreeable to other mens writ-

Manethons & Chæremons history cõpared together.

tings. For *Manethon* faineth, that the cause of the banishment of the lepers was the kings desire to
see the gods. And *Chæremon* saith, that it was for that *Isis* after appeared vnto him in his sleepe.
Manethon also saith, that *Amenophis* gaue the king that counsell so to cleanse the countrey; and
Chæremon saith, that hee that counselled the king was called *Phiriphantes*: the number also of le- I
pers hath very good consonance I warrant you. *Manethon* saith, they were almost fourscore hun-
dreth. *Chæremon* saith, two hundreth and fifty thousand. Moreouer, *Manethon* writeth how that
these lepers were first sent to a place to hewe stones, and afterward came to Auaris to dwell, and
that they hauing already begun wars in Egypt, that then they sent for help from Ierusalem. And
Chæremon saith, that they hauing left Egypt, found at Pelusia two hundreth and fourescore thou-
sand men, whom *Amenophis* had kept there; with whom they ioyning againe, returned and
inuaded Egypt, and then *Amenophis* fled into Ethiopia: and which is worth the noting, hee set-
teth not downe what countrimen, or to what purpose this great army was, whether Egyptians
or strangers, neither doth hee shew any reason why the king would not carry them into Egypt.
Moreouer, *Chæremon* faineth a dreame of the lepers and *Isis*, and reporteth that *Ioseph* together K

The difference between Manethons and Chæremons history.

with *Moses* was expelled, whereas *Ioseph* liued foure ages before *Moses*, euery age containing at
least a hundreth and seuenty yeares. *Rhamesses* also, *Amenophis* son, according to *Manethons* hi-
story, being a young man fled into Ethiopia, and was banished with his father, and afterwards
assisted him in the wars: whereas *Chæremon* reporteth that hee was borne in a caue after his fa-
thers departure, and that hee getting the victory did driue the Iewes into Syria, who were in
number two thousand. O felicity in lying! for he neither told what nation those three hundred
and fourescore thousand were, nor yet how a hundreth and fourescore thousand of them peri-
shed, neither were they slaine in the fight, or fled vnto *Rhamesses*: and which is most to bee admi-
red, one cannot gather out of his words whom hee calleth Iewes, or whether hee attribute this
name vnto the 250000. lepers, or vnto the three hundreth and fourscore thousand which were L
at Pelusium.

But it is folly to oppose my selfe against them who haue sufficiently contradicted themselues:
for had other men controlled their writings, they had been the more to be borne withall. I will

Lysimachus is reproued for lying.

adde *Lysimachus* vnto the two former, who hath the same lie that they haue, yet farre more ab-
surd a fiction then theirs. For he saith, that at such time as *Bocchoris* raigned in Egypt, the people
of the Iews being scabbed and infected with leprosie, fled into the temples to beg maintenance,
and that so many men were with this disease infected, that a dearth and scarcity did fall vpon E-
gypt. Likewise that king *Bocchoris* went vnto *Ammon* to knowe of the Oracle what caused the

According to Lysimachus, the scabbed & leprous Iewes were to be cõueied into the wilderues, and cast into the sea.

dearth, and that answer was made that if he would expell all lepers and vncleane persons from
out of the temples into the desert, that then the famine would cease, and that he should drowne M
these lepers, as if the sunne disdained that they should liue, and that then hee should purifie the
temples, and so the earth would againe yeeld fruit: also that *Bocchoris* hauing this answere
from the Oracle, hee called together the Priests and sacrificers, and hauing gathered le-
pers and vncleane people together, hee deliuered them tõ souldiers to bee conducted into the
desert, and that then they should bee lapt in lead, and cast into the sea. Moreouer, they beeing
drowned

A drowned, other diſeaſed people there gathered together, & were carried into the wilderneſſe to be deſtroyed: and that they taking counſell one of another what to doe, the night following they made great fires and lights, wherwith they terrified & draue away the ſouldiers that kept them, and that they faſted the day following, requeſting God to bee mercifull vnto them, and that the next day, one *Moſes* counſelled them to goe all one way, as thicke together as they could, till ſuch time as they came to ſome place inhabited, and that he then commanded them neuer hereafter to bee friendly to any man, but alwayes rather to giue bad counſell then good, and to deſtroy all Temples, and Altars of the gods they came by: vnto which counſell they all agreeing, iournyed together through the wilderneſſe, and after much ſorow came to places inhabited; vſing men by whom they paſt iniuriouſly, firing Temples and robbing them: at laſt in this manner,

B they came vnto that place which they now call Iudæa; and there building a Citie, they began to dwell, and of this fact called the Citie Hieroſyla, and ſhortly after growing more potent, they for auoyding ſhame, chaunged the name thereof, and called it Ieruſalem, and themſelues the inhabitants of Ieruſalem.

When the Iewes got Iudæa and built Ieruſalem.

This fellow found not that king, whiche the two former ſpeak of, but hee ioyned a more new name, and leauing the dreame and the Prophet, hee goeth to *Ammon*, to know an anſwer of the old, touching the ſcabbed and lepers: for he ſaith, that a multitude was gathered together at the Temples: but he leaueth it vncertain, whether the Iewes onely were infected with this diſeaſe: for he ſaith the people of the Iews: which people, whether they were ſtrangers or ſuch as were borne in that Countrie, why doſt thou cal them Iews, when they were Ægyptians? If they were

Lyſinius his opinion confuted.

C ſtrangers, why doſt thou not tell of whence they were? Or how came it to paſſe that the king hauing drowned ſo many of them in the Sea, and left the reſt in the wilderneſſe, that ſtill ſo manie ſhould bee left? Or how did they paſſe the wilderneſſe, and get the Countrey we now inhabite, and buil a Citie and a Temple famous through all parts of the world? Thou ſhouldeſt not onely haue told the name of our law maker, but alſo what Countriman he was, & of what parents, and what moued him in his iournie to make ſuch lawes againſt the gods, and againſt men. For if they were Aegyptians, they would not ſo eaſily haue forgotten the religion wherin they were brought vp: or of what place elſe ſo euer they were, they had ſom laws or other, which they had been accuſtomed to keepe. If they had vowed to haue borne no good-will vnto them by whom they were driuen out of their Countrie, they had had ſome iuſt occaſion ſo to doe. But to vnder-

D take warre againſt all the world, and depriue themſelues from all friendſhip and helpe of mortall men, doth not ſhew their ſottiſhneſſe, but the fooliſhnes of him, who doth thus belie them. Who moſt impudently affirmeth, that their Citie tooke the name of Church ſpoyling, and afterward changed it. For what cauſe forſooth did they chainge the name thereof? marrie for that the former name was ignominious to their poſteritie. But the Gentleman vnderſtood not, that Ieruſalem ſignifieth otherwiſe in our language, then it doth in the Greeke. And therefore what ſhould I ſtand to inueigh againſt a lie ſo impudently told?

Nothing is to be ſaid againſt an impudent lie.

But my book hath now beene long enough, making a new beginning: and therefore I will endeuour to finiſh the reſidue of this worke.

E

F

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITY OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS AGAINST APION OF ALEXANDRIA, AND DEDICATED TO EPAPHRODITVS.

THrice Honoured and beloued *Epaphroditus*, I haue in my former bookes so farre forth as I was warranted by truth, both protested and approued the Antiquitie of our nation, out of the writings of the *Phœnicians*, *Chaldees* and *Egyptians*: and for the further confirmation thereof, I haue produced the testimonie of diuers Greek Authors. Furthermore, I haue opposed my selfe against *Manethon* and *Cheremon*, and diuers others. At this time likewise I will vndertake to contradict all the rest of those writers, that haue published anie thing against vs; for in I respect of *Apion*, who pretendeth himselfe to be learned, I growe halfe suspicious, whether it bee a matter answerable to my discretion and iudgement, to vouchsafe him any replie at all. For as touching the one part of that which he hath written, it seemeth to bee one and the same, with that which the rest haue written: and as touching the other, it is very cold and barren. The greater part thereof is farsed with follies and detractions, and betrayeth his ignorance, approuing him to bee a man both loose in condition, and turbulent in his life. And for as much as diuers men are so disfurnished of iudgement, that they rather suffer themselues to bee wonne by these follies, then to bee wearied and wrought by that which is written with better consideration, vainely doating on detractions, and growing discontent to giue eare to other mens well deserued prayses; I haue thought it necessarie to examine such a mans labours, the rather, for K that he hath written against vs, as if he intended to accuse vs before a Tribunall, & conuict vs by a publike triall. For I see that it is an ordinarie course for the most part of men, to hug and take heartie pleasure, when as hee that beginneth to blame an other man, is himselfe conuicted and found guilty of those defaults, which he imputeth and obiecteth against another.

Apion wrote something verie coldly.

Truely it is no easie matter to lay open the ambiguous and doubtfull speeches which *Apion* vseth, neither to vnderstand perfectly what he intendeth to expresse. But like a man that is grieuously distracted and confused in his foolish lying, he groweth almost to that point, to recapitulate that, which hath bin heretofore set out, & searcht for, as touching the departure of our forefathers out of Aegypt: and afterwards he falleth to accuse the Iewes that inhabited *Alexandria*: and thirdly, he intermixeth his blameful blasphemies, against the ceremonies accustomed in our temple, and depraueth our lawes and ordinances likewise. Now, that our predecessors haue not L taken their originall out of Aegypt, neither haue beene driuen from thence for any infirmitie or deformitie of their bodies, or for any wound, vlcer, or pollution; I suppose that I haue not onely sufficiently approued the same, but also produced far more then was requisite. I will therefore briefly report and repeat that which *Apion* alleageth: For in the third booke of his Egyptian historie, he writ thus. *Moses*, as I haue heard it from most auncient Egyptians, was borne at Heliopolis, who being instructed in the fashions of his Countrie, conuerted such prayers which were wont to be said in open places and abroad, and caused them to be practised & accustomed, in priuate Cloysters such as were within the Citie, and ordained that in praying they should turne themselues towardes the rising Sunne. For such is the situation of the Citie Heliopolis, M and instead of *Obeliſques* or *Pyramides*, he erected certaine pillers, vnder which there were certain ingrauen Basons, on which the shadow happing to fall (the place wherein they stood being discouered and in open ayre) they obserued the same course that the Sunne doth in the firmament. See here what eloquence this learned man vsed.

Apion cõcerning Moses and the Iewes.

Now, this lie of his needeth no words to refute it, seeing it is clearely refelled by the effects. For when *Moses* first built that tabernacle in honour of God, hee had no such intent, nor fashi-

A nor fashioned any such forme, neither ordained his successors to do the like: and after this, when as *Salomon* builded the temple in Ierusalem, he neuer thought of any such curiosity as *Apion* forgeth. He saith that he hath been informed by those of antiquity, that *Moses* was a Heliopolitan, for you must vnderstand that *Apion* himselfe was young, and beleeued the relation of the aged sort of his acquaintance which conuersed familiarly with him: yet cannot this learned Grammarian iustifie where *Homer* was borne, neither from what countrey *Pythagoras* came, although in respect, they liued but yesterday: and as touching *Moses* who liued so many ages, and so great a number of yeares before them, hee decideth the matter so easily, and giueth credite to the reports of antiq itie so slightly, that it appeareth most manifestly that he is but a lyer. As touching the time wherein he saith that *Moses* led away the blind, leprous, and lame: this diligent author
B accordeth very willingly with that which hee himselfe hath said. For *Manethon* saith, that the Iewes departed out of Egypt about the raigne of *Tethmosis*, three hundreth ninty six yeares before *Danaus* fled out of Greece. *Lysimachus*, he saith, that this thing hapned during king *Bocchoris* time, that is to say, one thousand and seuen hundreth yeares before that time; *Molon* also & some others haue alledged their opinions. But *Apion*, who pretendeth to bee a man of more credite then the rest, hath precisely and exactly set downe the time, auerring that our departure was about the seuenty Olympiade: nay more, in the first yeare thereof, wherein as he saith Carthage was builded by the Phœnicians. Now hath he only and purposely made mention of Carthage in this place; supposing it to be an infallible argument of the truth of his allegation: yet conceiteth he not that he maketh a rodde for his owne taile, and draweth an argument against himselfe
C by which himselfe may bee conuinced. For if wee may giue credit to the Phœnician Chroniclers as touching this Colonie, it appeareth by them that king *Hiram* liued more then one hundreth and fifty yeares before the foundation of Carthage. The truth whereof I haue heretofore approued out of the words of the Phœnicians, who report that *Hiram* was *Salomons* friend, who builded the Temple in Ierusalem: and that he furnished him with much timber and other matter toward the finishing of that building. Now *Salomon* builded the Temple six hundreth and twelue yeares after the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. And after he had inconsideratly reckoned the number of those which were driuen out of Egypt in like manner as *Lysimachus* had done, namely of one hundreth and ten thousand men, he yeelded a most admirable reason, and such as may be easily beleeued: from whence he pretendeth that the name of Sabbath was
D deriued. For (saith he) after they had trauailed for the space of six daies, there grew certaine inflamations in their groines, by reason whereof they rested on the seuenth day being safely arriued in the country which at this day is called Iudæa, because the Egyptians call *Sabatosis* an Vlcer that groweth about the groine.

Apions fiction concerning the temple, & Moses is refuted.

The computation of the time is different among the Historiographers.

The friendship between Hiram and Salomon, whereof we made mention in the first booke against Apion in the beginning.

The Egyptians doe call a disease about the priuy parts, Sabatosis.

Who can otherwise chuse but laugh at this foppery? or contrariwise, who would not hate such an impudent custome in writing and coyning of lies? For hee reporteth as farre as a man may coniecture by his writings, that all the Iewes who were to the number of one hundred and tenne thousand persons, had these Vlcers in their secrets. Now had all of them beene haulte, lame, blinde, and sickely as *Apion* reporteth, they could not haue iournied one day: but since they trauailed through the desart, and vanquished all armies that resisted them, it is no
E likely matter that all of them were sicke of a disease in their priuie parts euery seuenth day: neither is it naturally possible, that such a disease should befall so many thousand men in their iourney, and that they euery day should trauaile a certaine space and a limitted march, neither standeth it with any probability, but rather a manifest absurditie that any such thing should befall them: but this admirable *Apion* sayeth, that they arriued in Iudæa within the space of sixe daies.

Againe, hee writeth that *Moses* ascending vp the mount Sinai, which is betwixt Arabia and Egypt, hid himselfe in that place for the space of forty daies, and descending from thence, gaue lawes vnto the Iewes. But how I pray you was it possible for him to remaine fortie daies in a desart without water? or how could all the Iewes within six daies trauel from Egypt, into Iew-
F rie? As for his Grammaticall deriuation of the word Sabbath it sauoureth too much of impudencie, or at least of ignorance: for these words *Sabbo* and *Sabatum* do greatly differ: for *Sabatum* in the Iewes language, signifieth rest from worke; but *Sabbo* in the Egyptian tongue betokeneth a disease about the priuie parts as *Apion* saith. See heere what cauilling fictions this Egyptian *Apion* vseth concerning *Moses*, and our departure out of Egypt; wherein hee counterfeiteth and coineth absurdities vnthought of by any others. Shall we then wonder if he belie-

Apions fiction of the six daies iourney is confuted.

Apion denies his countrey and origen.

our forefathers, who maketh no bones to belie himselfe: for being borne at Oasis a towne in Ægypt, this high vnreputed honour of the Egyptians forsweareth both his countrey and nation, and counterfeiting himselfe to be an Alexandrian, he ratifieth his nations wickednesse. No maruell then though he tearme them Ægyptians whom he hateth and raileth against, for if hee had not been perswaded that the Ægyptians were wicked base people, he would neuer haue denied himselfe to be their countriman: for such as proudly boast of their famous countrey, esteeme it a credit to beare the denomination therof, and reprehend such as without iust cause make themselues of their nation. Wherefore the Ægyptians are one of these two waies affected towards vs Iewes, for either they claime vs to bee their countrimen as glorying of vs and their countrey; or else for that, they and their countrey being infamous, they desire that we should be partakers of their ignominy. But indeed this worthy *Apion* seemeth so to inueigh against vs, as thereby rewarding the Alexandrians for bestowing their Cities vpon him: and knowing them to be at variance with the Iewes of Alexandria, hee as it were casteth a bone between them, and raileth not onely on the Iewes of that Citie, but on all whersoeuer: but he belyeth both of them most impudently. But let vs examine those hainous and enormous matters, and (as hee saith) such as are not to be suffered, of which he accuseth the Alexandrian Iewes. Comming (quoth he) out of Syria, they seated themselues neere the sea coast, where there was no hauen neere vnto the surges of the water.

Apion raileth against the Iewes, as thereby rewarding the Alexandrians.

The sea coast of Alexandria.

Now if this place which they inhabited were ignominious, yet it followeth not that the Iews owne country was so also: yea herein *Apion* raileth against Alexandria, which hee maketh his owne country: for the sea coast is part of Alexandria, and as all men iudge the best place therof to dwell in. Now if the Iewes by force of armes so vanquished this place that they could neuer since be driuen out of it: it is no discredit to them, but rather an argument of their valour. But *Alexander* gaue them that place to inhabit, and the Macedonians did allot them as great priuiledges as the Alexandrians had. I know not what *Apion* would haue said, if the Iewes had dwelt about Necropolis, and not about the kings seat: their tribes being euen at this time called Macedonians. If therefore *Apion* haue read the Epistles of king *Alexander*, and *Ptolomæus Lagus*, or others their successors kings of Egypt, or seen the pillars that are erected in Alexandria, containng the priuileges that *Cæsar* the great granted vnto the Iewes; if I say hee knew of these, and yet did presume to write the contrarie, then hee was a bad fellow: but if hee was ignorant hereof, he was then an vnlearned person. The like ignorance also discouereth he, where he wonders that the Iewes that were in Alexandria were called Alexandrians. For all that are one Colonie, though very different people, yet do they all beare the name of their founder: and that I may shun prolixity, the Iewes of Antioch are called Antiochians; for *Seleucus* the founder made them also citizens, the like may also be said of the Iewes of Ephesus, and at the other Ionia, who by the kings gifts enioy the same priuiledges with the rest of the citizens. The Romans also of their clemencie haue granted the name of their nation which is no small gift, not only to priuate persons, but to great nations in generall. To be short, the ancient Spaniards, the Tyrrhenes, and Sabines, are called Romans; or if *Apion* will take away this denomination of the Citie wherein men inhabite, let him cease to call himselfe an Alexandrian: for he being borne in the heart of Ægypt, can in no wise be an Alexandrian, if the priuiledge of the Citie be taken from him, as he would haue it from vs. And the Lords of the whole world the Romans, haue amongst all other nations onely prohibited the Egyptians from hauing the priuiledges of any Citie: and so this gallant gentleman being himself incapable of dignitie, endeuoreth likewise to hinder them from it, who haue true right vnto it.

The liberties & priuiledges granted vnto the Iewes.

Alexander.

For *Alexander* labouring with all diligence to build that Citie, did not make choice of vs for want of people to furnish the same withall; but for that he bestowed the liberty thereof vpon vs as a reward and testimony of our vertue and fidelity, endeuouring indeed to honour and credit our nation thereby: for *Hecataus* reporteth that *Alexander* for the Iewes good seruice and fidelitie, bestowed vpon them the countrey of Samaria, and freed them from paying tribute for it.

1. Ptolomæus Lagus.

The same good affection towards the Iewes of Alexandria, *Ptolomæus Lagus* continued after him, for he deliuered into their hands the strong holds of Egypt (for that he iudged that their valour and fidelity would keep them) and intending to make himselfe Lord of Cyren and other places in Lybia, hee sent certaine Iewes to inhabit the same. After him *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* did not onely release and set free all captiues of our nation in his countrey, but also did many times remit their paiments of money, and (which was the principal point of all) he desired to be instructed

2. Ptolomæus Philadelphus.

A instructed in our lawes & holy scriptures, & for this cause sent vnto vs, requesting that we would send him some learned men to interpret them vnto him: and that this might be performed with more diligence, he committed the care hereof not to any but *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, *Demetrius* being the onely mirror of learning in his age, the other two being Esquires of his owne bodie: neither would he haue euer desired to haue beene instructed in our lawes & customes, if he had despised vs and had not rather admired vs. But *Apion* knew that almost all the Macedonian kings his successors in order, did peculiarly affect our nation. For *Ptolomæus* the third which was also called *Euergetes*, conquering Syria by force, did no sacrifice vnto the gods of Aegypt for his victorie, but came to Ierusalem, and there after our manner sacrificed many hostes vnto our God, & to him dedicated gifts worthy of such a victory. *Ptolomæus* also surnamed B *Philometor* and his wife *Cleopatra*, committed the rule of his whole kingdome vnto the Iewes, and *Onias* and *Dositheus* both Iewes, were generals of his army, whose credit *Apion* detracts: whereas he rather ought to haue admired them, & haue thanked them for deliuering *Alexandria* wherof he maketh himselfe a citizen.

The seuentie interpreters.

3. Ptolomæus Euergetes.

For when there was a rebellion in *Cleopatras* kingdome, and all was in perill to bee destroyed, these two men deliuered *Alexandria* from ciuill warre: But *Apion* saith that after this, *Onias* came and brought a little armie into the citie, at such time as *Termus*, the Romane Embassadour was there present. True it is, and that fact of his was most iust. For *Ptolomæus Physcon* after the death of his father *Ptolomæus* Philometor, comming out of Cyrene, endeuoured to expell the Queene *Cleopatra*, and the kings sons, to the ende that he (contrarie to all iustice) might possesse the king- C dome: and this was the cause why *Onias* tooke armes against him in *Cleopatras* behalfe, not forsaking his fidelitie vnto kings in the time of necessitie: yet God himselfe did manifestly witnesse his iustice in this action. For when *Ptolomæus Physcon* presumed to fight against *Onias* his armie, & took all the Iewes, their wiues & children that were in the Citie and bound them, and stripping them naked, cast them before Elephants to bee destroyed (and to the intent that the Elephants might the rather tread vpon them, made the said beasts drunken) all things fel out contarie to his expectation: for the Elephants forsaking the Iews which were cast before them, did fal vpō *Ptolomæus* his friends that stood by, & slew manie of them; which done, there appeared vnto *Ptolomæus* a most horrible vision forbidding him to harme the Iewes: and his chiefest best beloued concubin (alsowhom som call *Ithaca*, other *Herene*) came vnto him and besought him to abstaine D from such impiety: wherupon he being sorie, did penance for that he had alreadie committed, & that which he thought to committe; so that the Iewes of Alexandria celebrate this day in remembrance that vpon it God did manifestly deliuer them; yet *Apion* (who speaketh well of no man) accuseth the Iewes of impietie for bearing armes against *Physcon*, wheras indeed he ought rather to haue commended them for it: But *Apion* extolleth *Cleopatra* the last Queene of Alexandria, onely for that she was vniust, and ingratefull vnto vs; when he rather ought to haue reproued her, in whom all impietie and wickednes raigned, both concerning her owne kinred and her husbands who loued her, & also generally against all the Romans and the Emperours his benefactors, who killed her owne sister *Arsinoe* in the temple who had not any wise offended her: she also trecherously slewe her owne brother, and destroyed her auncestors Gods and sepulchers: E and receiuing the kingdome from the first *Cæsars* gift, she ingratefully rebelled against his son and successour; and infecting *Antonie* with her poysoned drinks and amorous inchauntments, she made him rebell against his countrey, and to be vnconstant to his own friends, depriuing some of kingly dignitie, and compelling others to be instruments of her impietie. And what else shall we say of her, who in the battaile by sea forced *Antonius* her owne husband (who also had manie children by her) to yeeld himselfe, the Empire, and armie vnto her, and become one of her followers? Lastly, when Alexandria was taken by *Cæsar*, shee was so cruelly minded, that not remembring her owne estate, shee accounted this her safetie, if with her owne hand shee might kill the Iewes, that she might be cruell and trothlesse to euerie bodie.

4 Ptolomæus Philometor.

5. Ptolomæus Physcon ceased to persecute the Iewes

Of Cleopatra the last queene of Alexandria.

Antonie the husband of Cleopatra.

Is it not a glorie thinke you to vs, that (as *Apion* reporteth) in the time of dearth and famine, F wheat was so plentifull in Iury, that it was not sold by measure? But *Cleopatra* was punished as she deserued. And we call great *Cæsar* himselfe to witnesse of our fidelitie, & the seruice we did him against the Aegyptians, the Senate also and their decrees, and the writings of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein our deserts are testified. These letters *Apion* ought to haue read, and to haue examined all testimonies of vs, which were left first by *Alexander*, and then by all the Ptolomees, & what the Senate of Rome decreed, and the mightie Emperours. And if so bee *Germanicus* could not

get corne to ſuffice all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that was a token of ſcarcity & dearth, and G
not the Iewes fault. For what all Emperors thought of the Alexandrian Iewes it is manifeſt e-
nough: for the Iewes want of corne was not only left vnſupplied, but alſo the want of other A-
The Iews haue been alwaies truſty to their Prince. lexandrians. But they haue alwaies kept that wherwith the ancient Princes did put them in truſt,
to wit, the keeping of the riuer, and whole countrie, as not being thought vnfit for their purpo-
ſes. But *Apion* thus vrgeth vs; If (quoth he) the Iewes be citizens, how hap they worſhip not the
ſame God, nor haue the ſame religion that the reſt of the Alexandrians haue? To whom I thus
anſwere; How hapneth that you Ægyptians do ſo contend and warre againſt one another onely
for diuerſity of religion? ſhal we hereupon conclude that you are all Ægyptians, or not all men?
The Egyptiás doe worſhip beaſts, not agreeable to mans nature. becauſe you worſhip and with great diligence nouriſh beaſts againſt nature? yet our nation ſee-
meth one and the ſame. If therefore amongſt you Ægyptians ſuch difference of opinions bee; H
why doſt thou ſo maruell of this that we in a ſtrange place, to wit, at Alexandria, do conſtantly
The diſcord of the Iews & the Alexandrians in religiõ. perſeuer in our firſt religion? But he ſaith that we are the cauſe of all ſedition: which ſuppoſe he
ſpeake true of the Iewes of Alexandria, yet are not all Iewes in all places the cauſe of ſedition,
for we are knowne to be peaceable amongſt our ſelues. But indeed as euery one may perceiue,
the people like *Apion* himſelfe are authors of ſedition in Alexandria. For whileſt the Greeks and
The cauſe of diſcord betweene the Iewes and Alexandrians. Macedonians held Alexandria, they and wee liued peaceably together, and they permitted vs
quietly to vſe our owne ſolemnities: but when the number of Ægyptians encreaſed, by confu-
ſion of time, ſedition alſo by their meanes encreaſed: but our nation remained vnpermixted.
They therefore were authors of thoſe troubles, not hauing the gouernement of the Macedoni-
ans, nor the wiſedome of the Greekes; but vſing their Ægyptian manners, and renewing their I
Apions fiction touching the Iewes being authors of ſedition at Alexandria is confuted. olde hatred againſt vs. And that wherewith all they hit vs in the teeth befalleth them: for moſt
of them not hauing the priuiledges of the citie themſelues, call vs ſtrangers that haue them. For
none of the ancient kings beſtowed the liberty of the citie vpon the Ægyptians, neither haue a-
ny of the Emperors of Rome beſtowed the priuilege. But *Alexander* himſelfe brought vs into
the citie, the kings after him encreaſed more priuileges, and it hath pleaſed the Romane Em-
perour to ratifie and confirme them. But *Apion* detracteth vs for not erecting ſtatues to the Em-
perors, as though the Emperors knew not hereof, or that they needed *Apion* to ſpeake for them:
The Romans magnanimity towards the Iewes. whereas he ſhould rather admire the Romans magnanimity, and modeſtie, who compell not
their ſubiects to violate their ancient lawes and religion, but content themſelues with ſuch ho-
nours as the giuer may with pietie and equity giue them. For they account not of forced ho- K
nours which come of compulſion.

The Greeks and diuers other, think it not amiſſe to erect ſtatues; for they delight to haue the
pictures of their anceſtors, wiues & children, and ſome of their beloued ſeruants alſo: what mar-
uaile then if they accord to yeeld the like honour to Princes and Emperors? But our law-maker
The Iewes may haue no Images. not as prophecying the Romans power not to be reuerenced: but foreſeeing that it was neither
profitable to God nor man, forbade vs to make an Image of any liuing creature, much more of a
How Emperors & magiſtrats ought to be honoured. not liuing God (as we will prooue hereafter.) But he permitted vs to reuerence all good men,
with any honour elſe not due to God, and all thoſe we giue vnto the Emperours, and people of
Rome, and make our continuall ſacrifice for them; and not onely vpon worky daies doe this, at
the proper coſt of all the Iewes, but vpon ſuch daies as we offer no other ſacrifice, no not for our
The lie of Poſſidonius and Apollonius concerning the Iewes is confuted. owne children, we then ſacacrifice for the Roman Emperor, yeelding that honor to the Roman L
Emperour which we doe to none elſe. And let this ſuffice to anſwer that which *Apion* alledgeth
againſt the Iewes of Alexandria: yet can I not but admire at them who gaue him this oca-
ſion, namely *Poſſidonius* and *Apollonius Molon*, who accuſe vs for not worſhipping the ſame
gods that others do, although they lie all alike, ſlandering our temple moſt abſurdly: and yet
for all this they doe not beleeue that they herein commit any impiety: whereas it is a moſt ig-
nominious thing for any free man to lie vpon any occaſion: much more of a temple famous o-
uer all the world for ſanctity. For *Apion* affirmeth that the Iewes in that ſacred temple placed
An anſwere to the obiection of the Aſſes head. the head of an Aſſe and worſhipped it moſt religiouſly. And this (quoth hee) was manifeſtly
knowne at ſuch time as *Antiochus Epiphanes* ſpoyled that Temple, who found that Aſſes head M
being of maſſie gold, and great value. To this firſt ſlander I firſt anſwere, that were that true
which he reporteth, yet an Ægyptian ought not to haue ſpoken againſt vs for it: ſeeing that an
Aſſe is of no leſſe worth then a Goate, and other brute beaſts that they honour for gods. Was it
poſſible that hee knew not the contrarie of his owne affirmations, by our deeds and Scriptures?
For we vſe the ſame lawes that at the firſt we did, and remaine in them without change, and for

all

A all that our Citie (as others alſo haue) hath by the variable euent of warre, been vexed and troubled, and that *Antiochus* ſurnamed the god, and *Pompey* the great, and *Licinius Craſſus*, and now laſtly *Titus Cæſar* haue all vanquiſhed one Temple, yet did they neuer find in it any thing as *Apino* affirmeth, but ſincere pietie, not lawfull for vs to diſcloſe to ſtrangers. And as touching *Antiochus*, manie writers of good credite report, that he neuer had any iuſt cauſe to ſpoile our temple, but that hee was drawne vnto this fact for want of money; Not for that he was our enemie, but for that as from his friends and fellowes, hee ſought ſupplie, and found nothing in that place that was worthie of deriſion: and thus doe *Polybius Megapolitanus*, *Strabo* the Cappadocian, *Nicholas Damaſcene*, *Timagenes Caſtor* the Chronicler, and *Apollodorus* auow, who all doe witnes, that *Antiochus* wanting money, brake the league he had with the Iewes, and robd and ſpoi-
B led their Temple being full of gold and ſiluer. *Apion* ought to haue conſidered this, had hee not had an Aſſes heart, and a dogs impudency, which he and his Countrimen worſhip for gods. As for vs, we do neither honour nor reuerence Aſſes, though the Egyptians do their Crocodiles and Aſpes, eſteeming them that are bitten by Aſpes, and deuoured by Crocodiles, to bee happy and fit for God.

But wee eſteeme thoſe to be Aſſes which all our wiſemen do, to wit, them who beare burdens imposed vpon them: and if comming into a field they fall to eat, and doe not that which they ought to doe, wee vſe to beat them with many ſtripes, and force them to till the ground, and do other drudgery. But *Apion* was either the greateſt Aſſe that euer was, in telling a lie; or elſe hauing begunne to doe it, he could not compaſſe his enterpriſes, in that hee found not any iuſt cauſe of
C detraction againſt vs. He addeth another fable of the Greeks detracting vs: to the which I will make only this reply, that it is more commendable and agreeing to piety, and leſſe vncleanneſſe, to paſſe through the Temple, then for Prieſts to come and faine impious words and ſpeechees: which they not reſpecting, laboured rather to excuſe the ſacrilegious Kings, then to write the truth of vs and our Temple; endeuouring to corie fauour with *Antiochus*, and to couer and hide his ſacriledge, vſed againſt our nation, for that hee wanted money, beleeuing vs euen in things that are to come. And *Apion*, as prophecying of the reſt, ſaith that *Antiochus* found a bed in our Temple, and in it a man lying, and a table ſet before him, furniſhed with all foules that vſe either ſea or land, and that the man was hereat aſtoniſhed: And that ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* came into the Temple, hee adored him as though hee hoped for great helpe from the king, falling
D downe at his feet, and with a ſtretched out arme, craued licence to ſpeake: which the king granting, and willing him to declare what hee was, and why hee dwelt in the Temple, and the cauſe of his meats before him; the man with ſighes and teares bewailed vnto *Antiochus* his calamity, ſaying, He was a Grecian: and that trauelling in the country to get his liuing, he was ſuddenly ſeized vpon by certaine out-landiſh men, and brought vnto the Temple, and ſhut vp therein, and that no man might ſee him, and that he was there fed or fatted with all dainties that could be prouided: and that at firſt this dainty fare made him ioyful, but afterward he began to ſuſpect it, and laſtly hee was heereat amazed; and then demanding of a Iew that adminiſtred vnto him, for what cauſe he was there kept, hee vnderſtood the Iewes purpoſe, and law not to be reuealed, for the fulfilling whereof hee was there nouriſhed, and that the Iewes were wont to do the like
E euery yeere vpon a day appointed: and to take a Grecian ſtranger, and feed him a yeere, and then to carry him to a wood, and there to kil him, and ſacrifice him according to their rites and ceremonies, and to taſte and eat of his entrailes: and in the ſacrificing of the Grecian, to ſweare to bee enemies to the Greeks, and the reſidue of the murdered man they caſt into a certaine pit. And that then this Greek reported vnto *Antiochus*, that the time allotted vnto him by the Iewes to liue was now almoſt expired, and therefore requeſted, for the reuerence he bare to the Grecian gods, to ſaue his bloud from beeing ſpilt by the Iewes, and to free him out of that imminent calamity.

Who are accounted Aſſes amongſt the Iewes and other wiſe men.

Certain Hiſtoriographers endeuour to couer & hide Antiochus his periurie and ſacriledge.

That the Iews ought once a yeare to ſacrifice a Grecian

This fable is not only ſtuft full of all tragical cruelty, but alſo mingled with cruel impudency: yet for all this, the firſt deuiſers hereof do not free *Antiochus* from ſacriledge, as they hoped here-
F by to doe, who writ it purpoſely to flatter him. For that which they report of the Greek found in a bed, did not moue him to come and ſacke our Temple, he not knowing of it before he came and found it ſo (as they ſay.) *Antiochus* therefore was moſt impious, and not aſſiſted by Gods fauour in that enterpriſe, (whatſoeuer theſe lyers mutter) as it is eaſie to learne of the fact of him committed. For wee doe not onely differ from the Greekes in religion, but a great deale more from the Egyptians, & other nations: and what nation in the world is there, that ſomtime doth

not

not trauaile through our Countrie? Is it then probable that we onely renue that conſpiracie a- G
gainſt the Greekes? Or how is it poſſible that ſo many thouſand people as are of our owne nati-
on, ſhould all eate of the entrailes of one man as *Apion* reporteth? Or why did he not name this
man whoſoeuer he was? Or why did not the king carry him with trumpets into his coūtry? ſee-
ing that in ſo doing he might haue bin eſteemed full of pietie, & a great fauorer of the Greeks, &
greatly ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the hatred of the Iewes by their aide? But I omit to ſpeake
more of this: for vnſenſible people voide of all reaſon, muſt not be reprehended in word, but by
deedes: for all men that haue ſeene the building of the Temple, canne teſtifie what it was, and the
The deſcription of the Temple and porches. vndefiled puritie thereof. For it had foure porches about, and euerie one of them by our lawes
had ſeuerall keepers: and into the outward porch, all people, yea ſtraungers might enter without
breach of our lawes, women onely excepted that haue their monethly courſe. Into the ſecond H
porch it was lawfull for onely Iewes to come: and all Iewes might goe into it, and their wiues al-
ſo when they were free frō pollution of their flowers. Into the third porch, they onely of our na-
tion that were purified and ſanctified might come. Into the fourth, might onely Prieſts enter,
who were cloathed with Prieſtly Stoles, and into the ſecret part of the Temple might onely the
high Prieſt come, attired with a Stole proper to him onely: yea we are in all things ſo carefull of
pietie, that our Prieſts are appointed howers when to enter into the Temple.

What was in the temple. For in the morning when the Temple was opened, the Prieſts that vvere to ſacrifice the
hoſtes which were giuen them, entred into the Temple; and at noone againe when it was ſhut;
yea it was not lawfull to carrie any veſſell into the Temple: but there was only there an Altar, a
Table, a Cenſer, and a Candleſticke, as is in our lawe mentioned, and there is no other ſecret I
or hidden myſterie done, neither is there in that place any eating, and all the people can teſtifie
this which I haue here ſet downe, and our writings doe the like. For notwithſtanding that there
Foure Tribes of Prieſts, and of euerie tribe more then fiue thouſand men. are foure rites of Prieſts, and euerie Prieſts tribe containeth aboue fiue thouſand men: yet euery
one waiteth on certaine appointed dayes in their turne, and their time of waiting being expired,
others ſucceede them in ſacrificing; and the day before they are to finiſh their waiting, they de-
liuer vp vnto their ſucceſſours the keyes of the Temple, and all veſſels belonging thereto, in the
full number that they receiued them: and nothing is brought into our Temple, pertaining either
to meate or drinke: yea, and are forbidden to be offered at our Altar, thoſe things onely excep-
ted, whereof we make our ſacrifice. What then ſhall wee ſay of *Apion*, who examining nothing
of all theſe, hath raiſed ſuch incredible reports of vs? How ignominious a thing it is for a Gram- K
marian, not to bee able to deliuer the truth of a Hiſtorie? Well, hee knewe the pietie vſed in our
Temple, but hee purpoſely omitted it: yet could hee remember to tell a fained tale of the ſacri-
ficing of the Grecke, his daintie fare and that hidden food, that all men alſo that would, paſſed
through our Temple: whereas the moſt noble amongſt our whole nation, are not permitted to
come there, except they be prieſts.

This therefore is great impietie, and a voluntarie forged lie, to ſeduce them that will not
examine the truth. For they haue attempted to ſlander vs by thoſe impieties before mentio-
ned, not to bee ſpoken of. And againe, like one full of all pietie, he derideth the vanitie of theſe
fables, and reporteth that at ſuch time as the Iewes for a long time together, warred againſt the
Idumæans, *Zabidus* departing out of a Citie of Idumæa where *Apollo* was worſhipped, came
Another tale deuiſed by Apion of Zabidus. vnto the Iewes, promiſing them to deliuer vnto them *Apollo* the *Dorians* god, and bring him L
vnto their Temple, if ſo bee that all of them would there aſſemble themſelues together: and that
afterwards *Zabidus* did make a moſt excellent kind of wooden inſtrument, and placed in it three
rankes of candles, and put it vpon him, and ſo walked like a ſtarre gliding on the ground (for
" that ſhape he reſembled to them that were afarre off from him.) And that the Iewes hereat (ſee-
" ing this ſtraunge viſion) admired and were aſtoniſhed; and ſtanding afarre off, they were all ſi-
" lent, and how by this ſhift *Zabidus* eaſily got into their Temple, and tooke away the golden
" Aſſes head (for ſo hee writeth plainly) and ſo to haue returned ſpeedily to *Dora*. Wherefore
" wee may ſay that *Apion* leadeth an Aſſe, to wit, himſelfe with fooleries and lies, for he nameth
" places that are not, and ſetteth downe Cities to himſelfe vnknowne: for Idumæa is a Prouince M
" neere vnto vs, and bordering vpon Gara, and there is no Citie in it called Dora: but in Phœnicia
" neere vnto the hill Carmelus there is a Citie of that name, yet nothing conſonant to *Apions*
Dora is a Citie of Phœnicia & not of Idumæa. ſlaunders, for it is foure dayes iourney from Iudæa.

Why therefore doth he ſo raſhly accuſe vs for not worſhipping the ſame gods that other na-
tions doe, ſeeing (as he ſaith) our predeceſſors did ſo eaſily beleeue that *Apollo* would come vnto

them,

A them, and that he walked poh the earth with ſtarres vpon his backe? Perhaps indeed they had neuer before ſeene a candle or lampe, themſelues hauing ſo many: or is it likely that he walking thus quite through our country, where ſo many thouſand men are, no one of them all met him? Did he in time of war finde the townes and villages, by which he paſt, without any watchmen? Well, I omit the reſt. The gates of our Temple were threeſcore cubites high, twentie cubites broad, all couered with gold, yea, almoſt all of cleane gold, and theſe gates euery day were ſhut by 2. hundreth men: and it was too impious a thing to leaue them open. Is it then credible that this candlebearer could eaſily open them, who alone was iudged to haue the aſſes head? So that now it remaineth doubtfull whether *Zabidus* did bring backe againe the aſſes head, or elſe *Apion* took it of him, and brought it againe to our Temple, that there *Antiochus* might finde it, and ſo

B *Apion* might haue another occaſion of lying. He alſo belieth vs concerning the oath which hee ſaith wee Iewes do take, ſwearing by the God of heauen and earth, and ſea, neuer to fauour any ſtranger, and eſpecially the Greeks. This lier might better haue ſaid, not to fauour any ſtranger, and eſpecially the Ægyptians, and ſo his former lies and theſe ſhould haue had better correſpondence with the beginning, if our anceſtors had beene expelled by their predeceſſors out of Ægypt, not for their wickednes, but for their owne calamity. But wee are ſo far from the Greeks, that we ſcarcely euer think of them: ſo that no man can ſay that there is any enmity between vs and the Greekes. But contrariwiſe, many of them haue embraced our religion, and ſome of them therein perſeuered: others again haue forſaken it; yet none of them will ſay that he heard this oath ſpoken of among vs: but it ſhould ſeem that onely *Apion* heard of it, in that he himſelfe

C indeed forged it. Truely his great wiſdome and prouidence is worthy to bee admired (as ſhall hereafter appeare:) for he, to proue theſe his lies to be true, ſaith, that it is a certaine teſtimony that the laws we obſerue are moſt vniuſt, and that we worſhip not God as we ought to do, in that we were ſubiect to diuers nations, and our City endured many calamities: Whereas touching themſelues, they are of a City that flouriſheth in abſolute authority, accuſtomed to gouerne from the foundation thereof, and not to ſerue the Romans. In effect, who canne reſiſt their valour? Truely no man but *Apion* would euer haue flouted vs herewith, ſeeing that few Cities ſo flouriſh and raigne ouer other, that they againe at no one time haue been brought into ſubiection. For many nations are ſubiect to others: onely the Ægyptians are freed from the captiuity of ſuch as rule Europe and Aſia, for that (as they ſay) the gods fleeing into their country, were ſaued

D by entring into the bodies of beaſts. Yet haue they not indeed had any one dayes liberty ſince the beginning of the world, neither vnder the gouernment of their owne princes, nor vnder ſtrangers.

I will not ſtand to reckon how often the Perſians haue waſted their City, deſtroied their temples, and ſlaine their ſuppoſed gods. For it is not decent that I ſhould imitate herein *Apions* fooliſhneſſe: neither am I calling to memory what befell the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the laſt of which, are recorded to haue beene moſt valiant, and firſt to haue beene moſt deuoute and religious: neither will I reckon vp thoſe moſt godly kings, amongſt whom *Craſus* was one, who notwithſtanding fell into great calamities. Moreouer, I will not recount how the caſtle of Athens was ſet on fire, and the temples of Epheſus & Delphos likewiſe, and many others. There

E is now one *Apion*, a new accuſer of the Iewes, who vpbraideth them with their calamities; forgetting quite all miſery that hath befallen his countrimen the Ægyptians: but hee was blinded with the fable of *Seſoſtris* (whom he ſaith to haue been king of Ægypt.) We could report and boaſt of our kings, *Dauid* and *Salomon*, who ſubdued many nations vnto them: but it is not fitte heere to ſpeake of them. But *Apion* was ignorant of that which all the world knoweth, to wit, that the Ægyptians haue ſerued firſt to the Perſians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, and that as bondſlaues: where wee remaining in free liberty raigned ouer all Cities round about vs 120. yeares, euen vnto the time of *Pompey* the great; and when all the other kings were ſubdued by the Romans, onely our kings for their fidelity and friendſhip towards them were deare vnto them. Oh, but this ſticketh vpon *Apions* ſtomacke, that wee haue not had any famous men of

F our nation, who haue inuented arts and ſciences, and beene excellent in wiſedome, ſuch as *Socrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and others, whom he ſetteth downe, were: and which is moſt to bee admired, *Apion* puts himſelfe in the number of theſe famous men: and ſaith, that Alexandria is bleſſed and happy, that hath deſerued to haue ſuch a Citizen as he is: and great reaſon that he himſelfe ſhould teſtifie that of himſelfe, which all men elſe perceiue in him, to wit, that hee is an impudent deceitfull fellow, both of corrupt life and manners. So that any Alexandrians had iuſt cauſe

The gates of the Temple.

Apions lie cõcerning the oath is confuted.

Apion vpbraided the Iewes with captiuitie

Dauids and Salomons power.

Apiõ praiſeth himſelfe.

cauſe to bee ſorry that they euer had any better opinion of him. But that our nation had men G
equall at leaſt vnto thoſe whom hee mentioneth, all men knowe that pleaſe to read the booke of our Antiquity. The reſt that his accuſation containeth, it is not amiſſe to let paſſe without anſwer; for that it rather impeacheth the Ægyptians, his owne countrimen, then vs: for he doth complaine of vs for ſacrificing ordinary beaſts, and for abſtaining to eate ſwines fleſh, and greatly laughed at circumciſion. Touching the ſacrificing of theſe beaſts, wee doe as all nations elſe doe: And *Apion*, inueighing againſt our ſacrificing, ſheweth himſelfe to bee an Ægyptian, for were he either a Græcian or a Macedonian, he would not be herewith offended: for both Greekes and Macedonians doe vow to ſacrifice Hecatombes to their gods, and vſe Prieſts in the banquets; and yet for all this, the world is not deſolate of liuing creatures, as *Apion* feareth. H

Why the Iews doe ſacrifice cõmon beaſts and do not eat ſwines fleſh.

But were all men ſo mad as the Ægyptians, it would indeed bee deſolate of men, and filled with cruell beaſts, which they (ſuppoſing them to bee gods) do diligently nouriſh. If any man ſhould aſk of *Apion*, whom of al the Ægyptians he iudged to be a wiſeman and moſt religious towards their gods, no doubt hee would anſwer that the prieſts are. For they ſay, that their firſt kings in the beginning gaue them theſe two commandements in charge: firſt, to ſeek wiſdome; and next, to worſhip the gods: they alſo are all of them circumciſed, and abſtaine from ſwines fleſh, and no other Ægyptian ſacrificeth with them vnto their gods. *Apion* therefore was ſurely blinde, when, inſtead of detracting vs, hee ſpeaketh ill of them, to gratifie whom, hee tooke all this paines. For the Ægyptians doe not onely vſe thoſe cuſtomes which *Apion* in vs diſallow-eth, but alſo doe teach others to circumciſe themſelues, as *Herodotus* reporteth. So that I verely I thinke, that *Apion* was iuſtly puniſhed for blaſpheaming his countrey lawes and religion. For being forced to circumciſe himſelfe to auoid a great diſeaſe, he was hereby nothing helped, but for all this, his priuy member rotting, hee in extreame griefe and miſery gaue vp the ghoſt. For wiſe men ought to perſeuere in their countrey lawes in all piety, and not to deride and detract others: but *Apion* forſooke his owne religion, and ſlandered and belied ours. And this was *Apions* end: and heere alſo ſhould end this booke, but that *Apollonius*, *Molon* and *Lyſimachus*, and certaine others, partly for ignorance, partly for madneſſe, haue moſt iniuriouſly belied our law-maker *Moſes*, and the lawes hee made, detracting him as a deceitfull Magician, and then as the author of all malice and impiety amongſt vs: and for ſuch as teach no vertue nor goodneſſe at all. I will therefore, as farre as in mee lieth, declare both our conuerſation in generall, and in K particular: for if my iudgement bee any thing, our lawes are moſt forcible both to piety, and to all humanity in generall, as alſo to iuſtice, paines taking, and contempt of death. I onely requeſt this fauour of the Reader, that hee will not with a preiudicate or malicious opinion, peruſe theſe writings: for I doe not write this as a prayſe and vaine oſtentation of our nation, but as a iuſt Apology, refuting the ſlanderous reportes that ſome haue vſed againſt vs.

The Egyptian prieſts circumciſed, and eat no ſwines fleſh

Apions death.

The defence of Moſes againſt Apollonius and Lyſimachus.

Apollonius doth not continually inueigh againſt vs as *Apion* doth, but onely heere and there; ſometime affirming vs to be ſomewhiles hated both of God and man, ſometime to be cowards, other ſometimes contrariwiſe complaining of our nations bouldneſſe. Saying moreouer, that wee are more ſottiſh then any barbarous nation: and that therefore wee onely haue had none of our nation founders of arts or ſciences, which are profitable for mans life: all which obiections L are eaſily refuted, if we ſhew the contrary to all theſe by him reported; both that we haue obeied our lawes, and liued in all integrity. If therefore I bee forced to ſhew that other nations haue made contrary lawes, not I, but they are to be blamed, who, comparing ours with them of other nations, affirm ours to be the worſe: neither of which can charge vs, either that theſe laws which I will briefly ſet downe are not ours, or elſe that we haue not perſiſted in them as we ought. Making therefore this beginning, I affirme that they who haue framed themſelues to liue together vnder certain rules and ordinances, and kept them inuiolate, and were the firſt founders of them, were more to be commended for humanity and vertue, then they who liue vnder no rule nor ordinance at all: and euery law-maker endeuoureth ſo to chalenge antiquity for their owne ordi- M nances, as that they may not be thought to imitate others, but to be themſelues the firſt authors thereof, and guides to direct other mens liues. Which beeing ſo, it is the duety of a good law-maker to make choice of that which is beſt, and moſt conuenient for them, who are to obey their lawes, and to ſatisfie them as much as may be, in prooуing their lawes to be good and right, and both in wealth and woe, calamity and felicity, to remaine in them, neuer changing nor altering them.

Wherin Apollonius accuſeth the Iews.

The louers of order & common lawes are excellent in meeknes and vertue.

A them. I therfore auerre that our lawmaker is more auncient then any lawmaker mentioned. For *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, and *Seleucus* of *Locris*, and thoſe the Greekes admire, are moderne, of late times in reſpect of him, as it is well knowne. For the Greekes themſelues confeſſe, that in times paſt they wanted the name of law. This *Homer* can witneſſe, who in his whole works neuer mentioneth this word, law, for the people of thoſe times were not gouerned by lawes, but by indefinite ſentences, and the princes pleaſure, vſing cuſtomes but not written, and altering and chaunging them alſo as occaſion ſerued.

Moſes more ancient then all others lawmakers.

Νομως. This word law is not in Homer.

But our lawmaker being verie auncient (for this is euerie way manifeſt, euen by our aduerſaries owne confeſſions) ſhewed himſelf both a good prince & counſeller vnto his people: for making lawes to direct and gouerne mens liues, hee perſwaded them voluntarily to embrace them,
B and firmely to perſiſt in them with all wiſedome. And firſt of all let vs conſider the workes of his greatneſſe. For he vndertaking the conduct of manie thouſand of our forefathers out of Aegypt into our owne countrey, deliuered them from many calamities, almoſt impoſſible to be auoided: for they being to paſſe through a place wherein was no water, and a verie ſandie ground, being alſo to warre and to keepe their wiues and children, and goods for the variable euent of wars, he in all theſe ſhewed himſelfe a moſt wiſe and prudent counſeller, and a true patron and guide vnto them all: For he made all the multitude ſo to depend vpon him, that he might perſwade them whatſoeuer he pleaſed, and yet in none of all theſe did hee vſurpe any authoritie ouer them: and in that time and place wherein all men of authoritie aſſume power vnto themſelues, & vſe tyrannie, at ſuch time as the people do oftentimes offend and liue in all manner of impietie; he then
C being in authoritie did contrariwiſe vſe all lenitie, and mildneſſe, to the entent that he might bee a patterne of vertue and iuſtice to all the reſt, giuing all thoſe that willingly followed him moſt aſſured ſafetie, vſing in all accidents moſt ſtrange workes. And for this cauſe hee rightly deemed God to be his captaine & counſeller: and firſt examining himſelfe, and finding that all the lawes he had ſet down were ageeable to the wil & pleaſure of God, the chiefeſt care he now had was how to perſwade his people the ſame, which hee himſelfe now knew: for they who direct „
their liues according to the will of God, auoid all ſinne as our lawmaker did, being neither Ma- „
gician nor deceiuer as his enemies iniuriouſly report, but ſuch a one as the Greeks do boaſt „
Minos and others after him to haue beene: for ſome of them affirmed their lawes to bee made by
Iupiter, others by *Apollo* and *Delphos* Oracle, either ſo beleeuing themſelues, or elſe thinking that
D the people would be eaſily ſo perſwaded. Now who of all the lawmakers made the beſt lawe, & who did moſt rightly thinke of God, hee that compareth all their lawes together may eaſily know; for now occaſion is offered to ſpeake of them: there are therefore an infinite companie of nations and lawes amongſt men, and ſome nations are ruled by Monarches, otherſome by the common conſent of the people. But our lawmaker doing neither of theſe, did as one ſhould ſay therein declare his common wealth to be diuine, chiefely aſſigning all power and principalitie ouer vs to God, cauſing all men to fixe their minds and cogitations on him, as the onely giuer and author of all goodneſſe, giuing them to vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer in their neceſſitie they entreate him for, hee heareth their prayers, and vnderſtandeth what euerie man doth in priuate, yea his verie cogitations; and that hee is one, vnbegotten, and in all times immu-
E table and eternall, differing in a moſt excellent ſhape from all mortall creatures: and this wee knowe, but vvee are altogether ignorant vvhat God is as touching his ſubſtance and eſſence.

Moſes maketh God his guide & counſeller.

The origen of lawes amongſt the Greekes.

And thus the wiſeſt Greeks that euer were, iudged of God, who how learned they were (he giuing the ground of all their knowledge) I now omit to rehearſe: & that theſe things afore rehearſed are beſt and moſt agreeable to the nature and magnificence of God, many do witneſſe, as *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Plato*, and after them the Stoickes, and almoſt all other Philoſophers haue ſo thought of the diuine nature. But they deliuering this their Philoſophie in ſhort ſpeech, durſt not publiſh the truth of their doctrine among the people, alreadie ſeized vpon by
F ſuperſtitious opinions. But our lawmakers works and words ſo agreed, that he ſatisfied at large al his people, and they that were to bee borne of them and their ſucceſſors, inſpiring as it vvere a certain conſtancy into them to perſeuer in the ſame, ſtil referring the cauſe of his lawes to their profit and commoditie. For he did not affirme the worſhip of God onely to be part of vertue, but he aſſigned other parts thereof, to wit, fortitude, iuſtice, and mutuall concord of all his citizens. For all our actions, ſpeeches, and what elſe ſoeuer, are all referred to diuine pietie. Which hee left not touched without any more diſcourſe of it. For theſe two are the methods of all diſciplin

The opinion of the wiſeſt Greekes concerning God.

Moſes cõpared with other lawmakers.

Two methods of moralitie and diſcipline

and

and mortalitie, whereof one frameth and directeth the ſpeech, the other the manners & actions: G
which being ſo, other lawmakers were indeed wiſe in aduice and counſaile, and yet they made
choice of one of theſe methods, & left the other: For the Lacedemonians were inſtructed in ma-
ners, and not in words, as alſo they of Creete were: but the Athenians & almoſt all the Greeks
were directed and trained vp by lawes in euerie thing they were to doe, yet neuer could they
put their written lawes in practice: but our law maker verie induſtriouſly did conioyne both
theſe together, for he neither omitted the training them vp in manners and good exerciſes, nei-
ther did he ſurceaſe to leaue them written lawes. And firſt of all, making his entrance from the
verie meates, and preſcribing to euerie one a conuenient diet, he left no man libertie amongſt vs
to direct himſelfe in the leaſt matter concerning his meat, but he by lawes defined, both from
what meats wee were to abſtaine, and what to eate, and what ought to bee our ordinarie diet, as H
alſo when wee ought to labour, and when to ceaſe from worke; ſo that wee as it were vnder the
gouernment of a father or maſter, might neither ſinne willingly, nor for ignorance: for hee did
not appoint puniſhment for them that were ignorant of it, but by law enacted a moſt neceſſarie
and milde chaſtiſement for the voluntarie offenders: & for this cauſe he did not onely will that
we ſhould once or twice or often heare the lawes, but that once euerie week we all, omitting o-
ther buſines, ſhould come to heare the lawes, & ſo learne them perfectly, which things all other
law makers as it is well knowne omitted: All which laudable cuſtomes all other law makers haue
neglected, and the moſt part of men are ſo farre from liuing according to their owne lawes, that
they are altogether ignorant of them: and hauing offended their lawes through ignorance, they
Moſes commaunded all the Iewes to come & heare the law. then learn by other mens meanes, that they haue made breach of their lawes, yea the chiefeſt & I
moſt eminent men amongſt them, doe profeſſe herein that they are ignorant, cauſing thoſe
that are learned and skilfull in their lawes, to ſit as it were in commiſſion with them to direct
them. Whereas euerie one of our nation being demaunded of our lawes, canne anſwere as rea-
dily as hee can tell his owne name: for euery one of vs learning them as it were ſo ſoone as
wee come to the vſe of reaſon, wee haue them as it were written and printed in our mindes,
and by this meanes both wee offend more ſeldome, and when wee offend wee are ſure to bee
puniſhed.

The concord of the Iewes in religion. And this eſpecially is that which hath cauſed ſuch an vnitie and concord amongſt vs. For to
worſhip one God all after the ſame manner, and nothing to differ in manner and conuerſation
one from another, is the onely way to eſtabliſh amitie and concord in a common wealth. For K
onely amongſt vs no man ſhal hear any different ſpeeches & opinions concerning God, which
thing amongſt all nations elſe is moſt frequent and ordinarie: for amongſt them not onely euerie
one of the cõmon people doth ſpeak his pleaſure in this point, but diuers Philoſophers alſo pre-
ſume to do it, ſome of thẽ with their blaſphemous ſpeeches altogether deſtroying the nature of
God, and others with the like impudencie denying him to haue any care of men: neither is there
any difference amongſt vs of affairs appertaining to mans life, but al men with vs follow one cõ-
mon expreſſe labour, and we all ioyntly affirme the ſonne of God, and that hee hath care of hu-
mane affaires, and all our actions and exerciſes: yea any one may learne of our women and chil-
dren, that all things whatſoeuer, are to be reduced to pietie. Hence it groweth that ſome detract
our nation, for that amongſt vs were no men inuente rs of new matters & acts: to whom we will
thus anſwer, that other nations account it a glory not to perſiſt in anie thing that their forefathers L
vſed, and hould them of moſt account amongſt them, that can beſt tranſgreſſe their forefathers
wiſedome. But we contrariwiſe do account it the chiefeſt point of wiſedome and vertue, neither
to do, nor thinke any thing contrarie to that which out aunceſtors haue decreed, which is a token
that our law was eſtabliſhed by as good aduice as was poſſible. For thoſe lawes that in all points
are not as they ought to be, are often by experience found faultie. But amongſt vs who beleeue
that our law was firſt eſtabliſhed by the will & pleaſure of Almightie God, nothing is pious and
vertuous which may any wiſe impugn the ſame. For who can take away any tittle therof, or adde
better in the ſtead? or who is hee that can transferre and carrie vs from the obſeruance of them,
and ordaine for vs better lawes to gouerne our common wealth? Or what law can be more iuſt M
and better, then that which the wiſedome of God (who is the Lord of all things) hath eſta-
bliſhed? Hee firſt of all permitted the diſpoſing of all principall affaires to the prieſts in general,
and moſt wiſely conſtituted a high prieſt as their head: neither were they choſen to this dignitie
by our lawmaker, who either exceld in nobility of birth, or riches: but he appointed ſuch to ſa-
crifice vnto God, who were knowne to excell others in wiſedome and ſanctitie: theſe do both

keepe

A keep our lawes, and obſerue all other things belonging to their office with all integritie; for our Prieſts are appointed ouer-ſeers of all things, and to iudge all ſtrifes and controuerſies, and to puniſh the offenders. What monarchie then or kingdome can be more holy then this? Or how can God be better honoured then amongſt vs, where all the people are prepared to pietie, and the Prieſts commanded ſo to rule and gouerne the common-wealth, as if they were celebrating ſome feſtiuities? And whereas other nations cannot celebrate their myſteries, which they tearm ſacrifices, in a few daies; we with ioy and pleaſure and immutable wils, do celebrate our ſacrifice continually without intermiſſion: It reſteth now that I ſet downe our precepts and lawes, as arguments of that which I haue ſaid. The firſt is of God: of whom our law ſaith, God hath all things, he is moſt perfect, moſt bleſſed, he is ſufficient both for himſelfe and all things elſe, he is B the beginning, midſt, and ending, famous amongſt all things for his workes and benefits, more manifeſt then any thing elſe, but his ſhape and greatnes is to vs vnſpeakeable, all matters (how precious ſoeuer) being compared with his excellent beauty are nothing worth, and all art compared with his inuention is vnartificiall, we can neither ſee, conceiue, nor imagine any thing like him. He is holy, for we ſee his works; the light, the heauen & the earth: the Sun, the moon, riuers, and ſea, ſo many different ſhapes of liuing creatures, and encreaſe of fruits: All theſe God himſelfe made, not with hands or worke, nor as one needing any to help him, but he ſeeing them to be good, they were preſently made. He is to be followed of all men, who ought to worſhip him by the exerciſing of vertue; for this is the moſt holy way to pleaſe him. We haue one temple, as alſo one God, which temple is common to all men, as hee is the common God of all men. For C ſimilitude alwaies pleaſeth, him doe all our Prieſts honour with ſacrifice, and he amongſt them hath the firſt place, who by birth is the chiefeſt: and he firſt ſacrificeth to God, ſeeth the lawes obſerued, iudgeth controuerſies, and puniſheth thoſe that are conuicted by the law: whoſoeuer diſobeyeth him, ſhall be puniſhed as one that rebells againſt God himſelfe; he offereth ſacrifices not pertaining to gluttonie or drunkennes, for God is not pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, but is rather iniured, and ſuperfluous expences are thereby made.

What ſort of people are to be made prieſts.

Of God and of the diuine prouidence.

The workes of God.

The ſacrifices of the olde teſtament.

But God loueth them that are temperate, and orderly, and of good behauiour, and eſpecially requireth in vs that ſacrifice, an inuiolable chaſtitie. In our ſacrifices offered for our common good, we firſt of all pray in common, and then euery one for himſelfe, becauſe we are all fellows, and he that delighteth herein more then in his owne life, is moſt acceptable to God. Wee pray D and vow vnto God, not requeſting riches of him, for he of his owne accord beſtoweth them vpon euery one, and left them amongſt vs: but we pray that we may haue part of them, and hauing gotten them may keepe them. Our law hath alſo appointed purifications both from our chamber-bed and carnall copulation, and many other things, which are too long to rehearſe: And this is our ſpeech and opinion of God, who himſelfe is our law. And what concerning marriage? Our law onely alloweth naturall copulation between man and wife, done to the intent to get children. But that men ſhould abuſe one another againſt nature, it altogether diſalloweth, & puniſheth ſuch offenders with death. It cõmandeth vs to marrie, not reſpecting the dowrie, neither muſt we take women violently and by force, nor allure them by deceitfull perſwaſions, but that wee rather obtaine his good will, who may grant and vſe ordinary meanes to perſwade. It E alſo appointeth that a woman ſhall be in all things inferiour to the man, neither is ſhe to obey in committing wickednes, but as one vnder gouernment. For it is God that gaue man this authoritie. With her the husband onely may lawfully accompany, and it is abhomination for her to make trial of another man: and who ſo attempteth this, can no waies auoid death: the like penaltie attendeth him, if he offer violence to a virgine deſpouſed vnto another man, or if by perſwaſions hee ouercome a married woman or other, that hath children vnder her, and all this our law commandeth: It hath alſo interdicted all women from concealing their children being borne, or otherwiſe to deſtroy them, for ſo ſhee ſhould be a child killer, deſtroy ſoules and mankinde: Whoſo therefore vſeth carnall copulation and corruption is vncleane by our lawes, and women after lawfull copulation muſt waſh themſelues, iudging that a part of their ſoule was by this act F defiled, and ſhe being puffed vp was wounded in her bodie, and therefore our law ordained water of purification for them. Neither is it lawfull for them to feaſt and banquet at their childe-birth, whereby an occaſion of drunkennes may grow, but that their beginning ſhould bee temperate: they are likewiſe commanded to train vp their children in learning, that they may learne the law, and actions of their forefathers, and imitate them; that ſo being trained vp in the law, they may not ſinne nor tranſgreſſe them by ignorance.

Purifications vſed in ſacrifice.

Of mariage.

The puniſhment for him that doth rauiſh a virgin.

The purification for the bodie.

Of the funerals of the dead.

Our law hath alſo prouided for the buriall of the dead, that our funeralls ſhould neither bee G
pompeous, nor our ſepulchers gorgeous, commanding euery houſhold to performe all neceſſa-
ries touching the buriall of their dead, permitting all men at any ones death to aſſemble them-
ſelues together, and bewaile the dead: It alſo commandeth euery one (yea euen the dead mans
owne familie) to purifie themſelues after the buriall, and to goe afarre off, as ſeeming to be vn-
cleane. It alſo appointeth puniſhment for them that haue committed murder, either wilfully or
The honour due to parents

againſt their will. It bindeth euery man to obey his parents next after God, and cõmandeth that
thoſe children that do not ſhew themſelues grateful vnto them, or in any thing do grieue them,
that they ſhould be ſtoned to death: It alſo commandeth all young men to reuerence old men,
becauſe God is elder to vs all. It permitteth not friends to conceale any impiety; for God is not
their friend who doth not diſcloſe them: and if friends fall out that doe know one anothers ſe- H
crets, yet they are commanded not to bewray them. If any Iudge take a bribe, he is to be puni-
Againſt theft and vſurie.

ſhed with death for omitting iuſtice, and aſſiſting the guilty. No man muſt take any thing away
that he himſelfe placed not, and no man muſt take that which is not his owne. No man for len-
ding muſt take vſurie; and many ſuch like things our law commandeth, concerning cauſe of
communion between vs and others.

It is alſo not amiſſe to recount how our law-maker prouided for the entertaining of ſtrangers
amongſt vs: For he ſeemeth ſo to haue prouided, that to our knowledge we neither corrupt our
owne lawes, nor deny to impart them to others: but he entertaineth all liberally that will come
and liue vnder our lawes, iudging the community of mans life, not ſo much to conſiſt in the na-
tion whereof we come, as in the vnity of our minds & conuerſation. He forbiddeth others that I
are ſtrangers and come not with that intent to be admitted to our ſolemnities; yet he comman-
ded vs to exhibite vnto them, all other things neceſſarie: and that wee ſhould giue vnto all men,
fire, water, meat, & bury them being dead. He hath alſo moſt mildly determined how we ought
How we ought to vſe our enemies.

to deale with our enemies, that wee neither deſtroy their countrey with fire, not cut downe
their fruit trees. We are alſo forbidden to rob and ſpoile thoſe that are ſlaine in fight, and deale
iniuriouſly with our captiues; and eſpecially if they be women: yea he ſo endeauoured to teach
vs humanity & mildnes, that he prouided, that we vſe euen vnreaſonable beaſts curteouſly, and
only imploy them to ſerue our lawfull need, and no further: for he forbideth vs to kill any tame
thing bred in houſes, and that we ſhould not kill the old birds and their young together, and al-
though many wilde beaſts enemies to mankind doe aſſiſt vs in our labours, yet he commanded K
to ſpare them alſo. And in euery point hee eſtabliſhed humanity and mildnes, amongſt vs, vſing
(as is before ſaid) lawes to direct vs therin, enacting alſo other, how they who infringe the fore-
A repetition of the precepts of the lawe.

ſaid lawes, may be with all ſeueritie puniſhed: for the puniſhment allotted to the violators here-
of, is for the moſt part death: as if any man commit adultery, rauiſh a virgine, vſe the ſin againſt
nature with another, or ſuffer himſelfe to be ſo abuſed. We alſo haue lawes concerning our ſer-
uants, and our meaſures, and waights, and vnlawfull bargaines and ſales, or deceit, if either one
take any thing that is anothers mans, or which is not his owne; all theſe are to be puniſhed not as
other nations puniſh them, but much more grieuouſly. But whoſoeuer either iniureth his pa-
rents, or committeth impiety againſt God, he ſhall preſently be deſtroied: but they that obſerue
this law are rewarded not with gold or ſiluer, nor with a crowne beſet with precious ſtone: but L
euery one hauing his conſcience to witnes, doth greatly profit, and gain eternity; as both our law-
maker prophecieth, and God himſelfe doth moſt aſſuredly promiſe to them that obſerue them.
The reward of ſuch as keep the law.

And if it chance that we be forced to ſuffer death for them, yet do we ioyfully go to execution,
nothing doubting but that we ſhall ſo exchange this life for a better: I ſhould be loth to report
this, if our deeds did not make it manifeſt: for many of our forefathers, only for that they refu-
ſed to ſpeake againſt our lawes, or otherwiſe then our lawes permitted, haue moſt manfully and
conſtantly indured all torments & death it ſelfe. If our nation were vnknowne to all the world,
The continuance of the lawes amongſt the Iewes.

and that this our voluntary obſeruation of our lawes were not manifeſt to all people, if any man
ſhould report vnto the Greeks, that either he had read this which I haue declared, or elſe that he
had found people in a ſtrange land, ſuch as we be, hauing ſo pious & honeſt opinions cõcerning M
God, and who had for many ages perſeuered therein; I doubt not but they would all admire
and wonder hereat, conſidering the great mutabilitie amongſt themſelues. To bee ſhort, there
are ſome who ſticke not to deride them who haue lately written of the gouernement of Com-
mon-wealths and lawes, as though they had written things fabulous and altogether impoſſi-
ble. And that I ſpeake nothing of other Philoſophers that haue written of this argument, that

diuine

A diuine *Plato* amongſt the Greeks, a man who in honeſt life, vertuous ſpeech, and ſound Philoſophie, excelled all others. This man is almoſt contiually ſcoffed at by them, who in their owne conceit are skilfull in ciuill affaires, and brought in as a Vice in a Comedie. Whereas whoſoeuer conſidereth his writings with diligence, ſhall often and eaſily find matter agreable with moſt mens manners: yea this *Plato* himſelf confeſſeth, that he dare not by reaſon of the common peoples ignorance ſet down the true opinion of God. But many thinke *Platoes* words full of vanitie, and licentiouſneſſe, and admire *Lycurgus*, and euery one commendeth the citie of Sparta, for that it ſo long time perſeuered in his lawes. It is therefore an euident demonſtration of vertue to remaine in their lawes. But if thoſe who ſo admire the Lacedemonians doe compare them with vs, and the time during the which their laws were in force, with the time of our cõmon-wealth: B they ſhall finde that ours hath continued more then two thouſand yeares. They ſhall alſo finde that the Lacedemonians did only perfectly obſerue their lawes, during ſuch time as they were in proſperitie and liberty, and that when their fortune changed, they then became vnmindfull of their lawes.

Plato admir'd amongſt the Greekes.

Lycurgus the law-maker amongſt the Lacedemonians.

But we, who haue felt many thouſand miſhaps by reaſon of the often change of Princes in Aſia, haue not in theſe our laſt miſeries and euils forſaken our law. Neither can any man ſay, that liberty and licentious life is the cauſe, why wee ſo diligently obſerue them, ſeeing that whoſo pleaſe may ſee ſufficient proofe, that they tie vs to more ſtrict life and laborious, then thoſe of the Lacedemonians did them. For they neither tilled the earth, nor vſed any handy-craft, but ceaſing from all labours and paines taking, liued in their Citie fat and faire-liking, hauing both C their meate and all other neceſſaries prouided and prepared for them by others, and eſteemed that onely their felicitie to doe or endure any thing, ſo that they might preuaile againſt thoſe againſt whom they enterpriſed warres: and that they failed alſo herein, I omit to rehearſe. For not onely one or two of them at once, but oftentimes whole companies of them, forgetting their owne lawes yeelded themſelues to their enemies. And can any one tell of, I ſay not ſo many, but of one or two of vs that euer was trecherous to his owne lawes, or that feared to die for them? I meane not a common death, ſuch as ſouldiers are ſubiect vnto, but ſuch a death as is effected by all torments and tortures that can be deuiſed. Which I thinke thoſe that preuailed againſt vs impoſed vpon vs, not for hatred, but that they deſired to ſee ſo admirable a matter; and to ſee if wee being but men, and ſuch who eſteemed it the the greateſt impietie poſſible to D doe it, could bee compelled by them to ſpeake or doe any thing contrarie to our lawes. Yet it is no wonder that we for our law doe die with ſuch conſtancy, rather then any other nation: for other nations cannot abide to endure that which wee account a trifle, to wit, labour and ſimple fare, and that no man eat whatſoeuer, or what hee deſireth, to lie with them whom hee ought not, or to be idle (except hee be of noble birth) or goe gallantly attyred: and we are alwaies carefull that when wee fight againſt our enemie, wee obſerue our lawes concerning our meates. And thus we take pleaſure to obſerue and keepe our lawes, and to exerciſe fortitude in obeying them.

The Iewes compared with the Lacedemonians.

The ſtreict lawes of the Iewes.

Let now *Lyſimachus* or *Molonus* paſſe, and ſuch as they bee, wicked lying writers, and Sophiſters, deceiuers of young men, and detracters of our owne nation as though wee were the wicE kedeſt people liuing. As for me I will not examine the lawes of other nations: for it is our cuſtome to keep and obſerue our owne, not to detract others; yea and our law-maker openly prohibited vs from blaſpheming ſuch, as other nations hold for gods, only for the name of God attributed vnto them: yet may wee not leaue the obiections of our accuſers vnanſwered, ſeeing that which we are to ſpeake againſt them, is not our owne deuice, but many before vs haue ſpoken it. Who then of all the wiſe Greeks will not condemne the moſt famous Poets, and eſpecially, the law-makers, who at firſt brought and ſettled ſuch vaine opinions of the gods among the common people? affirming the number of them to be ſo many as they thought good, and to be borne at diuers times one of another, allotting to euery one his proper place, as vnto other liuing creatures: ſome to be vnder the earth, others in the ſea, and the ancienteſt amongſt them F in hell, fettered and bound: and thoſe whom they place in heauen, in words, they doe tearme him a father, but in deeds they ſhew him to be a tyrant, and for this cauſe they report that his wife, his brother, and his daughter, whom they affirme to haue been borne of his braine, conſpired againſt him to binde him, and hang him, as they report him alſo, to haue dealt by his father. Againſt theſe vanities all excellent and wiſe men doe worthily inueigh, who beſide this already rehearſed, in deriſion adde, how ſome of the gods are young, and ſome old, and ſome infants,

Moſes forbidderh to deride & blaſpheme falſe gods, only for the name of God imputed vnto them.

The number of gods amongſt the Gentiles infinite.

The fable of Iupiter and Pallas.

infants, others are gods of arts and ſciences, and one is a Smith, another a Weauer, another a G
Pilgrime, and is at variance with mortall men, others delight in muſicke, others in ſhooting:
moreouer, that they are at variance one with another amongſt themſelues, and that they fall out
one with another in mens behalfe, and that not only one of them layeth violent hands vpon the
other, but that alſo they are wounded by mortall men, & ſorrow & feele griefe for the wounds;
and that which is moſt abhominable of all, doe vſe carnall copulation with mankind, and that
Iupiter. moſt vndecently, that their vnbridled luſt is extended both to men and women. Then that their
chiefe god of all, whom they call father, contemned & drowned certain women whom he him-
ſelfe had deceiued and gotten with childe, and that hee could not deliuer the children borne of
theſe women from calamitie, for that deſtiny had obliged him, nor ſee their deaths without
teares. This is all good ſtuffe, as alſo is that which followeth, to wit, adulteries committed in H
heauen, ſo openly, & impudently amongſt the gods, that ſome profeſſe themſelues to enuy their
fellow gods and goddeſſes tied together in ſuch filthineſs. And what ſhould the reſt of them do,
when as their king and the moſt ancienteſt amongſt them, could not refraine his luſtfull licen-
tiouſneſſe from the company of women? Moreouer, ſome of them became ſeruants vnto men,
and ſome built houſes for money, and others became ſhepheards, others like malefactors were
chained in hell. What man then that euer was accounted wiſe, would not bluſh at theſe follies,
and reprooue the inuentors thereof, and the fooliſh beleeuers alſo? Others preſumed to feigne
both terror and feare, and madnes, and ſuch ſimplicitie as that they might be deceiued, and all
other naughty paſſions to be found in the nature of their gods, and haue perſwaded whole cities
to offer ſacrifices to the moſt noble amongſt them. And they are in great perplexitie, thinking I
that ſome of the gods are the giuers of all good things, others againe to be their enemies, and ſo
ſeeke to pleaſe them with gifts as they would doe wicked men; and they are verily perſwaded,
that they ſhall ſuſtaine great domage by their meanes, except they doe daily pacifie their wrath
What is the cauſe of ſuch error concerning God. by frequent gifts. What is the cauſe of this ſhamefull ignorance, and erroneous iniquity concer-
ning God? Truely I am perſwaded, for that their firſt law-makers were themſelues herein to
ſeeke, and ignorant of the nature of God, and that they did not faithfully deliuer vnto their
common-wealth, ſo much as themſelues knew concerning this point: but as though it had been
a thing of leaſt moment, did wilfully let it paſſe, giuing licence to Poets, and permitting them
Poets & painters cauſe the multitude of gods. to deifie and make gods whom they pleaſed, and that the Orators ſhould write of the common-
wealths affaires, and tell what them liked of ſtrange gods. Moreouer, the painters and image- K
makers amongſt the Greeks, had a great hand in making of gods, it being lawfull for them euery
one to frame what ſhape he liſt, and how he liſt, ſome of earth, others in colours: and the chiefeſt
god-makers amongſt them vſe iuory and gold to make their gods of; a true argument of their
mutable noueltie. And then the ancient gods, whom they firſt ſo honoured and reuerenced as
they could poſſibly deuiſe, being now withered with age, are out of credit, and other yongſters
poſſeſſe their places and honors: their temples alſo ſome are deſolate, others newly erected, as
men pleaſed. Whereas contrarywiſe they ought moſt conſtantly to keep their opinion of God,
and his religion.

Apollonius Molon was one of theſe proude fooles: but thoſe Grecians that followed true
Philoſophie, knew all that is already ſaid, and the colde reaſons of this allegorie, and therefore L
did iuſtly deſpiſe them, and agreed with vs in the true & decent opinion of Gods nature. Which
Plato decreed that no Poet ſhould be permitted in a cõmon wealt *Plato* well ſeeing, affirmeth that Poets are not to be permitted in a common wealth, and ſendeth
Homer away very honourably crowned and anointed, leaſt that hee with fables ſhould deſtroy
or deprane the true opinion of God. For *Plato* of all others eſpecially imitated our law-maker,
as he did herein alſo, commanding all his citizens that all of them ſhould perfectly learne his
lawes, and that for no caſualty, any ſtrange forraine cuſtome ſhould bee admitted into their ci-
tie, but that their common-wealth ſhould bee pure, and they perſiſt in the obſeruation of their
lawes. But *Apollonius Molon* not reſpecting this, inueigheth againſt vs, for not receiuing into
our ſociety men of ſtrange opinions or religion, whereas not onely wee doe ſo, but commonly
all Greekes, yea and the moſt prudent amongſt them. The Lacedemonians did expell all ſtran- M
gers, and did not permit their citizens to trauell into other countries, fearing that by both theſe
The Lacedemonians did expell all ſtrangers. waies their lawes might be corrupted. They therefore are to be ſpoken againſt rather then wee,
ſeeing they neither admit ſtrangers to conuerſe with them, nor to inhabit amongſt them, no
nor impart their religion vnto them; but wee though not deſirous to learne other nations reli-
gion, yet doe we not deny to impart ours to ſtrangers that deſire to embrace it: which if I bee

not

A not deceiued is a token of magnanimitie, and clemencie in vs: but this ſhall ſuffice concerning the Lacedemonians. *Apollonius* was ignorant how matters ſtood with the Athenians, who boaſt that their citie is free from all nations: for they did moſt ſeuerely and without all mercie puniſh thoſe that did but ſpeake any word againſt their God. For what was the cauſe of *Socrates* his death? he neither betraied the citie to enemies, nor deſtroyed their temples, but only ſwore by a ſtrange oath, which as he ſaid (whether in ieſt or in earneſt) a diuell taught him, and for this offence was he put to death, by drinking hemlocke: his accuſers alledging, that hee corrupted young men, and contemned the lawes, and religion of his countrey. And this *Socrates* ſuſtained being a citizen of Athens.

The Athenians manners.

Socrates a citizen of Athens.

Anaxagoras was of Clazomenia: and for that he affirmed the Sun which the Athenians wor-
B ſhipped for God, to be a fiery ſtone, he was by the ſentence of ſome few condemned to dy. They alſo proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would kill *Diagoras* of Melus ſhould be rewarded with a talent for his labour, only for that this *Diagoras* was ſaid to deride their myſteries: *Protagoras* alſo had bin by them taken and put to death, had he not made quick eſcape, only for that they ſuppoſed him to haue written certain doubts of the Athenian gods. And what wonder is it that they ſo vſed theſe famous men, who ſpared not to vſe the like cruelty vpon women? For they killed a prieſt, for that ſome accuſed her to worſhip ſtrange gods; and their law appointed, that whoſo did introduce ſtrange gods into their citie, ſhould be puniſhed with death. It is therfore euident, that they who enacted ſuch ſtraight laws, beleeued not the gods of other nations to be gods: for had they beleeued in them, they would not haue depriued themſelues of the benefit of many
C gods. The very Scythians (who delight in manſlaughter, ſo that they very little differ from brute beaſts) yet do they think themſelues bound to maintaine their owne lawes, as beſt, ſo that they ſlew *Anacharſis* a famous Greek, that came vnto them, only for that he ſeemed to attribute too much vnto the Grecian gods, yea thou maiſt finde many among the Perſians, who for this cauſe haue been tortured. And it is euident that *Apollonius* approued the Perſian lawes: for when the Greeks admired their fortitude and concord of opinions concerning God, I meane the fortitude they ſhewed in burning of their temples, this *Apollonius* in all things imitated the Perſians, violating other mens wiues, and putting out their childrens eyes; whereas our lawes adiudge him to death that ſo vſeth vnreaſonable beaſts: And neither the feare and terrour of potentates, nor the fauour of them whom all men reuerence, could euer cauſe vs to forſake or aban-
D don theſe lawes: neither doe wee exerciſe fortitude, to the end to depriue other men of their goods and fortunes by warre, but to keep our owne lawes: and wee who patiently put vp all other iniury; yet if any man do in our religion prouoke vs, we preſently ſeek reuenge, not reſpecting our own ability, yea though thereby wee worke our owne vtter ruine, and calamity. What therfore ſhould moue vs to imitate the lawes of other nations, when they that made thoſe lawes (yea euen the lawmakers themſelues) did tranſgreſſe them? Or how can the Lacedemonians auoid reproach for their inhoſpitalitie, and neglecting mariage? Or the Elians and Thebans for accompanying with men, contrary to the law of nature, which fact moſt ſhamefull, they deemed good and neceſſarie. Yea not content to doe ſo themſelues, they alſo aſcribed the like vnto their gods to be done by them (which the Greeks alſo now of late haue done) and for this cauſe
E they refuſed to marry with their owne women, iudging their ſatisfaction to be contrarie to the preſcript of nature: But I wil ſpeak no more of puniſhment, neither how great malefactors thoſe firſt lawmakers freed from puniſhment, being bribed with money, and how vniuſt they were in the lawes appertaining to wedlock. It is long to examine how great occaſions of impiety they gaue. For many haue already long ago forſaken their lawes: which cannot be ſaid of vs, who for our lawes haue ſuffered loſſe of our cities, fortunes & liues, we keeping & perſiſting in our lawes euen vnto death: and if any Iew be in a ſtrange countrie where there is a tyrant King, yet doth not hee ſo feare him that he would for his command in any iot tranſgreſſe our lawes. If therfore we do valourouſly endure thus much for our lawes, all men muſt needs grant our lawes to be verie good: but if they ſay we ſuffer all theſe calamities for to maintaine wicked or naughty lawes,
F what puniſhment are they not worthy of, who hauing (as they ſay) better lawes then we, do ſo eaſily forſake them, whereas we do maintaine ours euen with our owne liues? But ſeeing antiquitie of lawes is the greateſt argument to proue their goodnes, I wil ſet down of what antiquitie our lawes are, together with our lawmakers opinion of the Deitie; if therfore any one compare our lawes with the lawes of all nations, he ſhall finde that ours are of more antiquitie then theirs by many ages. For our lawes eſtabliſhed amongſt vs haue been imitated of all other nati-

A talent is 600. crownes.

The Scythians.

The Perſians manners.

The Iewes conſtancy in their lawes.

Againſt the lawmakers of the Gentiles.

The iniuſtice of lawmakers.

The Iewes ſtrict obſeruation of the law.

The Iewes lawes are of great antiquitie.

The lawes of the Gentiles.

ons: For though the first Greekes did colourably obserue lawes, yet all their Philosophers did G imitate ours, and our opinions of God; and in humility taught others, communion of life, and conuersation: yea the common people did long since imitate our piety: nither is there any nation either Greeks or Barbarians, who haue not after some manner obserued a Sabbath as we doe, and fasting daies, and candlesticks with light, all which they learned of vs; yea many do also obserue our customs concerning their meats, and our vnity & concord, wherein we excell all other nations, our community also and industrie in arts & labours, and sufferance for our lawes. And which is most to be admired, our law, not hauing any to force vs to obserue it, hath so obliged our hearts, that as God is of all the world honoured without compulsion, so are our lawes amongst vs all, we not forced thereunto: And whosoeuer doth diligently consider his owne nation and family, shal find that which I haue reported, to be true. I will now generally reprehend H

The Epilogue of this booke.

the voluntary malice of all men: for either they meane that we hauing these good lawes do yet little esteeme them, and follow worse, or if they do not so meane, let them hold their malicious tongue from any further calumniation. For I do not take vpon me the defence of this cause, for that I beare any hatred to any man, but for that I and all the Iewes do honor and reuerence our lawmaker, and beleeue that whatsoeuer he prophecied proceeded from God: yea although our selues did not know the goodnes of our laws, yet the multitude of them that imitate them were a sufficient motiue to induce vs thereunto. But I haue at large and with all sincerity discoursed of our lawes, and common-wealth in my Bookes of our Antiquitie. And I now againe haue made

The cause why Ioseph writ these books against Apion. A briefe rehearsall of all that is aboue-said.

mention of them neither in contumelie of other nations, nor in praise of our owne, but only to reproue such as haue most maliciously and impudently belyed vs, contrary to the known truth: I And I thinke I haue already fully performed that which I haue promised. For I haue shewed our nation (contrarie to their affirmations) to be most ancient, which I haue proued by the testimonie of many ancient writers, who in their works haue mentioned vs.

The intentiō of the Iewes lawes.

Our aduersaries affirme vs to haue come of Egyptians: I haue shewed that our forefathers came into Egypt out of some other place. They alledge that we were expelled Egypt for their miserie, in that they were infected with disease; I haue prooued that they came from thence to their owne countrie, by meanes of their own prowesse and force, of their own accord: Others labour to defame our lawmaker as a wicked person, whose vertue many of ancient times, and so long time as hath been since him, do witnesse. It is not needfull to speake more largely of our lawes: for they by themselues appeare pious and good, and such as do not inuite or incite vs to K the hatred of other nations, but rather to communion and friendship, being both enemies to iniquitie, and commanders of iustice, banishers of luxuriousnes, and teachers of frugalitie and labour: forbidding all wars enterprised for auarice, and preparing the people to shew fortitude in them, and for them; inflicting ineuitable punishment vpon their transgressors, not easily to bee deceiued by glosing speeches; and executing in action, all that they in word command: yea amongst vs the execution of them and obseruation is more readie then the words of them: I ther-

The origen of the Iewes lawes.

fore confidently affirme that we doe teach more pious and vertuous maners then other nations doe. For what can be better then inuiolate pietie? What more iust then to obey the lawe? what more profitable and commodious, then to be at vnitie and peace amongst our selues, and neither to forsake one another in calamitie, nor iniure one another in prosperity, to contemne and de- L spise death in time of warre, and in peace to labour and till our grounds, and to vse other arts and workes, and alwaies to thinke and beleeue, that God beholdeth all our actions, and ruleth and disposeth all things? If this be either written or reserued by any one before this time, wee are then to thank them as being their schollers: but if they are knowne neuer before to haue beene extant, then we are knowne to be the first authors and inuenters of it. Let therefore all *Apions* and *Molons* goe, and all others that with them are conuicted of lying and slandering. And this booke is written to thee *Ephaphroditus* who loueſt the truth, and to others who by thee will, or are desirous to know the same.

M

DESIDE-

A

DESIDERIVS ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS TO THE MOST VERTVOVS AND LEARNED FATHER, HELIAS MARCEVS, THE MACCABÆTAN RVLER of the renowmed Colledge of the Maccabees.

C

Haue not grudged, vertuous Father, to dedicate vnto thee a daies labour; wherein I haue perused, and what in mee lieth, amended the booke which Ioseph *writ of the seauen Maccabees brethren: And would it had lien in my power more aboundantly to haue answered your expectation: I haue now (for that I counted the Greek copy) by the Latin coniectur'd the Greek, and altered some things, yet but very few.* Ioseph *doth not falsly boast himselfe to haue attained to the excellency of the Greeke tongue, and this book will sufficiently witnes the same; wherein he shewed both great vanity and Emphasis, insomuch as he esteemeth to haue handled that famous worke with eloquent stile, and the ornament of discourse. Saint* Ierome *for this cause entitleth this book, Great eloquence;* Suidas ἐνάρετος πανυ; D *out of them both we amend the corrupted stile, and call it* περὶ αὐτοκρατορος λογισμος, *that is, the rule of reason: for the scope of this book tendeth all to proue, that Reason is of no force in man, except it beare soueraignty ouer all inordinate appetites. This is most euidently proued by the bookes of the Maccabees, in the Scripture: which bookes the Iewes did not receiue as Canonicall, yet do they account it among their sacred writ. I cannot but congratulate this worthy Colledge (which though famous for many other things, yet is more happy) for that it is so blessed, as to enioy so worthy and vnspeakable a treasure: Or rather all Colonia Agrippina, that happy & fortunate City; yet in nothing more happy, then for that it alone doth in her bosome shrine so many, so sacred, and excellent pledges of piety: yet should it be more happy if it could expresse their vertues, whose sacred relickes it so religiously keepeth, and imitate their manners whose bodies it possesseth, to wit, if in sincerity of religion it imitated the piety of three kings, and the sacred purity of the eleuen Virgines, if it resembled the most valiant* E *young men, the Maccabees, and the inuincible courage of that woman, whose valourous constancy no misery could conquer. And this best portion and part of her felicity, this worthy City might bestowe vpon her selfe, yea and double the same. Do thou go forward in that vvhich thou hast in hand, to vvit, in spreading the praise of those Martyrs, making that vertuous example more commendable, & your City more famous.*

F

Farewell.

G

FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS H

OF THE RVLE OF REASON; A MOST ELOQVENT BOOK, CORRECTED BY DESIDERIVS ERASMVS, MOST LIVELY SETTING DOVVNE THE Martyrdome of the *Maccabees*.

I

I Am at the inſtant requeſt of *Polybius* of Megalopolis, to put in writing the conſtant ſuffring of the Maccabees, worthy all admiration, not in a Rhetoricall and pleaſing ſtile, but rather after our owne Country faſhion, thereby to exhort our nation to patience in their calamities. But firſt of all, it is neceſſary for vs to ſpeak ſomthing of reaſon, and aſſigne vnto it the power and vertue to deliberate. For hee who hath once fully determined to ſuffer all miſery for Gods ſake, is in my opinion already a Martyr: it is therefore a great merit once to haue ſo determined; and therefore, as is aboue ſaid, reaſon beareth the rule of all inferiour paſſions; and then if deſtiny deny vs K opportunity to ſuffer, yet haue we ſuffred all, becauſe we purpoſed to ſuffer all. Whoſo therefore will renounce the world and aſpire onely to celeſtiall things, he muſt exerciſe ſobriety, baniſh glutteny, with his page laſciuiouſnes, and all other ſuch like vices as may poſſeſſe and captiue the minde: hee muſt likewiſe mount vp to the top of Vertues tower, that after, he may from thence war againſt the vices of this body, griefe and fear; the firſt wherof aſſaulteth vs when we begin, the laſt when we haue begun. There are many examples of the valiant ſouldiers of God, which I would vſe, but that the ornaments ſprung from the wombe of one woman may ſuffice me, which ſhee brought forth, not at one birth, but with the ſame piety and zeale. And firſt I will ſpeak of *Eleazar*, the cauſe and example of their paſſion, and then I wil relate what tortures and torments their mother endured: yet cannot man, but onely God deter- L mine, who amongſt them was firſt, and who laſt in this noble agony. They therefore, beeing all ſettled in one opinion, reſembling one another more in minde then they did in body, duly conſidered the frailty of this life, and therefore neither delighted in the flatteries of the world, nor any alluring enchantments thereof. They ſhewed themſelues not to eſteeme of torments, fetters, nor no other ſort of tortures impoſed vpon them: and to returne to our firſt ſaying, they premeditated patience, to endure whatſoeuer the Iudges cruelty could deuiſe. I will therefore what I may, praiſe the fortitude of theſe brethren, or rather I will with all truth rehearſe the moſt worthy agony of theſe holy men, which deſerues all commendations; and ſetting al adulation apart, proſecute with a bare hiſtoricall narration the manner of their martyrdome.

Reaſon hath dominion ouer our paſsions.

The death of the 7. brethren and their mother.

But before I begin to declare the death of Nobility, I will a little entreat of reaſon, which as I M haue affirmed is no ſmall motiue to martyrdome. Reaſon it is, that maketh vs obſerue faſts and vſe abſtinence; it is reaſon that makes vs deſpiſe mony, and by it we are taught not to account of dignities and honours, which all men generally aime at, yea reaſons gift it is that we do reſiſt the heat of luſtfull deſires. Hence commeth it, that hauing once ouercom ſuch things as the fleſh delights in, we find our ſelues a little able to reſiſt, we alſo learn to deſpiſe paines and torments, and

The deſcription of reaſon & wiſdome.

ſo

A so resolue to suffer all things that shall be imposed vpon vs. Which, that it may more plainly appeare, let vs search out the cause of this order, and we shal finde wisdome to be the cause hereof. For no man can determine and distinguish good from euill, that is not endued with wisedome; this wisdome is alwaies accompanied with iustice, and iustice is still ioined with vertue, and vertue and temperance cannot be separated; so that this wisedome consisteth vpon foure parts. Besides these, there are two things that either do cause or hinder passion, to wit, paine and pleasure: one of which we do alwaies refuse, and the other we alwaies desire; yet where pleasure ariseth, and is presently by reasons rule put away, the minde is there strengthened; and paine compared with glory, is through hope of a greater reward contemned before it come; and being come, B our minde is ashamed not to suffer that which before it was resolued to do. Reason therefore is the guide of all our actions, and by it we despise torments, and detest vice, which like a skilfull husbandman pruneth and cutteth away superfluous branches, and killeth the heat of all corrupt and hurtfull humors, onely leauing that to remaine in vse, which may some way be profitable to vs.

Griefe and paine cause or hinder passiō

Reason resembleth a skilfull gardener.

Thus reason purifieth vs by passion, encouraging to suffer, and in our suffering and agony strengthening vs. Who is not desirous to eat of the flesh of wilde beasts and fishes? And who lusteth not to eat of feathered foules? nay, do not the dainty dishes got either in sea or land inuite vs to eat of them? What then causeth vs to abstain from them? that all men desire them, yet no man eats them? Euen in this thing the mind is taught to ouercome it selfe in delightful obiects, and to to bridle all pleasure, that when occasion of martyrdome is offred, the minde setting aside C all vanities, will not for a little pleasure forget his accustomed vertue.

For this cause was *Ioseph* iustly praised in that he was not ouercome by lust, which reigneth in a youthfull body: this reason so worketh with sound aduice and mature counsell, that it againe recouereth lost friendship, and getteth new, and suffreth no cruelty to be committed. Of this we haue also the example of *Moses*, who had he not iust occasion to be angry against *Dathan* and *Abiram*, reason (no doubt) would haue caused him to haue smothered all griefe of minde. Did not our father *Iacob* with great vehemency reproue his sonnes, *Simeon* and *Leui*, that without reason they had vsed such cruelty, saying, Cursed be your anger? Which anger and wrath of theirs had it been bridled with reason, neither had they been cursed, nor the other had perished. For this cause, God, the maker of mankinde, when hee fashioned vs and our manners, hauing finished all D lineaments of the body, he now placed the minde to bee in it, and to rule it, leauing it certaine precepts to obserue and keep, to wit, temperance, and to imbrace and follow that which is good, and cleaue vnto iustice, and rule and bridle all passions in the body subiect vnto it, & obserue the precepts of God.

An instance of Iosephs chastity.

But some will aske mee wherefore wee offer to commit wickednes, seeing that reason ruleth our passion? But it is a ridiculous thing to thinke that reason so ruleth, for reasons rule cannot hinder the appetite from desire, but onely correct desire, and so preuaile that it suffer with patience the losse or abstinence from such things as it desired. For example sake, reason cannot hinder thee from being angry, but it can so worke that thou commit no impiety when thou art angry: in like manner, it cannot hinder thee from desiring filthy pleasure, yet can it cause thee not E to yeeld vnto it.

Reason therefore cannot vtterly extinguish vice, but onely bridleth it. Witnesse in this the example of holy *Dauid*, who fighting against strangers with great successe, and being at euening weary and faint, he came vnto his princely tabernacle, that was guarded by his souldiers, where he found them all at meat: yet himselfe being thirsty, durst not drinke, notwithstanding water was hard by, onely for that religion disswaded him, for he had vowed not to drink before he had conquered his enemies. Hee also forbade his men to drink, so that they might fight more courageously, if not for that they were valiant, at least for that so they might haue drinke. Whilst thus his thirst encreased, three young men of strong bodies armed themselues, and taking with them a vessell to put water in, they went vnto the enemies camp, and there assaulted the watchmen, who for feare of death fled, and so they past through the camp till such time as they came where the water was, and taking some from thence, they brought it to the king. But holy *Dauid* so bridled his humane appetite, that by reason hee quenched his desire, and shewed an excellent token of patience, teaching how the feare of God was to be prefered before all things. For taking the water he had much wished for, and which had been gotten with such danger, hee presently powred it on the ground, as a sacrifice to God, chusing rather to die for thirst, then to

An instance of Dauids thirst.

2. Sam. 23.

Dauid in his thirst refused to drink the water hee so desired.

offend

offend the diuine maiesty: yet reason is not so forcible, that it is able without due cõsideration to G
represse the inordinate motions of the minde, and mitigate the griefe of the body. But it is now
time to come to our history, yet is not this former discourse to be thought impertinent, for that
Seleucus and Nicanor. it is some what appertaining to the matter ensuing. Such was the wisedome and fidelity of our
forefathers, that *Seleucus*, king of Asia, enriched our priests, and being a man of another religion,
did ascribe all his actions and worthy deeds to the religion and faith of our ancestors. But wic-
ked mens madnes could not herewith be satisfied. For one *Simon*, hating the high priest *Onias*,
Simon a traytor to his country. and finding no waies or meanes to be reuenged of him in his own country, went vnto *Apollonius*,
Gouernor of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia, and before him in a publike assembly told him, that
he could help the king to an infinite treasure, for (quoth he) there is hidden in Ierusalem an in-
finite deale of gold and siluer, which by right belongeth vnto king *Seleucus*: *Apollonius* hearing H
this, praised and commended *Simon*, and confiscated the gold and siluer to the treasure-house of
Apollonius, captain of Syria, came with an army to Ierusalem. *Seleucus*; and hauing authority from the king to get it, hee leuied an army, and so accompanied
with *Simon*, came vnto our country, purposing if any violence were offred, to vse the defence of
his souldiers.

When the treasure-house of our Temple was now a sacking, *Onias* wept bitterly, and said, that
it was a heauy sight to them to whom this treasure was committed, to see it, or any part of it ta-
ken away. But *Apollonius*, neither respecting the teares and intreaties of the ould men, women,
nor children, presed into the Temple, they all praying God to punish him, and to defend their
Temple. Being now with a great guard of armed men entred into the holy temple, there appea-
Angels vpon horses, shining with fiery brightnes. red certaine Angels on horseback with weapons in their hands, and shining with a fierie flame I
about them, & they daunted the courage of this Infidell *Apollonius*, who presently fell downe
flat vpon his face; and lying so a great while, at last he came a little to himselfe: and rising vp, he
leaned vpon his shoulder who kept the temple, not being able to stand alone, he was so terrified
with the vision he had seen. When he came a little to himselfe, and was in some hope of recoue-
ry, he stretched both his hands towards heauen, and himselfe despairing to obtaine pardon for
his offence committed, he besought the Hebrews (whose temple he came to spoile) to make in-
tercession for him, himselfe with teares crauing pardon for his offence, and not onely acknow-
ledging his fault, but also confessing himselfe to haue deserued death, and all punishment possi-
Onias by praier obtained Apollonius his life. ble. Holy *Onias* seeing this, and fearing also that if *Apollonius* should then dy, the Hebrews would
be suspected to haue made him away, he made praiers to God for him, and so obtained his ene- K
mies life. *Apollonius* presently hasted to *Seleucus* to let him vnderstand what had happened, but
when he came hee found *Seleucus* dead, and *Antiochus* raigning in his steed, a man of tyrannous
Antiochus his rage against the Iewes. nature, who bare an ancient grudge to *Onias* the high priest: and therefore made *Iason* his bro-
ther high priest in his stead; *Iason* promising *Antiochus*, in lieu of this good turne, to pay him
3660. talents of siluer euery yeare.

This *Iason* beeing now made high priest, and chiefe amongst all the nation of the Iewes, hee
presently forced all the people to impiety, and to forsake religion; so that to build baths, he hin-
dred the defence and building of the Temple, and all Doctors of our nation conspired with him
in this iniquity. But hereat God was presently wroth: who being displeased, it was not needfull
to seek forraine enemies, for *Antiochus* himselfe was incited to rage against them. Who war- L
ring against *Ptolomeus*, king of Egypt, hee heard it reported that the Iewes did deeme him to be
dead, yet was hee very gallantly entertained by the inhabitants of Ierusalem: and presently after
the fight, he made an edict, that whoso amongst the Iewes refused to offer sacrifice to the gods,
hee should presently die vpon the wheele. But the godly minded of our nation did little e-
steem this edict, yea the women circumcising their infants (as our law requireth) did afterward
cast themselues downe headlong, to the end that they might so obtaine a present death with-
out longer delay. *Antiochus* perceiuing that the seuerity of his Edict could not compell the
Hebrewes to forsake their religion, but that men voluntarily did chuse death; hee sitting in an
eminent place from whence all the Iews might behold him, calling all of them together, he cau-
Eleazar is brought vnto Antiochus. 2. Macc. 6. sed swines flesh to bee sacrificed vpon the altar, and to bee offered to euery Hebrew to eat. A- M
mongst this whole multitude assembled from all places, was one *Eleazar* a priest, well instructed
in learning, and the feare of GOD, a man of aged yeeres, and of a very reuerend countenance,
Antiochus exhortation to Eleazar. one that was known to all men, and famous for his vertue. To this man *Antiochus* said thus: Bee
aduised by me, holy old man, to eschew those torments prepared for such as are obstinate, pre-
serue thy reuerend age, and contemne not the benefit of this life, take the sacrifice and eat of the

swines

A ſwines fleſh: for it is contrary to all wiſe mens aduice to credit the Iews opinions, and to refuſe that meat which nature hath as well ordained for mankinde as any other. Wee ſhew our ſelues vngratefull for Gods benefits, who contemne his graces, and make difference where nature hath made none; or what reaſon is there to ſhew that this beaſt is more abhominable then others? Either all beaſts are to be eaten, or elſe all to be eſchewed: it is ſuperſtition and idleneſs to bar our ſelues from any thing by a law, when we haue no other for it but our will. Set apart thoſe vaine and ſottiſh opinions, and at leaſt in this venerable age change thy opinion into better. Or ſuppoſe your lawes are forcible and to bee obſerued, yet will they excuſe thee, ſeeing thou doſt not ſin voluntarily, but by compulſion.

Eleazars answer to Antiochus.

B *Eleazar*, being permitted to ſpeake, thus replied to *Antiochus*, who both exhorted and forced him to breach of his lawes. We, *Antiochus*, do not follow a vaine report, but we obſerue the verity of religion which our fathers kept, and feare of torments cannot make vs embrace another religion, and forſake our own: yea, ſuppoſe our religion deliuerd to vs by our fathers had no firm grounds, yet would I in nothing, no not compelled by torments, forſake it. Doe not eſteeme it a ſmall matter to eat impious meat, and to taſte of that which is ſacrificed to Idols, for it is a profane thing to touch things that are profane. Our law condemneth your Philoſophy, wherein he is moſt ignorant that thinketh himſelfe moſt wiſe. We are taught to embrace ſobriety, to ſubdue in vs all inordinate appetite, to keep our bodies chaſte, and to ſuffer with patience whatſoeuer for Gods ſake is inflicted vpon vs, and not to deny the truth, iuſtice or piety, or GOD, who alone is true: and therefore I refuſe this profane meat, well knowing what I ought to eat, as warranted

C therein by the precept of Almighty God, whoſe lawes I haue learned to obey, and eſchew all meats ſacrificed to Idols, and embrace with all my force that which is expedient for the ſoule: it is open tyranny to compell any one to that which religion forbiddeth, and to command that which is contrary to iuſtice. Do what thou wilt, mock at thy pleaſure, yet ſhalt thou be more derided then thou thy ſelfe derideſt. I will perſiſt in the holy ſteps of my forefathers; notwithſtanding thou therefore with tyrannous hands pluck out mine eies, and with a ſharp knife rip vp my entrailes, thou ſhalt neuer conquer me. I will dy ſafe and ſound, and patient in the loue of God; neither flatter thy ſelfe for that I am aged, and that my body is now feeble: if need bee that I muſt be ſacrificed for Gods ſake, thou ſhalt finde me in theſe yeers as luſty as a childe, as conſtant as a young man, yea and moſt ioyfull in torments: and prepare an extraordinary fire for mee, or

D what elſe ſoeuer, thou ſhalt finde mee more conſtant amidſt torments, then now I am before I come to them. O ſacred religion! I will neuer violate thee the foundation of my ſaluation, the defence of the beleeuer, the ground of faith; neuer will I lift vp my hands contrary to thy precepts, neuer will I beleiue any thing to be iuſt, which is repugnant to that which thou haſt taught me: I will not loſe the merit of ſo many yeeres, nor relinquiſh the faith I haue hitherto embraced. The chaſte, pure, and deuout company of fathers ſhall receiue me into their number, where I ſhall not feare (O impious king) thy threats. But thou haſt changed the name of king to tyrant, yet thou ſhalt neuer alledge againſt mee my deed, my conſent, my word.

Eleazars conſtancy.

Eleazar cruelly whipped.

Whil'ſt *Eleazar*, full of conſtancy and liberty, ſpake thus, the ſouldiers that ſtood there about haled him to be tortured; and ſtripping him naked, they hangd him vp, and whipped him, and

E whil'ſt on either ſide he was beaten, a crier with an impious voice ſtill cried vnto him, Obey the kings pleaſure and command. But worthy *Eleazar* was not ouercome by torments, but ſuffered all tortures, as though hee had been in reſt and ſleep, and did manfully and without feare endure all torments: and fixing his venerable eies vpon heauen, he knew in whom he beleeued, and to whom he ſacrificed his ſoule; and beholding the fleſh on each ſide rent and torn from his body, and the bloud iſſuing out in great aboundance, he admired his owne patience, and thanked God the author thereof. At laſt, ſeeing in himſelfe the frailty of all fleſh (which is ſcarcely able to endure ſo ſharp torments) he fell vpon his face, which with ſtripes was all rent and torne, ſtil glorifying God, as he did before his fal. Then one of the ſoldiers to gratifie the king, did like a mad man ſpurn and tread vpon him, thereby to increaſe his torments more. But *Eleazar*, both ſtrong

F in body and minde, did like a right champion of the true GOD, neuer ſhrinke at thoſe paines, but this patient ould man did by patience ouercome the cruelty of his tormenters, ſo that euen the torturers themſelues admired, that hee endured ſo many torments. Then the kings officers coming vnto him, ſaid, How lõg *Eleazar* wilt thou neglect to obey the king, & to free thy ſelf frõ torments? eat of the fleſh of ſwine, & redeem thy ſelfe from all thou endureſt. *Eleazar*, although in this martyrdome hee had been ſilent, yet could he not without anſwering endure to heare ſo

profane

" profane counſell, but as tormented with this ſpeech, he cried out; We ſonnes of the Hebrewes G
" are not ſo effeminate as to forſake the way of our ſaluation, wherein we haue walked euen vntill
" our old age, neither are we taught for the auoiding of contumely which will not long continue,
" to giue others example and occaſion to ſinne. It is but a while that this life is to continue: ſo that
" we forſake but a ſmall trifle, yet hope we for that which is of great moment. Wilt thou tyrant e-
" ſteem of vs if we ſhould yeeld vnto thee? nay, thou mightſt iuſtly reproue our inconſtancy. We
" will therefore dy, and reſigne our ſoules (O venerable father *Abraham*) into thy boſome.

The ſouldiers ſeeing his conſtancy, did by the kings command caſt him into the fire, and poured ſtinking and loathſome liquors into his noſtrils. All which this reuerend old man did moſt willingly ſuffer, and ſo was conſumed with the flame: yet when nature began to faile, hee ſpake after this manner, lifting vp his dazeled eies to heauen: Thou art he (O God) from whom life H
and ſaluation proceedeth: behold, I dy for obſeruing thy lawes, be mercifull to this thy nation,
" and do not forſake them whom thou haſt hitherto protected, euen in thy boſome, and vnder the
" ſhadow of the wings of thy clemency, let my death end all miſery, and pacifie thy wrath bent a-
" gainſt our whole nation for their offences, receiue me for them al, and beſtow them all vpon me.
" And amidſt theſe ſpeeches he ioyfully yeelded vp the ghoſt.

Eleazars laſt words in the fire.

It is moſt true therefore which we at firſt affirmed, to wit, that the enduring of paines and torments is wrought by our reaſons lore: which once determined and reſolued, maketh a proſperous ſuffering of paines with all patience, which wiſely aduiſing men to that which is beſt, doth ſettle and confirme our opinions to follow it. If therefore reaſon and the inferiour powers bee at variance, we muſt ſubiect them to reaſon if wee will make a perfect victory. With this guide of I
reaſon our father *Eleazar* was moſt ſafely directed, neither to bee ouercome with paines, nor to giue place vnto vnlawfull inticements and allurements, he ſaued the ſhippe of his body from all ſhipwracke that might ariſe by the tempeſtuous ſtormes of vanity, and ſuffered himſelfe with no contrary wind to be driuen from the right courſe: yea, though it was toſſed vpon the waues of tyranny, yet did it remaine ſound and vnbroken, and keeping a direct courſe, arriued in the hauen of ſaluation. Neuer any man did ſeeke ſo valiantly to defend his city from an enemy, as this holy old man did his ſoule, who amongſt ſtripes, croſſes and flames, was ſtill the ſame man he was before. For as the toppe of a high rocke ſtandeth ſafe, and reſiſteth the waue without any domage vnto it ſelfe; euen ſo did the rocke of reaſon in this man beat backe the rage of thoſe tempeſtuous waues that did bear againſt his body, not permitting them to breake in and pearce K
the celeſtiall and diuine power of the ſoule. O happy old man, more bleſſed then all of thy age, O prieſt more ſacred then all other prieſts, who didſt not pollute thy ſacred lippes with profane meats; impiety found no entrance that way, from whence ſo many prayers to God had proceeded. The tyrants cruelty could not preuaile againſt thee, thou therefore art made an example for all prieſts of God to imitate. Such a one behooued it a prieſt to bee, more ſtrong then torments, more able to ſuffer then the torturers to inflict puniſhment, more forcible then Princes commands, yea and more potent then the fire, wherein thou didſt periſh: and finally, thou waſt ordained to be crowned with the lawrell of martyrdome for thy ſufferance. Thou haſt ſurpaſſed all antiquity, thou ſhalt be an example to all poſterity. If then feeble old age, wherin all ſtrength and heat of body was extinguiſhed, now vnfit to ſuffer torments (as beeing already broken with L
age) could by the aduice of reaſon endure ſo many torments, ſo many miſeries, who dare deny reaſon to be the chiefe cauſe of our ſufferance? Wee haue ſeene that all cruelty hath been ouercome by a determination to perſiſt in the ſeruice and feare of God: yet many affirme, that not all men who vſe the aduice of reaſon are able to vndergo ſuch agonies; but their aſſertion is vaine, and of no force: for moſt euident it is, that he onely is ouercome by paine, whom wiſdom hath not armed with patience. And no maruel if he, who raſhly enterpriſeth ſo waighty a matter, and without due conſideration, do at laſt forſake and repent himſelf of that which he ſo vnaduiſedly vndertooke. But if wee with due aduice and deliberation arme our ſelues, it is not an eaſie matter to remooue vs by any misfortune from our determination; when we make account that miſfortune will betide vs, we are not eaſily diſmaied thereat when it doth betide, for that nothing M
befell vs that we expected not.

Reaſons victorie.

A ſimilitude taken from the rocke.

Eleazars praiſe.

Therefore he that is wiſe and valiant is able to conquer his paſſions, for that he doth well deliberate, and when he commeth to his agony can put his determination in execution. Neither is the wiſdome of this old man ſo much to be admired, ſeeing children, and as it were infants, haue ſo deſerued commendations in this point, that they did work aſtoniſhment in their tormentors;

for

A for the courage and cruelty of *Antiochus*, being ouercome by the wisedome of old age, was now the more increased, and by wicked counsell caused seuen worthy children of the Hebrewes to be brought vnto Antioch, out of their Castle Sosandrum, who being yong in yeares, and so as he thought weake and vnable to suffer torments, his hope was that either by perswasions or terror of tortures, he might force them to renounce their religion. He therfore commanded these seuen, together with their mother *Salomona* who now grew well in yeares, to be brought before him: so they according to his command were brought, being of excellent beauty and worthy children of so vertuous a mother; yea they resembled Angels, their faces shining like the cleare light of the Sun, their eyes sparkled in most comely and decent manner, as testifying that they surpassed in vertue all other of humane race and condition. She was descended of most vertuous
B and noble parentage, and so she her selfe had continued and liued; but that excellent feature of bodie, enriched with nobility of blood and dignity, was now also made more noble by vertue & fortitude, wherein she passed all other things that could be said in her commendations. The tyrant beholding them and their mother amongst them, with merry and gladsome countenance, he thus craftily spake vnto the children. I wish your good (O admirable yong men) for so both your beautie of bodie and noble parentage perswade me: doe not therefore like mad men resist my command, auoid not onely torments but death also. For I desire not only to exalt you vnto honour, but also to encrease your riches and possessions; contemne the superstitious and superfluous beliefe of your countrimen, and imbrace our religion: Which if you refuse to do (as I hope you will not) I will deuise all torments, whereby I may by a lingring and painefull death
C consume you. And to the end to terrifie them the more, hee commanded all instruments of torment to bee presented vnto their view and eye-sight. So wheeles, rods, hookes, rakes, rackes, caudrons, cages, gridirons, were brought forth; and engines to torment the fingers and hands, gauntlets, awles, bellowes, brazen pots, and frying pans: for these are the names which we find. For that which I tearme bellowes, was a thin plate of iron to kindle or blow the fire with, like a fan, and farre more horrible deuices of torments were shewed vnto them, too long to rehearse: whereof they hauing had a sight, *Antiochus* said.

Antiochus caused seuen noble young men of the Hebrewes & their mother to be brought to Antioch. 2. *Macc.* 7.

The kings exhortation to the seuen brethren.

Consent vnto me, O prudent young men: for if that I command you to commit a sinne; yet doe not you offend in doing it, seeing you commit it onely vpon compulsion. But the young youthes inflamed with a diuine spirit and sense, contemned so many kinds of torments, and
D despised the tyrants threats and flatteries; and most godly (for they gaue him no iust occasion) they did driue the tyrant into a great rage. And by this it is euident how reason is master ouer passion: for if any sloathfull man not before trained vp to it, should of a sudden come to such a push, at the very sight of such torments his minde would haue been troubled, and his countenance appalled, his legs vnder him would haue trembled, and he with feare confounded: so that he would presently haue stept back from such an agony, & would forthwith haue alledged himself vnable to beare so many and so grieuous torments, saing. My self being vnwise, what should » I haue made choice of? Whether to endure those torments, or accept of the promised benefits? » Whether should I haue been mooued to pitie mine owne age, or to compassionate my mother? » God would not haue denyed pardon for this deed, I being forced thereunto: and by dooing it »
E though against my will, I shall get the Kings fauour. But where reason and aduice taketh place, » and hath well trained the minde to perfection, the other consequently followeth: As by the ex- » ample of these brethren I will declare, who as it were all with one voice denied to eate of the sa- » crificed swines flesh, as they were commanded. Wherefore (said they) O tyrant dost thou per- » secute vs that are innocent? We both desire and wish to die, and will vntill such time as death » expelleth life, firmely keep that which God commanded and *Moses* taught vs. And thou tyrant, » do not seek to seduce vs by protesting feined loue towards vs: thou louer of iniustice, master of » cruelty, deuiser of iniquitie, the pardon which thou doest offer is to vs more painefull then pu- » nishment: wee are armed with contempt of death, and esteeme not thy words, as being by our » late master *Eleazar* taught to despise them. Why then doest thou esteeme such pusillanimity to »
F be in vs yong men seeing of late thou foundst such courage in an old man? We follow him: thou » canst not try and know our minds, except by tearing our bodies thou search them out: we will » safely and securely suffer for our God any thing, and leauing this earth wee shall be entertained » into heauen; and thou for so tyrannizing most cruelly vpon innocent soules shalt be reserued to » eternall fire.

The young mens constancy.

The 7. brethren reply to Antiochus.

The tyrant greatly mooued, to see that he could neither preuaile by faire promises, nor by

threatnings, he cauſed them to be beaten with buls peaſels: and firſt of all he commanded *Maccabeus*, the eldeſt of the ſeuen brethren, to be ſtript, and ſtretched out vpon a racke, and his hands to be bound behinde him, and then to be moſt cruelly beaten, who wearied his tormenters by ſuffering (ſo great the force of vertue is) ſo that they deſired more to leaue beating him, then he requeſted they ſhould leaue. This done, he was put vpon a wheele, and a waight hanged at his feet, and ſo ſtretched round about it, that his ſinewes and entrailes brake, and ſo his paines increaſed: yet he being ouercome with paine, his mouth was not for all this ſtopped or hindered from calling vpon God, who beheld all; and reprouing the tyrant who deuiſed thoſe torments for the innocents, and taking ſtrength, he is ſaid to haue cried out after this manner; Bloudy tyrant, who perſecuteſt the Maieſty of God: I, whom thou thus tormenteſt, am no Witch, nor one who haue murdered and killed another man, but one who dies for iuſtice obſeruing the law, and for charity. Then when the torturers, ouercome with compaſſion, willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the kings pleaſure, he anſwered: O ye wicked miniſters of tyranny! your wheels are not ſo ſharp and cruell, that I thereby will be forced to forſake heauen, whereon my mind is fixed: teare my fleſh; yea, if ſo you pleaſe, roſt it at the fire: torture and torment each parcell of my body with ſeuerall cruelty; you ſhall for all this finde your ſelues vnable to force vs young men to impiety.

Antiochus cõmanded Maccabeus to be racked.

The death of the elder brother.

As hee thus ſpake, a fire was kindled, and hee, as hee was vpon the wheele racked, was ſo throwne into the fire: and thus he was by flames and torments ſo burned, that his bowels appeared; his mind nothing moued when his fleſh yielded ouercome with paines, who amidſt his pangs cryed thus vnto his brethren: O beloued brethren, learne of mee an example of vertue, conſider the ſtrength of an inuincible courage, contemne and deſpiſe the alluring baits of this world, and rather obey God then this tyrant, who can if he pleaſe humble the proud and mighty, and exalt the lowly and deiected. As thus hee ſpake, hee was taken out of the flame, and ſleane aliue, his tongue was pulled out of his mouth, and hee put into a frying panne, and ſo he departed out of this life to the great admiration of all that beheld him, and the ioy of his brethren and mother; and went before them to heauen, there to prepare a kingdome for himſelfe and them.

The ſecond brother brought.

After him, the ſecond brother, called *Aber*, was haled by the ſouldiers: and before the tyrant asked him whether he would relent, he cauſed all thoſe torments to be ſhewed him, thereby to terrifie him: but he nothing thereat moued, and denying to eat of that foreſaid ſacrifice, his hands were bound with iron chaines, and hee being hanged vp by them, the skinne of his body was ſleane from the crowne of his head vnto his knees: ſo that the entrailes in his breaſt appeared naked; yet in ſuch manner, as yet he might abide greater torments. For hee was caſt before a cruell Libard thirſting moſt extreamely after bloud, to the intent that he might deuoure with his teeth the reſt of his body: but the beaſt ſmelling of him (no doubt by the great handy worke of Almighty God) forgot his cruelty, and turning away his face, hee did no hurt to the Martyr.

But heereat the tyrants rage increaſed; and the Martyr, by ſuffering ſuch torments, was made more conſtant, crying aloud: O how pleaſant is that death vnto me, which is cauſed by all ſorts of torments for Gods ſake! yea, ſo much the more pleaſant, for that I aſſuredly hope to finde reward for it in heauen. Let theſe torments inflicted vpon mee (O tyrant) ſatisfie thy cruelty, for my paine is not by thy tortures increaſed, but rather my pleaſure, as thou ſhalt finde by my patience in this agony. More willing am I to ſuffer then thou to puniſh, yea my paine in ſuffering is leſſe then thine by inflicting the ſame vpon me. I am tormented for vertue & obſeruing the law, and the iuſtice of God ſhall baniſh thee from thy regall ſeat: thou by tormenting art tormented, and almoſt conſumed, thy wrath and fury being almoſt ſpent vpon me in vaine, thou ſhalt not eſcape the day of iudgement: eternall torments are there prepared for thee, which neither thy profane minde is able to indure, nor thy cruelty of power to decline, thy ſinfull ſoule being condemned to eternall puniſhments. Thus, remaining conſtant in his faith, and animated by his brothers example, he departed to heauen.

Machir the third brother is brought.

Then *Machir* the third ſon was brought, whom all men now pitied for the death of his two brethren, & many exhorted him by his brothers examples to deſiſt from his opinion, & ſo auoid puniſhmẽt: but he being angry hereat, thus replied; One father begat vs, one mother bore vs, one maſter inſtructed vs, we are all of one minde, and all like affected, do therefore no longer prolong the time in vaine. I came hither to ſuffer, and not to ſpeake, vſe all your tyranny poſſible againſt

this

A this body: for you haue no power at all ouer my ſoule. The tyrant hereat moued to ſee this third nothing relent by his brothers death, he deuiſed more cruelty then humane wit alone could inuent. Wherefore he commanded a globe to be brought, and tied the holy martyr about it in ſuch ſort, that all his bones were ſet out of ioint, and diſplaced: wherat the holy martyr was nothing diſmaid. The skin alſo of his head and face was pild off, and then he was put on the wheele: but he could not be rackt any worſe; for that all his bones were diſplaced, and did hang one ſeparated from another in moſt pitifull manner: and when bloud iſſued from him aboundantly, hee was depriued of the vſe of his hands and feet; but perceiuing his life to be ſpent, hee ſpake thus and died. We, O tyrant, endure this torment for the loue of God, and thou the author of ſuch iniuſt cruelty ſhalt ſuffer euerlaſting paine. Then his tongue being cut out of his mouth, he was put
B into a frying pan, and ſo amidſt thoſe torments yeelded vp the ghoſt.

Next after, followed *Iudas*, the fourth brother, whom all the people perſwaded and entreated to obey the king: but he, contemning their praiers and exhortations, ſaid thus with all conſtancy: Your fire ſhall neither ſeparate nor ſeuer mee from the law of God, nor from my brethren, who inſtead of this mortall life enioy life euerlaſting. I denounce vnto thee, O tyrant, deſtructiō and ouerthrow; but to ſuch as beleeue, ſaluation: make trial of me therefore thou cruel wretch, and ſee if God will forſake me, who hath with open and ſtretched out armes receiued my three brethren that are gone before mee, and whom the wombe of ſo holy a mother at ſeuerall times brought forth vnto glory. The cruel tyrant hearing this, was much moued, and leapt down from his chaire to torment this martyr himſelfe, that ſo he might ouercome him, and in his fury com-
C manded his tongue to be cut forth: but he heereat not terrified ſaid to *Antiochus*, This cruelty will nothing auaile thee, neither ſhalt thou heereby tyrant, as thou ſuppoſeſt, conquer mee. Our God needs not by voice to be awakened, but rather by ſecret cogitation to be praid vnto to help his ſeruants: he prouideth for them that hold their peace, and heareth the prayers of ſuch as do call vpon him, if they deſerue to be heard, and only requireth purity of ſoul. For our God knoweth all things before we ask; and before we our ſelues enter into cogitation therof, he vnderſtandeth our neceſſity: cut out my tongue, thou canſt not cut out my mind while my life remaineth. Thoſe praiers which by it I haue vttered to Almighty God, haue taught it to ſuffer: would God thou wouldſt ſo ſanctifie all parts of my body by puniſhing them, for thou therein inflicteſt puniſhment on thy ſelfe, and reward vpon me, and think not that thou ſhalt thus eſcape
D long vnpuniſhed. When he had thus ſpoken, his tong was cut out of his mouth, and he bound to a ſtake, and there he was beaten with ropes ends: and he did patiently endure this, notwithſtanding the colour of his face became dead and warme. Being looſed from thence, he was put vpon the whele: and then praying for his countrimen, hee by death went vnto the reſt of his brethren.

Iudas, the fourth brother, is brought.

The death of the fourth brother.

I Then *Achas*, the fift brother, before he was haled to torments, ſpake in this manner; Behould (thou tyrant) I come to be puniſhed before thou command mee, hope not therefore any iot to alter his minde, who as thou ſeeſt deſireth to be tormented. The bloud of my four innocent brethren, which thou haſt ſhed, hath condemned thee to hell fire: I am to make them vp the number of fiue, that by it thy paines may be encreaſed. Tell me (bloudy wretch) for what offence by
E vs cōmitted doſt thou thus puniſh vs? for what impiety doſt thou ſo perſecute vs? what villany haue we committed? what wickednes, what naughtineſſe haue wee attempted? This is all thou canſt alledge againſt vs, that we honor God our Creator, & liue iuſtly in obedience of his lawes, and therefore do not eſteem thy puniſhments: but they are to vs honour and ſaluation, and not puniſhment: wee ſhall be greatly rewarded by God, if no part of vs bee left free from torment. Whil'ſt thus he ſpake, his executioners by the kings command took him and caſt him into a brazen pot, and was preſt down in it, his head to his feet: and afterward he ſuffred all other tormēts, which his brethren had endured; yet not amazed hereat, he ſodainly ſtarted vp, and thus bitterly inueighed againſt the tyrant: Cruell tyrant, how great benefits doſt thou againſt thy will beſtow vpon vs! yea, the more thou art incenſed againſt vs, the more acceptable to God ſhalt thou
F make vs: yea, I ſhould be ſory if thou ſhewedſt mercy vpon me. This ſhort affliction gaineth vs life euerlaſting; if this temporall death ſhould not betide me, euerlaſting life could not befal me. And thus he finiſht his agony, and died.

Achas, the fift brother preſented himſelfe to torments before hee was called.

Then the tormenters laid hands vpon the ſixt brother, who was called *Areth*, whom the tyrant permitted either to chuſe honour or puniſhment: but hee aggrieued at his offer, ſaid; Although tyrant I be younger in yeers then my martyred brethren, yet my conſtancy of mind to theirs

The valour of the sixt brother.

theirs is not inferior: for we were all nourisht vp together, all together instructed, and we wil al G
die together in the feare of God. Hasten therefore to thy deuised torments, and that time which
" thou wouldst spend in exhorting me, spend it in deuising tortures for me. *Antiochus* hereat con-
founded, commanded him to be bound to a pillar with his head hanging downe, in such wise as
humors running into it might cause ache: and this don, he caused a fire to be made so far off him,
that it could not burne him, but rost him. He also commanded him as he hung to be pricked with
awles, that so the heat might pearce into the holes they made in his flesh. Whil'st thus he was tor-
mented, much bloud like froth gatherd about his head and face, and he then spake in this maner;
O noble fight! O valiant war! O strife betweene piety and impiety! These men haue past their
" agonies, whose crown of Martyrdome is the punishment of their persecuters: I do most willing-
" ly follow my brethren, that as by bloud I am conioined vnto them, so by death I may not bee se- H
" parated from them. Deuise, O tyrant, some new torment, for these which thou hast already deui-
" sed are already ouercome. O master of cruelty, enemy of piety, persecuter of iustice! we 6. wor-
" thy young men haue conquered the kings power, and what his kingdome or the whole world
" could afford. Thy fire is cold and heateth not, and the kings weapons are bended and blunted in
" our bodies; our God giueth vs more courage to suffer, then thou hast to punish: and so the pre-

The sixt brother sharpely reproues Antiochus.

cept of God remaineth firme in vs. And as he thus spake, one took hold of his tongue with a hot
paire of tongs: and suffering the same torments that his brethren had done, and fried in a frying
pan, he gaue vp the ghost.

Six of the brethren beeing now dead by diuersitie of torments, onely one of the seuen re-
mained aliue with his mother, named *Iacob*, younger in yeeres (but not in constancy of minde) I
then the rest of his brethren: he, presenting himselfe before the tyrant, moued him to compas-

Iacob the seuenth brother brought to torments.

sion, both for that he was left alone, and the last of his brethren, and also that hee was to perish:
wherefore hee called the childe vnto him, and into a place where no instruments of torment
were, and taking him by the hand he said thus vnto him, hoping to winne him by faire speeches.
" By thy brethrens calamity thou now well hast learned what is prepared for thee if thou disobey
" me, deliuer thy selfe therfore from these torments, and I wil giue thee what honour my kingdom
" can affoord: thou shalt bee a Magistrate and Generall of my Army, and one of my counsellers:
But perceiuing himselfe not to preuaile, he caused the yong mans mother to be called vnto him:
" who comming and standing neere her sonne, the tyrant said thus vnto her; Where are now, O
" worthy woman, all thy children? Behold, of such a number, if thou please, the destiny affoords K
thee one: aduise therefore thy childe, and mollifie his obstinate minde by wholesome counsell.
The mother hauing heard what the king said, she inclined her selfe vnto the king: which done,
" that the king might not vnderstand her, she spake in Hebrew to her child, as followeth; Pity thy
" mother, O son, and comfort thy sorrowfull mother, who bare thee nine moneths in my womb,
" and gaue thee sucke three yeeres; and with great industry haue brought thee vp to this age. I
" pray thee, deare son, consider the heauen and earth, and all that in them is, and knowe that God
" created them all of nothing, who also of nothing made mankinde. Feare not this Ethnickes
" paines and torments, but imitate thy brethren, and contemne death, that in the day of mercie
" I may receiue thee and thy brethren againe in heauen. As his mother thus admonished him, he
" in the Hebrew tongue requested to be vnbound, for that hee had a secret to disclose to the king: L
who being vnfettered, hee presently ranne to the torments prepared: for there was a frying pan
" red hot, that was prepared for such as were to suffer: vnto the which the childe coming, remem-
" bring his brethren, and beholding also the king, he said vnto him; Cruel tyrant, I now know thee
" not onely to haue beene cruell against my brethren, but euen cruelty it selfe. Wretch that thou
" art, who gaue thee this purple? and who exalted thee to this kingdom & dignity? euen he whom
" thou in vs dost persecute, whose seruants and worshippers thou killest and tormentest, for which
" thy wickednes thy selfe shal suffer eternal fire and torments which shal haue no end. Thou art of
" higher dignity & authority in this world then other men, yet he that made other men made thee
" also of the same nature that they are: for all men are born, and must dy alike. He that kils another,
" sheweth that himselfe may bee killed: thou tearest and tormentest thy owne picture and image M
" all in vaine: thou in thy fury killedst him whom not long since God created like thy self, and ac-
" cording to the same lawe: thou thinkest all lawfull which thy kingly power can command:

All men are borne & must die alike.

thou pullest out our tongues, and tearest our bodies with flesh-hookes, and consumest vs with
fire: but they who haue already suffered this, haue receiued euerlasting ioy for their reward;
and thou shalt aunswere for all the punishments inflicted vpon them. Thinke not that I

expect

A expect any fauour at thy hands, I will follow my bretheren, and remaine conſtant in our lawe. The tyrant hearing this, was wroth, and cauſed him to bee tormented: but his mother in torment comforted him, and with her kinde hands held his head, when with violence of the tortures blood iſſued out of his mouth, noſe and priuie parts, the tormente ſhot ceaſing till life in him was almoſt ſpent: but they (by Gods appointment) gaue ouer, and ſo he tooke ſtrength againe to endure more then any of his brethren had done; at laſt, his hands and armes being cut off, hee lifted vp his eyes to heauen, and cryed; O *Adonai*, O *Sabaor* bee mercifull vnto me, and receiue mee into the company of my brethren, let thy wrath now ceaſe and grant them mercy; who by vs doe make interceſſion to thee; hauing ſaid thus, his tongue being pulled out, hee of his owne accord went into the fiery frying-pan; and ſo to the great admiration of *Antiochus* died. The death of the youngeſt brother.

B Behold how euident it is, that reaſon can rule our affections, ſeeing that children heereby ſhewed more conſtancy then the tyrant could ſhew cruelty. For, it was reaſons force that wrought in them that determination to ſuffer all torments, rather then to forſake the way of ſaluation. Theſe conſtant young men doe fitly reſemble inexpugnable towers; and them, who after a great tempeſt and ſhipwrack, do ſafely enter the harbour of ſaluation, who guiding their courſe amidſt the boyſterous waues, at laſt obtaine the wiſhed ſhoare. For euery one of them ſtrengthened the other by aduice and good counſell, and none of them was like an effeminate perſon, loth to ſuffer martyrdome. None vſed delay herein, but one followed anothers exam-
C ple. Let vs therefore die for our lawe, and imitate the three children, whom the Aſſyrians fury condemned to the fiery furnace, whoſe patience ſpread their fame euen vnto heauen. Whileſt thus one of them exhorted the other, it came to paſſe, that none of them offended, but each one reſolute in his religion, tooke example of the vertue, courage, and conſtancy of their forefather *Iſaac*, who vnderſtanding that is was Gods will he ſhould be ſacrificed, he refuſed not to ſubmit his bodie to his fathers ſword. Let vs (quoth they) yeeld our ſoules to him, of whom wee receiued both ſoule and body: It is a ſmall matter for vs to ſuffer loſſe of theſe members, ſeeing that wee ſhall in lieu of them receiue euerlaſting bliſſe. *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob* doe ioyfully expect vs, as coheires of their kingdome: let vs glorifie that wombe wherein wee were for ten moneths ſpace, let none of vs be more coward then the other, nor none of vs degenerate from the other. Wee that were all begotten of one father, and ſucked of one milke, muſt in
D all things reſemble one another: we had one teacher, and one law inuiolate. And in this golden bond of concord were theſe brethren linked together, and none of them mourned to ſee the other tormented, but all reioyced at the others death. O children, whoſe dignity farre ſurpaſſeth the royaltie of Kings and Princes, whoſe glory and vertue is vnſpeakeable! None of you were terrified with feare, but you ſo haſtened to your deaths, as though you had onely beene to goe to bliſſe and felicity: you were truely brethren, who euen by death were linked together. God hath greatly in you magnified our nation, and in you ſhewed vs all an example of fortitude: whom therefore I thinke he cauſed to be ſo many in number, as were the daies wherein he created the world, ſo that theſe ſeauen brethren may reſemble the ſeauen daies, wherein all things were made. And why ſhould we ſo admire this fortitude in theſe young men, when a woman
E armed her ſelfe with contempt of death? Who indeed is not to bee called a mother, but to be honoured with a higher title then humane frailty can affoord, who bare into this world ſo many triumphs. Reaſon miſtris of our affections. A ſimilitude of the waues. The ſeauen brethren exhort one another to ſuffer death manfully. True brotherhood. A pledge and ſigne of brotherly amity.

For the mother ſeeing her children dead, was with a kinde and godly zeale inflamed alſo to ſuffer: and no maruell, ſeeing that the very brute beaſts, if they perceiue violence offered to their yong, do oppoſe themſelues to perils in their defence, and protect them with their wings, teeth, and tallons: yea and euery one that is any way able to make reſiſtance, oppoſeth herſelfe to the enemy to defend her young. And not onely brute beaſts doe this, but euen Bees doe defend not only their young, but alſo their hony, threatning their ſtings to them that offer to taſte thereof, and more eſteeming the good of their young then their owne liues. But this zealous mo-
F ther directed by the ſpirit of God, & reaſons lore, haſted that her children might die before her, who not being to liue depriued of her children, choſe rather to ſee them die ioyfully then to periſh in care and ſorrow. Therfore when all her family had ſuffered, ſhe then the laſt and glory of them all, came to her agony, deſpiſing the tyrants threats, & offering her motherly breaſt to thoſe torments which her children had ſuffered. O bleſſed ſtock and bleſſed encreaſe of the ſelf ſame wombe! Why ſhould I not affirme that in all lineaments and feature of the body you are like The mothers griefe.

your mother: and if this bee a commendation in them, that beſide the ſhape of body receiue G
nothing elſe of their mother, I will ſay more of you, that you are like your mother in fortitude,
vertue, and religion; and that you ſo in all things reſemble her, that you are euery way equal vn-
to her, ſaue onely herein, that ſhe with her eyes beheld the immanity of your torments, being
alſo as conſtant in her owne martyrdome as you in yours. Shee therefore herein excelled you,
that ſhe ſuffered ſeuen torments before ſhe came to ſuffer in her own perſon, and feared in euery
The mother ſuffered ſeuen torments before ſhe was tormented. one of them leaſt ſhe ſhould be ouercome. But O thou example of all women, I cannot tel, whe-
ther thou bare theſe children in thy wombe, or created them, who could with dry eyes looke
vpon them whileſt they were torn in peeces: yea I ſay little, affirming that thou patiently didſt
behold theſe ſights, for euen thou thy ſelfe didſt exhort them thereunto, thou reioycedſt to ſee
one of them torne in peeces with fleſhhooks, the other to be racked vpon the wheel, & the third H
to be bound and beaten: thou ioyfully admiredſt the others burning, and exhortedſt the reſt not
to be terrified herewith, and although whileſt thou beheldſt their torments, thy griefe was grea-
ter then that which thou hadſt in childbirth, yet didſt thou frame a lightſome and merry coun-
tenance, as though it had been one triumphing. While they were a killing thou didſt laugh, and
ſeeing only one of all thy children left, hereat thou didſt nothing relent. Can I deſcribe how e-
uery one periſhed, ſeeing thou their mother didſt laugh at their deaths, and when their ſinewes
were cut in two, their heads ſleane, their tongues pulled forth by the roots, their hands broken,
their bodies in the fire, and caſt vpon iron plates red hot, and vpon wheels, and their ribs pulled
in ſunder, and many other torments for which we want names? Neuer was any Swanne, which
(by the report of antiquity) ſung ſo ſweet a note before her death (ſweeter then the moſt melo- I
dious harmony, and the moſt pleaſant voice) as were the funerall verſes of thoſe thy children
that periſhed.

You children were not ouercome by the fabulous Syrens enchantments, who to honor God
doubted not to leaue your mother without children: And ſhe, ſprung of noble ſtock, choſe ra-
ther to want you all for a ſhort time, then to incurre eternall damnation, wiſhing rather that the
bodies of her children ſhould be tormented then their ſoules. Well ſhe knew, that nothing was
more fraile and infirme then our bodies: which though perſecution be wanting, are often killed
with agues, and abundance of blood or fluxes: And who is ignorant of ſhipwrack incident to ſai-
lers, hazard of life vnto them that trauaile, and ſudden death to thoſe that liue in eaſe? ſudden
caſualty by fire, and by the hands of theeues, and a thouſand other waies to diſpatch our liues? K
Seeing then that our mortall bodies are ſubiect to ſo many miſeries to bring vs to our end, who
would not make choyce of a quick diſpatch, whereby we loſe the goods of this world, and gain
life euerlaſting? O thou moſt reuerend of all women, the credit of thy nation, and honor of our
religion, who like the Arke of *Noe* didſt perſiſt inuiolate amongſt ſuch ſtormy waues! for as it
A ſimilitude from the Deluge. withſtood the force of the deluge, and being built ſtrongly with firme bords, did not ſuffer any
thing within it to periſh: ſo thou ſuffredſt not the tyrant to ouercom the holy Ghoſt which thou
hadſt receiued in thy heart.

Behold of what force and efficacy reaſon is, which oftentimes maketh vs men inferior to wo-
men. For neither was *Daniel* ſo terrified at the ſight of the Lions, nor the 3. children with the fie-
rie furnace, as this woman was grieued at the death of all her children before ſhe came to her L
owne agony. What would another woman & mother haue done in this caſe, but wept & with
pitifull lamentations haue cried: Ah wretch that I am, moſt vnhappy, and miſerable of all that
breath, who therfore bare ſo many children into this world, that their ſeueral deaths might be ſo
many ſeuerall occaſions of my griefe & ſorrow! ſhe would haue iterated her frequent births, and
her toile in her ten moneths bearing them, ſhe would haue bewailed her hapleſſe fortune who
brought forth ſo many deaths and dangers, ſhe would haue recounted the milk wherewith ſhe
fed them, and their meat ſhe had prepared for them, the paines ſhe had taken with them, how ſhe
had carried them in her armes, and ſung to them & taught them to ſpeake, her cares, her watch-
ings, her feare, leaſt any miſhap ſhould betide them: and with weeping teares would haue ſaid,
ſhall I a grandmother embrace your children? who a while agoe was too fruitfull a mother, and M
am now depriued of you all? If this day I die, I haue none to bury me. But this handmaide of
The mothers ſpeech exhorting her ſeuen ſons to ſuffer. God forgot all theſe laments that another mother would haue had, and with an adamant ſenſe
ſtouter then the neuer yeelding rocks, did neither forſake her children in their torments, nor in
their death, but in a manner compelled them to periſh, and neuer ſorrowed thereat. For being
apprehended together with her ſeuen ſonnes, ſhee conſidering *Eleazars* martyrdome, did thus
exhort

A exhort them in the Hebrew tongue. O my moſt deare and louing children, let vs haſten to that agony wherein we may bee a credit to our nation, and gaine of God an euerlaſting reward: let vs without feare preſent our ſelues vnto thoſe torments which *Eleazars* aged body endured: call to mind our father *Abraham* of worthy memory, who hauing but one onely ſonne, did ſacrifice him being willed by God ſo to doe, and feared not to bring him to the Altar whom he ſcarcely in his age obtained. *Iſaac* alſo was willing to be ſacrificed by his father, knowing that God was to be obeyed in all things, the like may be ſaid of *Daniel* and the three children: beleeue me, we are rather tried then tormented. For whatſoeuer this world affordeth, is mortall and like a ſhadowe.

Thus did this mother arme her childrens mindes with fortitude, and ſhe a woman wrought
B in men manlike mindes. Laſt of all, her children being all dead, ſhe, a worthy mother of ſo many champions, kneeling downe in the place of torment, beſought of God an end of this life, proteſting, that ſhee had not for loue of life ſo long deferred to die, but onely for her childrens ſake, and that now ſhe had ſeene them all ſeuen triumphing. The fury of *Antiochus* now wexed hot, and he cõmanded this worthy mother to be tormented, who was (as the tyrant wild) ſtripped naked, and hanged vp by the hands, and moſt cruelly whipped: her dugges and pappes were pulled off, and ſhee put into the red hote frying-pan, being moſt willing to follow her childrens ſteps in torment; and lifting vp her eyes and hands to heauen, ſhee prayed for all women with childe, and ſo yeelded her chaſte ſoule to God. But *Antiochus* was ſtricken with fire from heauen. O miſtris of iuſtice, who followed thy triumphing children! O conqueror of tyrants, and
C a looking glaſſe for all Martyrs! O example of patience! not only to women but to all men that ſhall be after thee, reuerenced of them that now are, and to bee worſhipped of them that are to come, and to be admired not onely of our nation, but of all other people. Thy light obſcureth the bright ſhining Moone: and though ſhee fill the world with her brightneſſe, yet is ſhee not comparable to thy ſhining light. Seauen lights enuiron thee about, dazeling the brightnes of the ſeauen Planets: could any Painter expreſſe, or any hand in writing declare the torments of your paſſions? None could with dry eie read or behold them; all people would flock about to ſee it, all people would praiſe and eſteeme him to haue offered a great gift, who to Gods glorie had painted that golden ſtratageme. And if any skilfull workman ſhould engraue this Tragedy vpon a ſepulchre or in his houſe, doubtleſſe he ſhould be freed from all plague and misfortune.
D But where could a ſtone be found able to containe ſo many torments? Therefore the ould man *Eleazar*, the mother and her 7. ſons, are for their nobility graced with a ſepulchre, and great reuerence is done vnto them of all men, yea euen by men that are not of our religion: and there is a conſtellation of 8. ſtars ordained as an argument of their iuſtice, and Angels did execute their funerals. The tyrant himſelfe was aſtoniſhed to ſee the conſtancy of ſuch godly mindes. And thus haue they found ſuch fauour in the ſight of God, that they haue obtained remiſſion of the ſins of our nation: For preſently after, the tyrant was deſtroied, and Iſrael there was freed from his tyranny.

But *Antiochus*, ſeeing the greatnes of their faith, and their contempt of death, gathered an army of footmen out of the Hebrewes, by whoſe help he terrified his enemies, and got great re-
E nowne. O bleſſed ſeed of *Abraham*! behold what benefit the agony of the mother and her ſeuen ſons brought to vs their countrimen: let vs perſiſt in this piety, that ſo we may be like our forefathers: behold, the death of a few did end all the miſeries & ſins of our whole nation, and you by your countrimens hands vanquiſhed your perſecutours enemies, and after that victory our ſins were remitted; and laſt of all, *Antiochus* being mad, and his entrailes deuoured with worms, hee ſmelling moſt like carrion, gaue vp the ghoſt: and was euer after death puniſhed for his offence. For when he could not make the Citizens of Ieruſalem to forſake their law, he made war againſt the Perſians, and there receiued that which he deſerued.

It now remaineth that we briefely repeat all that is before ſaid. For in her agony, this ſacred mother ſaid thus vnto the ſtanders by; Whil'ſt it was lawfull for me, I kept my ſelfe a virgin, and
F then I married and liued a chaſte wife, and forſooke not my owne houſe, I brought forth ſuch ſonnes as I need not be aſhamed of; and though daunted with my husbands death, yet I did not forſake my faith: this, and many things elſe ſhe recounted. And what more? She ſet before her childrens eies the exãples of the Prophets, how *Abel* by his brother was ſlain, *Iſaac* to be offred inſtead of a ſacrifice, how *Iacob* was baniſhed, *Ioſeph* kept in priſon, *Daniel* caſt before the Lions, the three children into the fiery furnace: ſhe rehearſed alſo vnto them the book of *Eſaias*, where

A golden ſaying of the mother of her 7. children.

The mother followed her ſons in torments.

The light of the iuſt. 1. *Cor.* 15.

Antiochus leuied an army of footmen from amongſt the Hebrewes.

Antiochus dyed ſtinking exceedingly. 2. *Mac.* 9.

An epitome of the life of the 7. ſons and their mother.

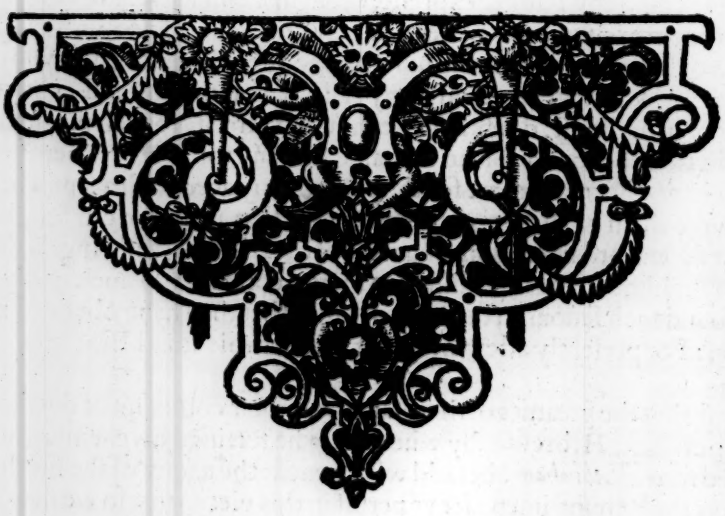
it

it is ſaid: Although thou do go through the fire, the flame ſhall not burne thee. That of *Dauid*, The iuſt ſhall haue much tribulation; and *Salomon*, who propoſeth the tree of life to ſuch as doe the will of God; not omitting that of *Ezechiel*, Theſe dry and withered bones ſhall liue againe: Alſo that of *Moſes* Canticle, I will kill and reſtore to life, and the length of your daies is in my hand. Vnhappy tyrant, what did thy cauldrons red hot, and thy torments profit thee? what auailed thee to cut away their eielids, and to pul out their tongues? thou thy ſelfe for ſo doing doſt now endure farre worſe then all theſe. And they whom thou killedſt (beleeue mee) enioy euerlaſting comfort, and are now ſecure of bliſſe and reuenge. For they who ſuffer for Gods ſake ſhall haue happy ſucceſſe, when God the Father of all things ſhall reward them with life euerlaſting that follow him. Thus haue I conſecrated theſe worthy memorials, which I find in the holy Scriptures of the ſacred Maccabees, to the reading of all men, that ſhall liue in any age hereafter.

The ioy of the bleſſed in euerlaſting life.

The end of all Ioſephus *works.*

FINIS.



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